



John Cassell's Illustrated History of England

John Frederick Smith, William Howitt, John Cassell

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GEORGE III. RECEIVING INTELLIGENCE OF HIS ACCESSION TO THE THRONE

CASSELL'S
ILLUSTRATED
HISTORY OF ENGLAND
DURING THE LAST HUNDRED YEARS.

TEXT BY
WILLIAM HOWITT.



VOL. I.

(BEING THE FIFTH VOLUME OF THE ENTIRE HISTORY),

FROM THE ACCESSION OF GEORGE III. TO THE FRENCH REVOLUTION (JULY, 1792).

With nearly Two Hundred Engravings.

CASSELL, PETTER, AND GALPIN,
LONDON AND NEW YORK.

1861.



LONDON:
PETTRE AND GALPIN, BELLE SAUVAGE PRINTING WORKS,
LUDGATE-HILL, E.C.

PREFACE.



THE History of the Reign of George III. is pregnant with the most momentous principles, and presents to the reader the most momentous lessons possible in the economy of Nations. We call the attention of our readers expressly to these facts, because they have now been admitted as great lessons, and because there yet remain others of the same kind to be learned by England, who, until she has learned them, cannot take that august position before the world which becomes her present status, her present free principles,—a position which is wholly within her power. We call, before all others, on the great body of the People—the working classes—to note these things, because it is this class which, in another generation, when it shall have been duly educated, will possess the deciding influence on the tendencies of the Government.

The English Government, during this reign, committed two capital mistakes: they endeavoured to rule our colonies by coercion, and they interfered to force on the French nation a dynasty which it had repudiated. In both of these efforts they were eventually foiled, and from those defeats they learned two grand principles of international law: that colonies must be left to govern themselves, if they are to be retained; and that no people has, on any pretence whatever, a right to intrude itself into the domestic affairs of another people. In other words, what is called the doctrine of non-intervention has been accepted, and proclaimed by England in the case of Italy, and it must henceforth guide our counsels in all our foreign relations.

We now see free and self-administering constitutions conferred on our colonies, and behold as the result loyalty to the mother country, and prosperity to her commerce. We see, as the consequence of our past bitter experience, our Government, at this moment, refusing to follow the example of France, and to interfere in the movements of Italy for its political regeneration. Having seen that all our efforts to coerce the French people had ended in the rejection of the effete dynasty, which we for twenty years made war to re-establish, and that the kings, whom we supported at an unexampled cost, have remained despots to this day, we have publicly confessed that all our gigantic efforts were worse than useless; that every principle that we laboured to maintain has been overthrown and trodden under foot. But at what a cost has this wisdom been purchased!

Since William III. first imported into this country the practice of meddling in the affairs of our continental neighbours, we have spent THREE THOUSAND MILLIONS STERLING in wars of interference, including that with our American colonies. Of that three thousand millions, eight hundred millions remain as a debt, entailing on us and our posterity twenty-eight millions a-year of taxation to pay the interest. And this is but the smallest part of the mischief. In those wars we have caused the destruction—and it is now confessed the worse than useless destruction—of more than TWO MILLIONS OF OUR OWN COUNTRYMEN, according to the most careful calculations of statisticians; without taking any account of the infinitely greater slaughter of other people in these wars, which could not have been carried on without our money and encouragement. Besides these murders, for principles now abandoned finally by us as mistaken and mischievous, we have encouraged and built up a system of national expenditure which has no counterpart in the history of the wildest doings of the most profligate nations. When William III. commenced the grand delusion of foreign intervention, *five* millions of money were thought a monstrous national expenditure per annum; and this only a hundred and seventy years ago! When William Pitt proclaimed war against France, because it would not re-admit a rejected

PREFACE.

dynasty, TWELVE MILLIONS of money were thought a monstrous annual expenditure ; and this only *sixty-seven* years ago ! Yet we have now arrived at an annual expenditure of upwards of SEVENTY MILLIONS of money, though at peace with all Europe ! The fashion and spirit of war have enslaved us under the very guise of peace, and there is every prospect that we shall soon have to pay ONE HUNDRED MILLIONS per annum for what our ancestors, little more than sixty years ago, paid only TEN or TWELVE MILLIONS !

Surely these are terrible testimonies of the truth of Christianity, that "he who takes the sword shall perish by the sword !" Surely these are trumpet-tongued reminders that war is as mischievous to all national as to all individual interests—to all public as to all private morals. To what policy, or what event in history—ay, even of pagan nations—can we turn which has produced the slaughter of two millions of men, the expenditure of three thousand millions of money, and the advance of national taxation from four millions to seventy-six millions in little more than a hundred years, followed by the virtual confession of that nation, that the whole of this cost of money, of human life, and of taxation, has been abortive, utterly wrong, preposterous, and, therefore, monstrously wicked !

But, as we have said, other like confessions yet remain for England. It is time now that she should not only proclaim to the world that she will no longer interfere with internal arrangements of other nations, but that she will renounce all aggressive war—the root and sole root of the frightful waste and bloodshed which she has now repented of. It now becomes her, as a Christian nation, to announce this plain Christian principle. The time must come, in the future enlightenment of man, when she must confess that even defensive war is unchristian, and trust to the Power which has declared this truth for His Divine vindication of it. But the time is now come, when it would be to the glory, as it is the duty, of England to proclaim all aggressive war unchristian, and, therefore, wicked, and pregnant only with crime and misery. It is an example to the nations trodden down and crumbling into financial ruin underneath huge armies, which England ought to exhibit. She has been tempted, stimulated, urged by menace and sarcasm, to arm for Italy : she has resisted, and has won, by her exercise of a wise moral influence instead, the love and gratitude of the Italian people.

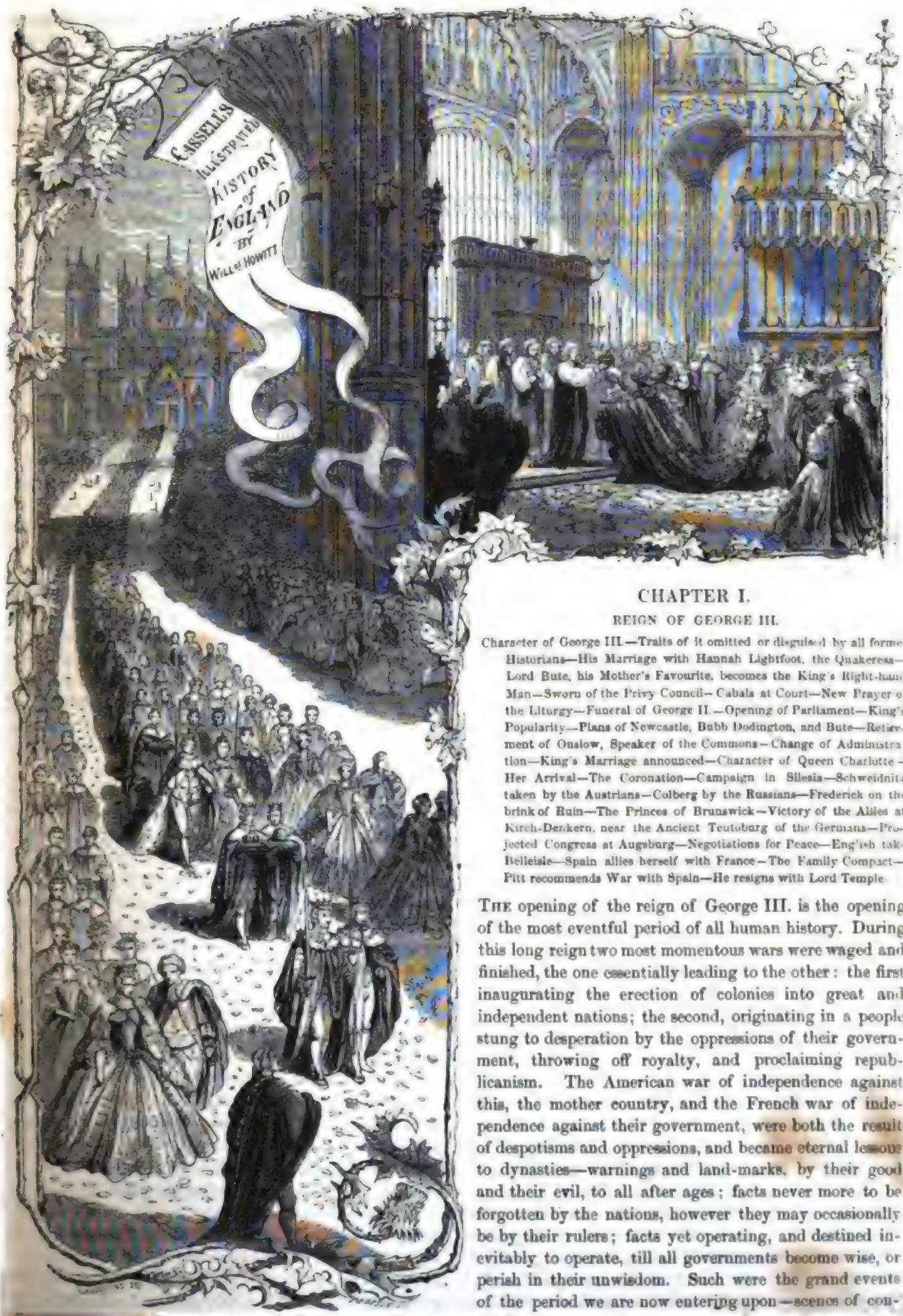
We point out these great truths as emblazoned in the pages of the history of George III., to the deep consideration of the English nation, and, above all, to the mass of its people. Every year, as education advances amongst the toiling millions, must augment the influence of the popular mind on the national destinies. Far removed from the corrupt spirit which surrounds the immediate machinery of government, the people, once educated, will survey, through an impartial medium, the impulses of legislation, and the motives of the executive. They will demand, and their collective momentum will enable them to enforce, the adoption of sound principles. No aristocracy cradled in ease and luxury, however amiable and however intelligent, will become deeply imbued with a grand Christian morality. It will continually be swayed by self-interest : it is the people at large, having but one interest—the national one—who, so soon as they are instructed in the true laws of morals, will compel their enforcement.

It is to this great class of the community—destined, in the next generation, to be the ruling class—that we address, with a fitting anxiety, these observations. It is for them that we not only detail facts, but point solemnly to their enunciation of great national laws and principles. We hold up the mighty errors of our predecessors during this reign, written now in oceans of blood, with the pen of truth, and on the parchment of national incumbrance, and we say to those who shall hereafter become the real directors of events—Take warning ; there are yet equal errors to be avoided, equally luminous truths to be embraced. You have before you the terrible monuments of the contempt of Christian philosophy by those deemed wisest in their day : let not the next generation have to upbraid you with equal blindness to the principles of the New Testament, that in "peace, good-will toward men" exists the prosperity of the earth.

We have closed this volume with a careful and minute picture of the excesses of a nation renouncing Christianity ; we shall open the next with the grand error of England, in commencing war to replant an impossible dynasty. Let the reader bear these great facts in mind, and he will draw from them a wisdom which he will find himself hereafter called upon to exercise, in his place and station, for our common country.

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CHAPTER I.

REIGN OF GEORGE III.

Character of George III.—Traits of it omitted or disguised by all former Historians—His Marriage with Hannah Lightfoot, the Quakeress—Lord Bute, his Mother's Favourite, becomes the King's Right-hand Man—Sworn of the Privy Council—Cabals at Court—New Prayer of the Liturgy—Funeral of George II.—Opening of Parliament—King's Popularity—Plans of Newcastle, Bubb Dodington, and Bute—Retirement of Onslow, Speaker of the Commons—Change of Administration—King's Marriage announced—Character of Queen Charlotte—Her Arrival—The Coronation—Campaign in Silesia—Schweidnitz taken by the Austrians—Colberg by the Russians—Frederick on the brink of Ruin—The Princes of Brunswick—Victory of the Allies at Kirch-Denkern, near the Ancient Teutoburg of the Germans—Projected Congress at Augsburg—Negotiations for Peace—English take Belleisle—Spain allies herself with France—The Family Compact—Pitt recommends War with Spain—He resigns with Lord Temple

THE opening of the reign of George III. is the opening of the most eventful period of all human history. During this long reign two most momentous wars were waged and finished, the one essentially leading to the other: the first inaugurating the erection of colonies into great and independent nations; the second, originating in a people stung to desperation by the oppressions of their government, throwing off royalty, and proclaiming republicanism. The American war of independence against this, the mother country, and the French war of independence against their government, were both the result of despotisms and oppressions, and became eternal lessons to dynasties—warnings and land-marks, by their good and their evil, to all after ages; facts never more to be forgotten by the nations, however they may occasionally be by their rulers; facts yet operating, and destined inevitably to operate, till all governments become wise, or perish in their unwisdom. Such were the grand events of the period we are now entering upon—scenes of cou-

vulsions and of struggles, in their violence, their extent, their intensity, and their consequences, unparalleled in the history, and unequalled in the impressions left by them on the fortunes of mankind.

George III., at the time of the sudden death of his grandfather, was in his twenty-second year. He was of a tall and well-built figure, with a countenance good-natured but not handsome, and a head which, had phrenologists then existed, might have warned them, by its receding front, and consequent absence of the higher and more intellectual faculties, by a tolerable share of conscientiousness, a larger portion of veneration, vastly overbalanced by obstinacy and combativeness, of those dangers which lay in the way of such a monarch, and which were destined to shake from his crown its noblest jewel, to lop the broadest regions from his empire, and to engage him in the most frightful war against the liberties of the continent—against people struggling to free themselves from their old, decrepit, and tyrannical rulers, at a cost to his own subjects of the most unheard-of bloodshed and expense. Such were the terrors and huge calamities lurking in the narrow and retreating brain of that monarch celebrated for his piety and paternal goodness, for his morality and habits of domestic peace.

George III., yet unaware of being George III., but only imagining himself prince of Wales, with the loss of America and the French revolution still lying as embryos in the equally unimagined future, was pleasantly riding near Kew with his mother's favourite and his own, lord Bute, when a groom rode hastily up to inform him of the sudden death of the late king. George, with the coolness habitual to him, even at that age, immediately commanded the groom to inform no one that he had communicated this news to him—if necessary, to deny that he had seen him. His first action was to compel his messenger to perpetrate a piece of state policy, in common life styled a falsehood; his second, to hasten back and secure his grandfather's money. William Pitt met him and his inseparable companion, lord Bute, hurrying back to Kew to give the necessary orders for this and other purposes. The news was confirmed by Pitt, who hailed George III. by his new title. That day and the following night were spent in secret arrangements, and the next morning George presented himself before his mother, the princess-dowager, at Carlton House, where he met his council, and was then formally proclaimed. This was on the 26th of October, 1760.

The conduct of the young king, considering his shyness and the defects of his education, was, during the first days of his sudden elevation, calm, courteous, affable, and unembarrassed. "He behaved throughout," says Horace Walpole, "with the greatest propriety, dignity, and decency." He dismissed his guards to attend on the body of his grandfather. But it was soon seen that there would be great changes in his government. Pitt waited on him with the sketch of an address to his council; but the king informed him that this had been thought of, and an address already prepared. This was sufficient for Pitt; he had long been satisfied that the favourite of mother and son, the groom of the stole, and the inseparable companion, Bute, would, on the accession of George, mount into the premiership. It is the curse of nations that princes of narrow heads and inferior capacities will, as a matter of course, choose inferior

ministers. Pitt was the only man of great and commanding capacity amongst those who surrounded the throne; a man who had wrested, by persevering talent, the management of the nation from the feeble aristocratic hands which had reduced its fortunes and its fame to the lowest condition, and crowned them both with glory and power; had humiliated all its enemies, and extended, at their cost, our empire beyond all its former limits. What a mighty difference betwixt the national disgrace and debility in 1756, and the national vigour and *prestige* in 1760! But it was not within the intellectual range of George III. to perceive this glory and its causes, and he soon put aside the saviour and exalter of the nation, and chose men of his own calibre, and continued to choose such, till they had lost us even more than Pitt had won us—had lost us America, and our honour with it.

Lord Mahon has taken much pains to convince us that George III. was by no means deficient in intellect. Certainly, he had no lack of a certain homely kind of sense and shrewdness, such as made him a very good farmer, and afraid to lose a single sheep; but that is not the quality of mind in question. George was, and could not fail to be, from the unfortunate shape of his head, destitute of all those kingly properties of mind which are necessary in difficult crises to preserve nations, to say nothing of augmenting them. He lacked that grasp of intellect which takes in the whole horizon of causes and contingencies, and that sympathy with greatness which leads it to choose great instruments, and associate with master minds. To use the words of our greatest living poet, his mind "declined upon a lower range" of minds, and to them he trusted the fate of his empire, without a suspicion that they were incapable of directing it. The same historian says that his peculiarity of manner, his "What, what?" and "Hey, heys!" which even his worshipper, Madame D'Arblay, has handed down to our notice, and which Walcot so continually played upon, gave him an appearance of shallowness that was greater than it was just. But the tests of the mind of George III. are, that he lost a magnificent country by not having sense to retain its affections, and nearly ruined this country in endeavouring to prop up the worst and most imbecile governments abroad. Much of this may be attributed to his narrow education operating on his limited capacity; but the obstinacy which resisted wise advice and the plainest signs of the times, still more.

On the morning of Monday, the 28th, his brother, Edward, duke of York, and lord Bute were sworn members of the privy council. It was seen at once that Bute was to be the lord of the ascendant, and the observant courtiers paid an instant homage to the man through whom all good things were to flow. The king declared himself, however, highly satisfied with his present cabinet, and announced that he wished no changes. A handbill soon appeared on the walls of the Royal Exchange expressing the public apprehensions: "No petticoat government—no Scotch favourite—no lord George Sackville!" Bute had always championed lord George, who was so bold in society and so backward in the field; and the public now imagined that they would have a governing clique of the king's mother, her favourite, Bute, and his favourite, lord George.

The duke of Newcastle professed to be so disconsolate for the loss of the late king, that he gave out that he meant to retire from court and the world; but, at the same time, he meant nothing less, though now sixty-six years of age, and he not only consented to remain at the head of the treasury, but paid most fulsome and abject court to Bute, hoping, he said, to see him at the head of the government, and feeling proud not only to serve with him, but under him. Whereupon a witty lady observed, "That the only question was, whether the king's chamber should be warmed with Scotch coal, Newcastle coal, or Pitt coal?"

On the 31st of October George highly gratified the serious part of the nation by issuing a proclamation "For the encouragement of piety and virtue, and for preventing and punishing vice, profaneness, and immorality;" and though his example in some of these respects had not been quite so immaculate as historians represent, his after life certainly gave force to his orders, and the conduct of both himself and his queen produced the greatest change in the social aspect of the nation. They were the unswerving maintainers of morality and decorum, though they had not the good fortune to secure these qualities in their sons. Lady Yarmouth, the late king's mistress, having now disappeared from court, the archbishop of Canterbury, whose face had rarely been seen there, now became a frequent attendant. Other immediate acts of his majesty were not so much admired. He struck out of the liturgy the names of his uncle, the duke of Cumberland, who certainly had great need of prayer on his behalf, and his aunt, the princess Amelia. This was excused, however, on the ground that they must have been put down below the duke of York; and they were, therefore, considerably merged into the mass of "all the Royal Family." The ranger'ship of Windsor Park was next taken from the princess Amelia and conferred on Bute; but then it was said that she was, in reality, glad to give it up, having made herself unpopular by endeavouring to stop up one of the roads across the park. The privation, at all events, did not want a plausible reason.

The next occurrence occasioned equally disagreeable surmises. The late king had left behind him a sum of from three to four hundred thousand pounds, and after leaving to the countess of Yarmouth a cabinet containing ten thousand pounds, he had made the duke of Cumberland and his daughters, Amelia and Mary, heirs to the remainder; but this balance had mysteriously become reduced to about ninety thousand pounds, which, after the payment of ten thousand pounds to lady Yarmouth, was divided betwixt Cumberland and the princesses, and of the rest of the money nothing more ever was heard. It was openly asserted at the time that George had made good use of his secret return to the palace, as regarded this sum, and though his admirers warmly defended him from the charge, no denial was ever made by the king, and the fact of his afterwards appropriating the whole of the proceeds of the duchies of Cornwall and Lancaster during the minority of his son, the prince of Wales, whose patrimony it was, only too completely seemed to give some colour to the charge of his seizure of his uncle and aunts' legacy.

On the 11th of November the remains of George II. were deposited in Westminster Abbey with the usual regal

ceremony. According to Horace Walpole, the scene was at once melancholy and ludicrous. The duke of Cumberland, now a mere bloated ruin from excess, his face distorted by the effects of a paralytic stroke, stood looking gloomily into the vault, so soon, to a certainty, to receive his own corpse; and the duke of Newcastle, first flinging himself into one of the stalls in the chapel, and making an uproarious display of grief, and then running about with his glass to spy who were at the funeral, "spying with one hand, and mopping his eyes with the other," was the object of universal attention.

Parliament, which had been prorogued for a few days on account of the demise of the crown, assembled on the 18th of November. The attendance was crowded, and the king was received with the most enthusiastic acclamations. He delivered a speech, composed by lord Hardwicke, and revised by Pitt, and containing a passage, said to be inserted by himself, as follows:—"Born and educated in this country, I glory in the name of Briton!" This word he is said to have written "Englishman," but that lord Bute altered it to "Briton;" which, if true, was one of the most sensible things he ever did; for though the term was criticised by those who were averse to the Scots, it was worthy of the king of Great Britain to make no distinctions, but to assume the broadest appellation. The sentence then continued:—"And the peculiar happiness of my life will ever consist in promoting the welfare of a people, whose loyalty and warm attachment to me I consider the greatest and most permanent security of my throne." In the addresses these words produced the most enthusiastic responses. "What a lustre," exclaimed the lords, "doth it cast upon the name of Briton, when you, sir, are pleased to esteem it amongst your glories!" The commons accepted "with the liveliest sentiments of duty, gratitude, and exultation of mind, those most affecting and animating words." For the rest, the speech expressed the royal determination to prosecute the war with all vigour; praised the magnanimity and perseverance of his good brother, the king of Prussia; and recommended unanimity of action and opinion in parliament. Nothing could appear more unanimous or more liberal than parliament. It voted another subsidy to Prussia of six hundred and seventy thousand pounds; fixed the civil list for the reign at eight hundred thousand pounds; and granted the hitherto unexampled supplies of nearly twenty millions. All parties and shades of opinion seemed obliterated. Tories and Jacobites flocked again to court, and, through the influence of Bute, many of them received posts in the new household.

But the smoothness was only on the surface—beneath were working the strongest political animosities and the most selfish desires. The little knot of aristocratic families which had so long monopolised all the sweets of office, now saw with indignation tribes of aspirants crowding in for a share of the good things. The aspirants crowded the ante-chamber of Bute, the angry and disappointed resorted to Newcastle, who was in a continual state of agitation by seeing appointments made to new men without his knowledge; members rushing in to offer their support to government at the next election, who had hitherto stood aloof, and were now received and encouraged. Yet, whilst he fumed

at the patronage exercised by Bute, he paid the most submissive court to him, and secretly joined in the cabal to get rid of the only real man in the ministry, Pitt, at the same time that he congratulated that great statesman on the disappearance of dissensions.

Meantime, Bute was sedulously at work to clear the way for his own assumption, not merely of office, but of the whole power of the government. He acted as already the only medium of communication with the king, and the depository of his secrets. He opened his views cautiously to Bubb Dodington, who was a confidant of the Lichfield House party, and still hungering after a title. Dodington advised him to induce lord Holderness to resign, and take his place, which, at first, Bute affected to disapprove of, but eventually acted upon. The first object was to get rid of Pitt, who, by his talents and haughty independence of manner, was not more acceptable to the king and his counsellor, Bute, than by his policy, which they desired to abandon. Pamphlets were therefore assiduously put out, endeavouring to represent Pitt as insatiable for war, and war as having been already too burthensome to the nation. Pitt was too clear-sighted not to perceive that the favourite would assuredly take the helm, and that a peace policy would be adopted, if it were only to throw a discredit on what he had done. Mediocrity hates the greatness that it can never approach. Pitt, however, gave no symptoms of resigning, and Bute and his friends became greatly jealous lest he should himself propose pacific measures, and thus forestall them in their grand manœuvre; for it was not peace for its own sake which actuated these little souls, but peace merely as a means to their own elevation. Bute communicated these miserable fears to Dodington, but he soon discovered that Pitt was as firm as ever in his old policy, and he came exultingly to his friend Bubb, exclaiming, "Pitt has no thought of abandoning the continent; he is madder than ever!" The plans of Bute and his party were therefore matured against the dissolution of parliament, which was to take place in the following March. There was some dissatisfaction expressed by the public against the present ministers, on account of an additional duty of three shillings a barrel laid on ale and beer, which told very well for a change, and the king was made sensible of the popular discontent by the cries of the multitude as he went in state to the theatres.

On the 3rd of March, 1761, George, however, did a very popular action in his own person. On this day he recommended to parliament, in a royal speech, that the commissions of the judges, which had been held, according to the act of William III., since 1701, *quandiu se bene gesserint*—that is, according to good behaviour—should now be made totally independent of the crown, and no longer terminate on its demise. This was a great and important step in the just administration of the laws, and an act was gratefully and unanimously passed to that effect.

At the close of the session the venerable speaker of the commons, Onslow, resigned his post, after occupying it for three-and-thirty years, with a degree of ability, impartiality, and courtesy which has made his name famous in that house. The commons passed a vote expressing their sense of the retiring speaker's eminent services, and praying his majesty

to grant him some signal mark of his favour. Accordingly, a pension of three thousand pounds a year was settled on him, and his son was afterwards created baron Cranley, and succeeded his cousin as baron Onslow.

On the 21st of March parliament was dissolved by proclamation, and the same day the Gazette announced several of the changes determined on in the ministry. The duke of Bedford retired from the lord-lieutenancy of Ireland, and his place was taken by the earl of Halifax. Legge, who was considered too much in the interest of Pitt, was dismissed on the 19th, and lord Barrington now took his place of chancellor of the exchequer. Charles Townshend took Barrington's former place, and Sir Francis Dashwood became treasurer of the chambers in room of Townshend. Both Townshend and Dashwood had gone over to the party of Bute. Lord Holderness was now made to do what Dodington had before suggested; he resigned his office of secretary of state, and on the 25th Bute was gazetted as appointed to that post. This was the result of all the other movements. Holderness was rewarded for his compliance by the reversion, after the death of the infirm duke of Dorset, of the wardenship of the Cinque Ports, with a salary of four thousand pounds a year. No notice of this change had been communicated to either Holderness or Pitt, the other and chief secretary, till it took place. The king said he was tired of having one secretary who could do nothing, and another who would do nothing. Pitt, who was indicated as the would-do-nothing secretary, must have felt that his own post in conjunction with Bute, who he knew aimed to do everything, could not be lasting; but he still continued to act, and determined only to resign when it should be seen that a contrary and more dishonourable foreign policy forced him from his position. He knew that that day could not be far off, for there were no ambiguous symptoms of a determination at court, under the Bute influence, that Frederick of Prussia was to be abandoned, and peace made at all costs. True, there ought to have been no such meddling, bloody, and expensive interference in continental quarrels, first on one side, and then on another, as there had been; but, to withdraw dishonourably from a connection imprudently entered into, was only adding infamy to folly. Frederick was now reduced to the verge of despair and almost of total ruin; and, having been accessory in the means of bringing him to that pass, by supporting him in his martial schemes, it was the part of an honourable government to see him through the crisis before deserting him. But Bute had no more feeling of honour than the Tories Harley and Bolingbroke, who perpetrated the same course of perfidy towards our allies at the peace of Utrecht.

In addition to the ministerial changes, there were at the same time a few promotions. Three baronets of old standing, Curzon, Grosvenor, and Irby, were made barons. Sir Thomas Robinson became lord Grantham; and, after a long course of political dodging, Bubb Dodington was invested with the honours of a peerage as lord Melcombe. A new honour was also conferred on Bute, by creating his wife, the only daughter of lady Mary Wortley Montague, and an excellent woman, an English baroness.

Bute had arranged with the duke of Newcastle for the management of the elections for the new parliament, and

no means of government bribery were omitted to procure one of tory tendencies, and favourable to the Bute cabal. The sale of boroughs was extensively and undisguisedly practised, and the mode, now so common, of evading the direct charge of bribery by giving an absurdly great price for some article to an elector, was lavishly introduced. Foote, in his play of "The Nabob," happily hit off this custom. He makes a voter say—"When I took up my freedom, I could get but thirty guineas for a new pair of jack-boots; whilst my neighbour over the way had a fifty-pound note for a pair of wash-leather breeches!"

On the 8th of July an extraordinary privy council was summoned. All the members, of whatever party, were desired to attend, and many were the speculations as to the important object. The general idea was that it involved the continuation or the termination of the war. It turned out to be for the announcement of the king's intended marriage. The lady selected was Charlotte, the second sister of the duke of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, a prince of a petty state, but of the most enormous pretensions to the antiquity and unadulterated blood of his lineage. In this respect the young princess his sister, who was yet only seventeen, and of no beauty or fortune, thought herself infinitely the superior of her intended husband, the king of England, the lofty purity of whose genealogy had been so grievously debased by such encroachments as those of the Woodvilles, Tudors, Hydes, and the like plebeians. Like George himself, she was by no means overdone with education; she could play upon the harpsichord, and that was the sum-total of her accomplishments. Like the Hanoverian monarchs, whose line she was destined to perpetuate, she had no taste whatever for literature and the arts; she had read little, and of that little next to no English. In fact, whatever may have been the advantage in a protestant point of view, the importation of German princesses has been a practice especially pernicious in many other respects. German men are generally well educated, German women generally as ill.

The contempt of the female mind in Germany is one of the worst features of that country; hence the wretched education and the wretched moral character of our princesses, except in our present excellent queen, who have had German mothers. The mother of George III. and of the duke of Cumberland, whose connection with Bute was the scandal of the age, could only turn out ill-educated sons. Walpole says that George III. was brought up in duplicity, and that his first act, the command to his groom to utter a falsehood, in order to enable him to secure his grandfather's hoards, was expressive of his character. Lord Malmesbury shows us what a wretched education queen Caroline, the consort of George IV., had, and how certain were the most disastrous consequences to succeed. The want of moral truth in queen Charlotte was propagated in the licentious character of her sons.

Apart from these defects of an overwhelming pride of pedigree, and of the narrowness of her education, the young princess had a considerable amount of amiability, good sense, and domestic taste. These she shared with her intended husband, and whilst they made the royal couple always retiring, at the same time they caused them to give, during their lives, a certain moral air to their court. This morality,

however, became dreadfully outraged by their children, even during their own day, nor had George III. that unexceptionable right to declare that his sons had abandoned the example of their father, which our historians too generally assume. Lord Mahon finds no spot of sensual taint in his youthful character; the writer of the "Pictorial History" goes further. He says:—"On ascending the throne, George III. was only in his twenty-third year, yet he presented few of the graces, and none of the liveliness of youth. At the same time, he was wholly free from the vices or irregularities which commonly attended that age with persons in his situation."

That is, that George had not kept his mistress, according to the regular custom of his forefathers. It is too true that there is nothing so remarkable in the English people as their co-existent propensities to king-worship and freedom-worship. A moral and religious nation, abhorring licentiousness, and severe in its punishment of the invaders of domestic purity, we have always not merely tolerated in our monarchs a contempt for the conjugal virtues, but have shown a sort of fondness for their grosser vices. Nay, so far have our countrywomen forgotten in kings and princes their stern and inexorable judgments against the frailties of their sex, that they have generally deemed it a real honour to be a prince's concubine. They have eagerly wrangled for the universal distinction; they have boasted of it; they have paraded it before the world when they have got it; and there is no cause which has tended to diffuse demoralisation through English society so much as this. We need not glance back to the days of the Tudors and the Stuarts, or point to the highest places of the peerage, for the proofs of it: the princes of Hanover, a heavy and dull race, were always surrounded by a sort of harem of this kind. George I. had, besides English ones, a troop of German ones, notorious for their impudent rapacity. George II. is said to have had little natural disposition to gallantry, but actually thought it an honour to bow to him! So far had our customs sanctioned royal vice. He was, in fact, led by his education, and the evidence of public opinion, to adopt adultery as a royal grace. And now George III. is held up in the "Pictorial History" as a perfect model of chastity and propriety. "Though so young," it says, "so healthy and robust, and though his predecessor had been so old, he was the first prince of his house to do without a mistress! A few months after his accession he married, and from that time his fidelity to his consort was as remarkable as his previous continence."

This is a singular statement for a writer of a history of England, and especially regarding a prince of our time. We should be glad to be able to confirm that eulogy; but, with all George's domestic and public virtues, and he had many, we should justly forfeit all claim to confidence if we did not state the real facts. To say nothing of a certain flirtation with lady Sarah Lennox—recorded by lord Orford just previous to George's marriage—which, probably, was innocent enough, there is another affair, which involves a grave charge against the pattern king. When prince of Wales he fell in love with a beautiful quakeress of the name of Hannah Lightfoot. She resided at a linendraper's shop, at the corner of Market Street, St. James's Market. The

name of the linendraper was Wheeler. "As the prince," says Beckford, in his "Conversations," published in the "New Monthly Magazine," "could not obtain her affections exactly in the way he most desired, he persuaded Dr. Wilmot to marry them, which he did at Kew Chapel, in 1759; William Pitt, afterwards lord Chatham, and Ann Taylor, being the parties witnessing, and, for aught I know, the document is still in existence."

We have always understood that the documentary evidence of this marriage was carefully preserved in the family of the descendants, a highly respectable family of the

listening for something. A pipe and tabor appeared in the street, stopped and played awhile before the house, and scarcely had it ceased, when Hannah Lightfoot was found to have disappeared. On making search for her, her friends learned that she had left the house and been seen to enter a close carriage, which stood in the next street, which then drove rapidly away. The suspicion fell immediately upon the prince. The distracted husband gave chase; and, overtaking the prince, I believe, at Kew Palace, demanded, it is said, on his knees, and with the most passionate pleading, the restoration of his wife, but in vain.



GEORGE III. FROM AN AUTHENTIC PORTRAIT.

name of G—l—n. We have often been informed by a quakeress, who resided in London at the time, that the friends of Hannah Lightfoot, aware of the attentions of the prince, were extremely anxious to get her married to a young man of her own society, who was passionately attached to her. The day was fixed—nay, it is asserted that the marriage had actually taken place—when, soon after the return of the bridal party from the ceremony, Hannah Lightfoot was observed to be restless, went to the window several times, and appeared to be in an absent state, as if

Now, if it was the fact that George actually thus carried off the wife of another man on his wedding-day, it is a black stain on his memory which no panegyric can wash out. If Hannah Lightfoot *was* thus married previously, she was not his legal wife, otherwise she had as fair a claim to the queenly crown as Elizabeth Woodville, Anna Boleyn, Catherine Howard, Jane Seymour, Catherine Parr, and Anne Hyde; for it is remarkable that the law forbidding royal marriages with subjects was not then made, but was afterwards passed by George himself. Of his marriage with



FIRST MEETING OF GEORGE III. AND THE PRINCESS (AFTERWARDS QUEEN) CHARLOTTE.

Hannah Lightfoot there is no question, and it depends entirely on this wedding-day elopement, whether Charlotte was a wife at all, or a queen at all. If the carrying off had taken place before the wedding ceremony with the young quaker, Hannah Lightfoot would have been *de jure* and *de facto* queen of England. It would appear that George III. laid up for himself troubles of the deepest dye by this marriage—troubles affecting the happiness of his favourite daughter, and, probably, the leading cause of his own insanity. Into these, as of a distant date, we enter not here; but we may surmise that these circumstances, not less than the scandalous conduct of his brother, the duke of Cumberland, led him to pass the royal marriage act, forbidding the marriage of any member of the royal family with a subject, except with the express consent of the sovereign.

The earl of Harcourt was dispatched to Strelitz to demand the hand of the princess. He was followed by the duchesses of Hamilton and Ancaster, and lady Effingham, to attend upon her during her journey. Lord Harcourt was received, as may be supposed, with overwhelming courtesy at Strelitz, being always attended by a body-guard, as the representative of England, of which the princess was about to be queen. On the 8th of September Charlotte arrived at St. James's, and that afternoon the marriage took place, the ceremony being performed by the archbishop of Canterbury. The next day the royal couple held a crowded drawing-room and ball, in which the queen was reported to have conducted herself extremely well. On the 22nd the coronation took place with the greatest splendour; and it is noted, not only as a sign of the popularity of the sovereigns, but of the advancing wealth of the country, that the platform from St. Margaret's roundhouse to the abbey door, which at George II.'s coronation let for forty pounds, now let for two thousand four hundred pounds. There was one remarkable spectator of this scene, whose feelings must have been strange; the man—who, had his family ruled wisely, should have there been crowned himself—was Charles Stuart.

We must now step back a little to observe the war on the continent from the opening of the present campaign. Frederick of Prussia lay encamped during the winter in Silesia, surrounded by difficulties and enemies. His resources of both money and men appeared well nigh exhausted. The end of autumn, 1760, brought him the news of the death of George II., and, from what he could learn of the disposition of his successor and his chief advisers, it was certain that peace would be attempted by England. This depressing intelligence was confirmed in December by the English parliament indeed voting again his usual subsidy, but reluctantly, and he found it paid with still more reluctance and delay. Whilst thus menaced with the total loss of the funds by which he carried on the war, he saw, as the spring approached, the Russians and Austrians advancing against him with more than double his own forces. He had not fifty thousand men, whilst Butterlin, the Russian general, commanded sixty thousand, and Laudohn, the Austrian, seventy thousand. Prince Henry was menaced in Saxony by marshal Daun, and another Russian army, in Pomerania, was marching to the siege of Colberg.

Under these circumstances, Frederick endeavoured to

prevent the junction of the Russians under Butterlin and the Austrians under Laudohn. He boldly threw himself betwixt these two armies, and for a long time defeated their attempts at a junction. At length, on the 12th of August, his enemies accomplished their union near Striegau, in spite of him. There appeared now no other prospect but that they would completely surround him. But, with great address, Frederick threw himself into the fortified camp of Bunzelwitz, under the guns of Schweidnitz, where he had a strong garrison. This camp was defended by a chain of formidable works, four-and-twenty terrible batteries, with mines, deep ditches, and *chevaux-de-frise*. The allies attempted to blockade him there and starve him out; but he obtained corn from the depôts in Schweidnitz, whilst the country round, being laid waste, the enemy themselves were assailed by famine. They were daily in expectation of abundance of provisions from Poland in five thousand wagons; but Frederick had dispatched a flying column, under general Platen, to intercept these, which he did effectually, besides destroying three of their largest magazines on the Polish frontiers. At this news the allies quitted their blockade of the Prussian king. Butterlin retired into Pomerania, and Laudohn to the neighbourhood of Freiburg. At the end of September Frederick quitted his strong camp, and marched towards Upper Silesia, but Laudohn instantly advanced into the vacated position. Instead of taking Laudohn in the rear, as he intended, Frederick now saw that general execute the boldest manoeuvre of the whole war. In the night of the 1st of October, which was extremely dark, he led his troops silently against the walls of Schweidnitz. General Zastrow that night was giving a ball to his officers. The usual precautions were relaxed, and Laudohn, rushing into the covered way, killed the sentinels, scaled the outworks, waded the fosse, and mounted the city walls before the alarm was given. The garrison, four thousand strong, rushed to the defence, and fought bravely; but they were overpowered, and, before daybreak, the Austrians were in full possession of this the great fortress of Silesia, which it had cost the Prussians months of blockade and hard fighting to subdue.

This was a stunning blow to Frederick, but he affected to bear it philosophically, whilst the gallant Laudohn was rather censured than applauded by his own court for his exploit. He had undertaken the daring enterprise without consulting the empress or the Aulic council, and the absurd etiquette of Austria was highly offended by it. It required the better sense of the emperor to prevent a formal censure being passed on the hero.

The capture of Schweidnitz enabled the Austrians to winter in Silesia, which they had never yet done during the war; and the Russians under Butterlin also found, to their great satisfaction, on arriving in Pomerania, that they could winter in Colberg. The Russian division under Romanzow had besieged Colberg both by land and sea, and, spite of the attempts of the Prussians under Platen and Knobloch, sent by Frederick to relieve it, it had been compelled to surrender. Under these discouraging circumstances Frederick took up his winter quarters at Breslau. His affairs never wore a darker aspect. He was out-generaled and more discomfited this campaign than by a great battle. His enemies

lay near in augmented strength of position, and his resources had ominously decreased. Voltaire, who, from a friend, was become a bitter enemy, exulted over him in writing to the duke de Choiseul, the minister of France, calculating on his fall.

The campaign against the French was opened in February by prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, by attacking the duke de Broglie, and driving him out of Cassel. In their retreat towards the Maine, the French were attacked by the united forces of the Hanoverian general, Sporken, and the Prussian general Syburg, near Langensalza, who took from them three thousand prisoners, and captured or destroyed all their magazines. Prince Ferdinand followed up this advantage by attacking them in Marburg, Göttingen, and Ziegenhain, and applied himself particularly to the siege of Cassel. But Broglie, now recovered from his surprise, first defeated the hereditary prince of Brunswick, Ferdinand's nephew, at Stangerode, and then repulsed Ferdinand himself from Cassel.

The destruction of the French magazines delayed their operations till midsummer, when Broglie advanced from Cassel, and the prince Soubise from the Rhine, to give Ferdinand battle. On the march they again fell in with Sporken, and this time defeated one of his posts, and took nineteen pieces of cannon and eight hundred prisoners. The allies awaited them in front of the river Lippe, and betwixt that river and the Aest, near the village of Kirch-Denkern. The French united in the forest of Teutoburg—sacred ground to the Germans, where their great hero, Hermann, annihilated the Roman legions of Varus, and where, if anywhere, Germans must fight well. Ferdinand was strongly encamped with the river in front, and the English, under the marquis of Granby and general Conway, forming the centre and right of his position.

On the evening of the 15th of July, De Broglie, aiming at engrossing the honours of the victory—for the allied troops were inferior to him in numbers—fell suddenly on Granby's wing, where he, however, met a brave reception, and though the English for some time had to bear the whole brunt of the assault, he was driven back by them with heavy slaughter. The next morning prince Soubise, highly indignant at Broglie's conduct, renewed the attack on Granby's division, and the battle became general, the whole force of Soubise and Broglie being engaged. The conflict continued five hours, when the French were routed on all points, having lost, according to the allies, five thousand men, whilst they themselves had only lost one thousand five hundred. Both prince Ferdinand and Granby distinguished themselves highly by their gallantry and management. On the other hand, the French commanders fell into violent quarrel, Soubise accusing Broglie of intentionally beginning the action without concert with him, and Broglie charging Soubise with backwardness.

Notwithstanding the repulse at Kirch-Denkern, the French soon outnumbered the allies; but, as the commanders could not agree, they separated their forces, and Ferdinand was compelled to do the same to watch them. Broglie crossed the Weser and marched for Hanover, and Ferdinand followed him; whilst the hereditary prince of Brunswick threw himself betwixt Soubise and Munster,

which he menaced. The prince managed to save Munster by harassing Soubise, and destroying his magazines; and prince Ferdinand, seeing no other means of checking Broglie's advance into Hanover, directed his march into Hesse, where he destroyed the French magazines, and cut off Broglie's communication with the French forces in that quarter; a manoeuvre by which he compelled Broglie to halt on his march, and eventually return to Cassel, whilst Soubise retreated to the Lower Rhine. In one of the skirmishes, during these movements, Ferdinand's nephew, prince Henry Albert of Brunswick, was killed. The complaints of the French commanders were mutually carried home in their dispatches. Broglie, who had not the same court interest as Soubise, though far more popular with both army and people, was recalled, and banished to his estates.

If the French had been by no means successful in Germany, they had been much less in other quarters of the globe. In the East Indies we had taken Pondicherry, their chief settlement, from them, and thus remained masters of the whole coast of Coromandel, and of the entire trade with India. In the West Indies, the French had been fortifying Dominica, contrary to treaty, and lord Rollo and Sir James Douglas were sent thither, and speedily reduced it. France, indeed, was now fast sinking in exhaustion; her fleet was destroyed, her trade ruined, her people impoverished and discontented. All her colonies were gone, and at home there were serious differences betwixt the court and parliament, the church and the courts of law. Louis XV. was a man of no mark or ability, inclined to peace, and leaving all affairs to his ministers, and still more to his mistress, Madame de Pompadour. Choiseul was a man of talent, but of immense vanity, and little persistent firmness. He had undertaken the administration with an idea that he could check England and humble Prussia. In these objects he had signally failed. The people complained that he had ruined France in the vain endeavour to assist its ancient enemy, Austria. Choiseul was now anxious for peace, but, too proud to make the proposal directly, he induced the courts of Russia and Austria to do it. It was suggested that a congress should be held at Augsburg for settling the peace of Europe. England and Prussia readily consented, and the English government immediately named as its plenipotentiaries the earl of Egremont, lord Stormont, ambassador at Warsaw, and Sir Joseph Yorke, ambassador at the Hague. But the duke of Choiseul, anxious to have a clear understanding of the terms on which England and France were likely to treat, proposed a previous exchange of views, and dispatched for this purpose M. Bussey to London, whilst Mr. Pitt sent to Paris Mr. Hans Stanley, the grandson of Sir Hans Sloane. By the commencement of June these negotiators were each at his post. Bussey proved a captious, irritable person, and not well adapted for such a mission; but Stanley displayed a capacity for business, and put the cabinet at home into the most exact possession of the state of the French court, and the sentiments prevailing there. He informed Pitt that the king, alarmed at the attempt which had been made on his life by Damiens, was extremely timid and afraid of strange faces; that business was left to Choiseul, who was by no means a man of

business, though frank and even jocose in his manner; that he had great influence with the king, even against Madame Pompadour, and that there was disunion in the court, the Dauphin being regarded as favouring the Jesuits, and the Jesuits being charged with being the instigators of Damiens, since so famous as Robert-le-Diable, who stabbed the king in the midst of his guards in 1757.

Choiseul made, certainly, large offers for a peace. It was that each power should retain all such of its conquests as should be in its hands, subject to exchanges and equivalents, in Europe, on the 1st of May next; in America, the West Indies, and Africa, on the 1st of July; and in the East Indies on the 1st of September. This would include Canada, Cape Breton, Guadaloupe, Marigalante, Goree, Pondicherry, &c. Minorca and Göttingen he proposed to retain, as well as Amaboo and Acra, on the African coast, some other places being considered as equivalents. But Pitt had declared that he would never make another peace of Utrecht. He considered that we had France down, and he determined to retain everything of value. He therefore replied that the proper period for the *uti possidetis* principle of treaty to take place was that on which the treaty was really signed, that it might so happen that it would not be signed at the dates named, and he did this in order to complete a scheme, which he had already nearly accomplished, that of seizing on Belleisle, an island on the coast of France, in the Bay of Biscay, eleven miles long and four wide, high and rocky, containing, however, fertile plains, salt-works, and about five thousand inhabitants, mostly fishermen.

The possession of this island, Pitt knew very well, could be of no further use to England than as a humiliation to France, and as a set-off for Minorca. He had sent an armament against it, in April, consisting of nine thousand men, under general Hodgson, and several men-of-war under commodore Keppel. A landing was attempted on the 8th of that month, but was unsuccessful, five hundred men being killed in the endeavour. Pitt, by no means discouraged, sent out fresh reinforcements, and orders to persevere. On the 25th a fresh attempt was made in Locmaria Bay, and, notwithstanding the almost inaccessible nature of the rocks, our men forced their way, and besieged the governor, chevalier de St. Croix, in the strong fortress of Palais. St. Croix made a most gallant defence, seized general Crawford and two of his aides-de-camp, in a sally, killed some hundreds of men, and held out till the town was taken by storm, and then retired into the citadel. As the French had no fleet, and therefore no means of sending him succour, he was eventually compelled to capitulate on the 7th of June, on condition that he and his troops should march out with all the honours of war, and be set safely on the French coast.

The news of this loss was speedily followed in Paris by that of the loss of Dominica in the West, and of Pondicherry in the East Indies, as well as by the defeat at Kirch-Denkern.

These reverses were calculated to make France more compliant; yet Pitt was astonished to find, instead of compliance, a great spirit of resistance. Choiseul would by no means admit that Belleisle was an equivalent for Minorca.

He demanded Guadaloupe and Belleisle too, simply in lieu of the French conquests in Germany. He now demurred to the surrender of Cape Breton, or in any case to forego the right of fishing along its coasts. He was not content with Amaboo or Acra; he demanded Senegal or Goree. He demurred also to destroy the fortifications of Dunkirk, raised in contempt of the treaty of Utrecht. All captures made at sea previous to the declaration of war must be restored; and in Germany, though he was willing to withdraw the French troops, it was only on condition that the troops commanded by prince Ferdinand should not reinforce the Prussian army.

The secret of this wonderfully augmented boldness of tone on the part of France soon transpired. Choiseul had been endeavouring to secure the alliance of Spain, and saw himself about to succeed. Spain was smarting under many losses and humiliations from the English during the late war. The old question of England interfering with the traffic of the Spanish South American colonies remained, and had excited renewed bitterness by the daring with which the English merchants continued it. English cruisers had frequently, in pursuit of French ships, made free to mistake Spanish ones for French. Whilst England traded in defiance of Spain with her colonies, the English fishing vessels on the coasts of Newfoundland drove away the fishing vessels from the Basque provinces, which claimed a right to fish there by an article of the treaty of Utrecht. Whilst general Wall, the Spanish minister at Madrid, urged these complaints on the earl of Bristol, our ambassador there, and the comde de Fuentes, the Spanish ambassador in London, urged them on Pitt, and found little regard paid to these statements, Choiseul was dextrously inflaming the minds of the Spanish court against England on these grounds. He represented England as the universal tyrant of the seas, and the sworn enemy of every other maritime state. He offered to assist in the recovery of Gibraltar, and to make over Minorca to Spain. By these means he induced Spain to go into what became the celebrated FAMILY COMPACT—that is, a compact by which France and Spain bound themselves to mutually succour and support each other; to consider the enemy of either power the enemy of both in all quarters of the world; to give to the subjects of each residing in the dominions of the other all the privileges of native subjects; and to admit the king of Naples, the son of the Spanish king, to this compact, but no prince or potentate whatever, except he were of the house of Bourbon.

This was the sort of result of the succession of a Bourbon to the crown of Spain which had been foreseen from the first, which had inspired Louis XIV. with the scheme, and which had equally armed England, Holland, and Austria against it. Besides the general compact, there was a particular one, which engaged that, should England and France remain at war on the 1st of May, 1762, Spain should on that day declare war against England, and should at the same time receive possession of Minorca. The existence of these compacts was kept with all possible secrecy; but Mr. Stanley penetrated to a knowledge of them in Paris, and his information was fully confirmed from other sources. The lord marischal, who had received a pardon at the entreaty of the

king of Prussia, was paying a visit to his native country, and, being well acquainted with the language and diplomacy of Spain from his long residence and connections there, in an interview with Pitt gave him positive information of the compacts. This was still further corroborated by the British consul at Cadiz, who wrote that great preparations were making in the south of Spain, and the surprise of Gibraltar was not very secretly talked of. If these, however, had left any doubt, it would have been expelled by the receipt of a French memorial through M. Bussy, to which a second memorial on Spanish affairs was appended. These together demanded that all captures of Spanish vessels made during the war should be restored; the Spanish claim of fishing on the coasts of Newfoundland should be conceded, and that the English settlements in the bay of Honduras should be destroyed. These matters, the French memorial implied, were introduced in order that the negotiations betwixt England and France might not be liable to be frustrated by a third power, and it therefore proposed that Spain should be invited to take part in the treaty.

Pitt received the proposition with a tone of indignation that made it manifest that he would suffer no such interference of a third party—would not yield a step to any such alliance. He declared, in broad and plain terms, that his majesty would not permit the affairs of Spain to be introduced by France; that he would never suffer France to presume to meddle in any affairs betwixt himself and Spain, and that he should consider any further mention of such matters as a direct affront. A similar message was dispatched to the earl of Bristol in Spain, declaring that England was open to any proposals of negotiation from Spain, but not through the medium of France. This was, in fact, tantamount to a defiance to both France and Spain, and would undoubtedly have put an end to all further negotiation had there not been a purpose to serve. The Spanish treasure ships were yet out at sea on their way home. Any symptoms of hostility would insure their capture by the English, and cut off the very means of maintaining a war. General Wall, therefore, concealed all appearance of chagrin; admitted that the memorial had been presented by France with the full consent of his catholic majesty, but professed the most sincere desire for the continuance of peaceful relations.

Pitt was not for a moment deceived. He saw that the war with France and Spain was inevitable, and he recommended that we should be ready to act on the instant, and to seize the treasure ships, which would render Spain utterly impotent. So far from seeing any hazard from this combined war, he foresaw the prospect of the easiest and most valuable conquest of the Spanish colonies. France had no fleet to help her, and his mind, in its wide and daring range, contemplated the seizure of the isthmus of Panama, thus opening up to us free access to the Pacific, and cutting off the communication betwixt Spain, Mexico, and Peru. Cuba and the Philippine Islands he proposed to take, and add them permanently to our dominions, and, considering the state of insecurity of these splendid possessions at that time, and the utter inability of Spain or France to prevent us, they must have been secured with comparative ease.

He had now received the ultimatum of France, which yielded several points, but not that of the restitution of

prizes, or of the neutrality of Germany. He broke off the negotiation, recalled Stanley from Paris, dismissed Bussy from London, and advised an immediate declaration of war against Spain, whilst it was yet in our power to seize the treasure ships. But there was but one Pitt—one great mind capable of grasping the affairs of a nation, and of seizing on the deciding circumstances with the promptness essential to effect. The rest were feeble and purblind creatures, dazzled by the light which enabled Pitt to see distant objects, and hesitating where they should have acted. To their narrow and earth-bound vision his clear sight appeared wild presumption. The usually timid Newcastle became suddenly courageous with alarm. Bute pronounced Pitt's proposal as "rash and unadvisable;" the king, obstinate as was his tendency, declared that, if his ministers had yielded to such a policy, he would not; and Pitt, having laboured in vain to move this stolid mass of ministerial imbecility through three cabinet councils, at last, in the beginning of October, declared that, as he was called to the ministry by the people, and held himself responsible to them, he would no longer occupy a position, the duties of which he was not able to discharge. He warned them that now was the time to humble the whole house of Bourbon; that if it were neglected, such an opportunity might never again occur; and he resigned.

Lord Granville, the president of the council, once very loud in his boasts of a determined policy, now taunted the great minister, by saying that he was by no means sorry to see him retire; that though he might think himself infallible, they also had their opinions, and were not convinced of the superior wisdom of his. It would have been well had they been so. On the 5th of October, when Pitt waited on the king to surrender the seals, George received him in a very different manner. He made a full and frank avowal of his sense of his great services, and offered him any reward in the power of the crown. Pitt was melted to tears, expressed his sense of the royal goodness, and withdrew. Thus closed the most glorious tenure of office by any minister, perhaps, in the annals of England. When Pitt assumed the reins, the character of England was sinking daily; her wealth was wasted in useless endeavours to prop up German nations; her fleets and armies were disgraced; Minorca was lost; her enemies were making steady inroads on her American colonies. Within the short space of five years, all that had been reversed. The French islands of Guadaloupe, Desiada, Marigalante, and Dominica, had been taken in the West Indies; in Africa we had taken their settlements of Goree, Senegal, and others. In the East Indies, Clive, Coote, and others, had made themselves masters of Calcutta, Pondicherry, and Arcot, and laid the foundations of our present great Indian empire. The French had not only been driven out of our North American colonies, but their colonies of Canada and Cape Breton had been reft from them, and added permanently to the British crown. The prestige of the fleet had been restored by admirals Boscawen, Hawke, Watson, and other brave officers, inspired by the spirit at the helm; and though Pitt, following his one great ambition, instead of the spirit of opposition, had continued the war in Germany, it was no longer, as well observed by lady Harvey in her Letters, "to

spend vast sums in purchasing infamy and disgrace; we had success and honour for our money."

CHAPTER II.

REIGN OF GEORGE III. (Continued.)

Bute Prime Minister—A Pension bestowed on Pitt, with a Peerage to his Wife—Dowry for the Queen—War with Spain declared—Prussian Subsidy discontinued—Death of the Czarina—Policy of the Czar Peter—Newcastle resigns—John Wilkes commences his Career—Fights with Lord Talbot—Birth of the Prince of Wales—Assassination of the Czar—Usurpation of the Throne by his Wife and Murderess, Catherine—War in Silesia—in Westphalia and Portugal—Cuba and the Philippine Islands taken by England—Preliminaries of Peace signed at Fontainebleau—Ministerial Changes—Pitt opposes the Peace—Its Conclusion—Peace of Hubertsburg betwixt Prussia and Austria—The Cider Tax—Great Unpopularity of Bute—He resigns—George Grenville Prime Minister—Fox created Baron Holland—Wilkes starts "The North Briton"—Committed to the Tower—Discharged—Retires to Paris—Popular Rejoicings at his Return—Overtures to Pitt—His Terms refused—Former Ministry restored—Accession of Duke of Bedford—Wilkes' "Essay on Woman"—Fights a Second Duel—Retires again to Paris—The Question of General Warrants—Grenville resolves to Tax our American Colonies.

THE Bute ministry was now in power, and determined on

but men of aristocratic connection. For this reason he conferred the privy seal on the duke of Bedford, and the seal of secretary on the earl of Egremont, who had nothing remarkable about him but his earldom, and being the son of Sir William Wyndham, who had great talents, but had not transmitted them to his son. To break the force of popular indignation for the loss of Pitt from the helm—for the people knew who was the great man and successful minister well enough—the king was advised to confer some distinguished mark of favour on Pitt. He was offered the government of Canada as a sinecure, with five thousand pounds a year. Pitt was not the man to undertake a highly responsible office without discharging the duties, and he was next offered the chancellorship of the duchy of Lancaster; but he preferred a simple pension of three thousand pounds a-year, and that a title should be conferred on his wife. By this arrangement he was left in the house of commons, and in a position to continue his exertions for the country. Both these suggestions were complied with.

Much abuse was heaped on Pitt for the acceptance of a



GREAT SEAL OF ENGLAND, TIME OF GEORGE III.

reversing the policy of Pitt—policy which had added so magnificently to the territory and glory of the country. Bubb Dodington congratulated Bute on being delivered from a most impracticable colleague, his majesty from a most imperious servant, and the country from a most dangerous minister. He intimated that Pitt had gone out because he saw that he could not carry on the war on its present footing, and had left his successors to bear the discredit of its failure. These were the talk of little men, incapable either of comprehending or following out the measures of a great one. Pitt was only impracticable, and imperious, and dangerous, because he was too vigorous and far-seeing to work in harness with pigmies, and must drag their dead weight along with him or retire. They were soon to be taught their own folly.

Bute had now to seek powerful connections to enable him to carry on. The commonplace man seeks to make up for his feebleness by associating with him, not men of merit,

pension. "What!" cried Walpole, "to blast one's character for the sake of a paltry annuity and a long-necked peeress!" "Oh, that foolishness of great men!" exclaimed Gray, the poet. And Sir Francis Delaval said that Pitt was a fool; if he had gone into the City and asked for a subscription he might have had three hundred thousand pounds instead of three thousand pounds a year. But all these clever men talked beside the mark. Pitt was not a rich man; and, if any man ever deserved a reward from his country for his services, it was he. The conquest of Canada alone was surely worth more than a pension of three thousand pounds a year for three lives—his own, his wife's, and that of his eldest son. It was not the City, but the country, which owed Pitt a mark of recognition of his services. It was not for him to go a-begging; but he had a great right, when his country offered him a small reward, to suggest what it should be. Pitt understood, if his accusers did not, that the mischief of conferring pensions is

not in conferring them for real services, but for no services, or for real disservices, and another thing to give them where due. He accepted his pension as his due—a reward for the past, not a tongue-tie for the future; and he soon showed the government that he regarded his pension as given by the country, and not by the crown, which was only the medium.

Much also was made of the unpopularity which his

diverted from the king and the new queen to the simple chariot and pair in which Pitt and his brother-in-law, lord Temple, were following. The crowd left the royal coach to throng round the carriage of Pitt, with the most thundering acclamations, and numbers of the mob hung upon the wheels, hugged his coachman, and kissed his horses. The sight was wormwood to the court and his enemies, and he now was blamed for making this parade of



QUEEN CHARLOTTE, CONSORT OF KING GEORGE III FROM AN AUTHENTIC PORTRAIT.

acceptance of this reward had produced towards him. It was said that there was great indignation against him in the City, and Pitt himself was made to believe it; but the falsity of this was speedily demonstrated. The common council voted him an address of thanks for his public services, and instructed their representatives in parliament to press on government his line of politics. On the 9th of November—Lord Mayor's Day—when the royal family went in state to dine at Guildhall, the public attention was

2.—N.S.

himself in presence of royalty. The parade was not made by Pitt; nothing could be more simple or unostentatious than his appearance; but the parade was in his renown, which overshadowed all mere splendours of rank, and reduced them to their proper but mortifying level.

Ministers were not only compelled to witness the acknowledged glory of their rival—they were compelled to pursue the policy which he had so successfully inaugurated. With all the determination of lord Bute and his colleagues

to make a speedy peace, they found it impossible. The Family Compact betwixt France and Spain was already signed; and in various quarters of the world Pitt's plans were so far in progress that they must go on. In east and west, his plans for the conquest of Havana, of the Philippine Isles, and for other objects, were not to be abruptly abandoned; and ministers were compelled to carry out his objects, in many particulars, spite of themselves.

The new parliament met on the 3rd of November. George Grenville, the brother of lord Temple, now treasurer of the navy, was the person who had been designed by his party for the speakership, and for which he was well qualified by his habits. He had of late deserted Pitt, his brother-in-law, and become an active supporter of Bute. Bute calculated on him to take the lead, as ministerial member, in the commons, and Sir John Cust, the member for Grantham, was elected speaker in his stead. The king's speech was framed on the old basis of Pitt's policy: it declared that the war should be vigorously prosecuted, and praised the king of Prussia, as our able and magnanimous ally; at the same time that there was the utmost secret aversion to the war, and a settled determination to abandon Frederick. Pitt showed, by the tempered freedom of his remarks, that he was not likely to be at all fettered in the expression of his opinions by his pension. On the other hand, the most ungenerous attacks were made on him, especially by Colonel Barré, a young Irishman of talent, who had solicited from and been refused favours by Pitt, and now poured out on him his vengeful bile. He had only sate two days in the house, when he denounced Pitt as a profligate minister, deserving the execration of mankind; and declared that he had too long been allowed to tear out the bowels of his mother country. Pitt passed the worthless onslaught without notice.

The first topic of the royal speech called on the commons to settle the dowry of the queen. The precedent of queen Caroline was adopted, and a hundred thousand pounds a year settled on Charlotte, in case of her surviving the king. When George went to the house of lords to give the royal assent to the act, which was passed accordingly, he brought the queen with him, who sate in a chair at his right hand, and characteristically expressed her thanks by rising and bowing to the king. Royalty could not admit that the handsome settlement came from the nation, but from the king; and therefore the thanks were not given to parliament, but to the crown.

And now the unpleasant truth was forced on the attention of ministers, that the war which Pitt declared to be inevitable was so, and that he had recommended the only wise measure. The country was now destined to pay the penalty of their folly and stupidity, in rejecting Pitt's proposal to declare war against Spain at once, and strip her of the means of offence, her treasure ships. Lord Bristol, our ambassador at Madrid, announced to lord Bute, in a dispatch of the 2nd of November, that these ships had arrived, and that all the wealth which Spain expected from her American colonies for the next year was safe at home. And he had to add that, with this, Wall, the minister, had thrown off the mask, and had assumed the most haughty and insolent language towards this country. This was a

confession on the part of lord Bristol that he had suffered Wall to throw dust in his eyes till his object was accomplished, and it made patent the fact that Pitt had been too sagacious to be deceived; but that the new ministers, whilst insulting Pitt and forcing him to resign, had been themselves completely duped. Spain now, in the most peremptory terms, demanded redress for all her grievances; and, before the year had closed, the Bute cabinet was compelled to recall lord Bristol from Madrid, and to order Fuentes, the Spanish ambassador in London, to quit the kingdom.

On the 4th of January, 1762, declaration of war was issued against Spain. Thus the nation was engaged in the very war which Pitt declared to be unavoidable; but with this difference, through the rejection of his advice, that we had to fight Spain with her treasury full instead of empty, and of her means of war being transferred to us. But such lessons are lost on inferior minds. Neither king nor ministers, seeing the wisdom of Pitt's policy and the folly of their own, were prevented from committing another such absurdity. They abandoned Frederick of Prussia at his greatest need. They refused to vote his usual subsidy. Bute contended that the true policy of this country was to keep clear of continental quarrels—a grand truth, which we have again and again insisted upon in this History—but he did not see that, being deep in such a quarrel, and our ally contending against gigantic odds, it was equally base and dishonourable to abandon him in such circumstances. Engagements may be properly avoided, which, when made, cannot be abruptly torn asunder without disgraceful and even criminal conduct. The consequences of this blind and ungenerous policy were as pregnant with future evil to this country as it was petty in itself. Prussia, indignant at our breach of faith, at our shameful desertion of her in her utmost extremity, refused to assist us when our own colonies of America rebelled against us, and France lent her ready aid to avenge the deprivation of Canada. Then, as we had left Prussia to stand alone, we were left to stand alone, instead of having a staunch, because a grateful, friend in the Prussian king and people. By this same execrable proceeding—for we not only abandoned Frederick, but made overtures to Austria, with which he was engaged in a mortal struggle—we thus threw him into the arms and close alliance of Russia, and were, by this, the indirect means of that guilty confederation by which Poland was afterwards rent in pieces by these powers. "Seldom, indeed," justly observes lord Mahon, "has any minister, with so short a tenure of power, been the cause of so great evils. Within a year and a half he had lost the king his popularity, and the kingdom its allies."

One of those allies, Frederick of Prussia, found himself as suddenly furnished with a new friend as he had been abandoned by England. On the 5th of January, 1762, died the czarina Elizabeth. She was succeeded by her nephew, the duke of Holstein, under the title of Peter III. Peter was an enthusiastic admirer of the Prussian king; he was extravagant and incessant in his praises of him. He accepted the commission of a colonel in the Prussian service, wore its uniform, and was bent on clothing his own troops in it. It was clear that he was not quite sane, for he immediately recalled the Russian army which was acting against Frederick.

hastened to make peace with him, and offered to restore all that had been won from him in the war, even to Prussia Proper, which the Russians had possession of. His example was eagerly seized upon by Sweden, which was tired of the war. Both Russia and Sweden signed treaties of peace with Frederick in May, and Peter went further: he dispatched an army into Silesia, where it had so lately been fighting against him, to fight against Austria.

Elated by this extraordinary turn of affairs, the Prussian ambassador renewed his applications for money, urging that, now Russia had joined Frederick, it would be easy to subdue Austria and terminate the war. This was an opportunity for Bute to retrace with credit his steps; but he argued, on the contrary, that, having the aid of Russia, Frederick did not want that of England: and is even accused of endeavouring to persuade Russia to continue its hostilities against Prussia; and thus he totally alienated a power which might have hereafter rendered us essential service, without gaining a single point.

A fresh extension of the war, instead of a contraction of it, soon developed itself. We were bound by ancient treaties to assist Portugal in any hostile crisis, and that country was now called upon by France and Spain to renounce our alliance and declare against us. Large bodies of troops were marched to its frontiers to add weight to these demands, but the king of Portugal most honourably refused to break with his old allies, whatever might happen to him. War was instantly declared against him by both Spain and France; troops were marched to invade his territories and unite them to Spain; and king Joseph sent an urgent appeal to London for succour. On the 11th of May the king sent down a royal message to the house of commons, recommending them to take measures for the assistance of Portugal. A vote of a million pounds for that purpose was proposed and carried, but not without opposition from lord George Sackville, who complained of the wonderful expenditure which had taken place in the German wars, and denounced this as excessive. Pitt started up to defend himself against any charge of corruption in the appropriation of the money whilst he was in office, opening his hand, shaking his fingers, and crying, "They are clean! none of it sticks to them!" He reminded them that, had they taken his advice, this Spanish war could hardly have existed; but, he continued, undauntedly, "You who are for continental measures, I am with you; you who are for assisting the king of Portugal, I am with you; and you who are for putting an end to the war, I am with you also; in short, I am the only man to be found that is with you all!"

The session was growing to a close, and no vote for the king of Prussia's subsidy was brought forward. The duke of Newcastle, man of mediocre merit as he was, saw further than Bute into the disgraceful nature of thus abandoning a powerful ally at an extremity, as well as the impolicy of converting such a man into a mortal enemy; and, finding all remonstrances vain, resigned. Bute was glad to be rid of him; and Newcastle, finding both his remonstrance and resignation taken very coolly, had the meanness to seek to regain a situation in the cabinet, but without effect, and threw himself into the opposition.

On Newcastle's resignation Bute placed himself at the

head of the treasury, and named George Grenville secretary of state—a fatal nomination, for Grenville lost America. Lord Barrington, though an adherent of Newcastle, became treasurer of the navy; and Sir Francis Dashwood chancellor of the exchequer. Bute, who, like all weak favourites, had not the sense to perceive that it was necessary to be moderate to acquire permanent power, immediately obtained a vacant garter, and thus parading the royal favours, augmented the rapidly growing unpopularity which his want of sagacity and honourable principle was fast creating. He was beset by legions of libels, which fully exposed his incapacity, and as freely dealt with the connection betwixt himself and the mother of the king.

Amongst these libellers now started into notice John Wilkes, a name destined to figure before the public for many long years, and to draw around it the enthusiasm of the people, as the great champion of political liberty. Wilkes was one of those demagogues with a certain amount of talent, and any amount of audacity, who are forced into notoriety by the folly and despotism of governments. He was the son of a distiller in Clerkenwell, who had received a classical education, translated parts of Anacreon, and published editions of Theophrastus and Catullus, by which he acquired the acquaintance of Pitt, lord Temple, and other persons of rank and distinction. But his character was by no means of a stamp to recommend him. He was notorious for his excesses and dissipation. He had ill-used and quarrelled with his wife, and separated from her under disgraceful circumstances, being only compelled by law to allow her an annuity. He was at this time member of parliament for Aylesbury, and had just commenced a newspaper called "The North Briton," in opposition to one published in defence of Bute's administration, called "The Briton." Parliament was prorogued on the 2nd of June, and Wilkes's paper appeared immediately, and was excessively abusive, not only of Bute, but of Scotland and Scotchmen generally.

Amongst his most active coadjutors was Charles Churchill, the satirist, a man of much caustic vigour, as his works testify, but, like Wilkes, a most dissipated rake, though a clergyman, who, like Wilkes, had also separated from his wife, and lived by satirising the actors, in his "Rosciad;" Dr. Johnson, in "The Ghost;" Hogarth, in an Epistle to that great painter, and by aiming his missives at all sorts of persons and parties. Churchill, by the encouragement of Wilkes, published his "Prophecy of Famine, a Scots' Pastoral," which he inscribed to Wilkes. In this satire he describes Scotland as the most barren and miserable of countries, and in terms which showed that he had never seen it, for he makes its rivers, the most lovely of mountain streams, dull and stagnant:—

Where, slowly winding, the dull waters creep,
And seem themselves to own the power of sleep.

Famine appears to "the poor, mean, despised race" of Scotchmen, and tells them to quit an accursed country where—

Far as the eye could reach no tree was seen,
Earth clad in russet scorned the lively green:
The plague of locusts certain to defy,
For in three hours a grasshopper must die:
No living thing, whatever its food, feeds there,
But the chameleon, who can feast on air

She bids them quit this poverty-stricken country, and points

them to the rich plains and lucrative offices of England, where Bute, that son of Fortune, is opening the way for them; where, she says, instead of

A barren desert, we shall seize rich plains,
Where milk with honey flows, and plenty reigns;
With some few natives joined—some pliant few,
Who worship Int'rest, and one track pursue,
There shall we, though the wretched people grieve,
Ravage at large, nor ask the owners' leave.

The success of these two congenial friends was soon conspicuous, and they managed to fan the spirit of animosity betwixt England and Scotland to a degree only inferior to the rancour which they fostered betwixt the political parties. We shall soon have to trace the effects of this literary war, in the measures taken by ministers to put down Wilkes, but which only made him the idol of the people.

On the 12th of August the queen was delivered of a son, the future George IV., the first-born of a family of fifteen—nine sons and six daughters.

Whilst Bute had been depriving Frederick of Prussia of his usual subsidy, a wonderful turn of fortune occurred to that monarch, and liberated him from his difficulties. The admiration of Peter III. of Russia had caused him to send an army of twenty thousand men into Silesia to the aid of Frederick. These were commanded by general Czernicheff, and enabled the Prussian king to assume the aggressive against the Austrians, compelling marshal Daun to take up the very position occupied by Frederick the year before—a strong entrenched camp for the defence of Schweidnitz. Frederick and the Russian general were on the point of making a joint attack on this camp, when, on the 19th of July, Czernicheff waited on the Prussian king with astounding tidings. There had been a revolution in Russia. Peter III. was murdered; his wife Catherine had usurped the throne, and had recalled the Russian army.

This revolution, so fatal to the hopes of Frederick, had been in a great measure produced by Peter's absurd passion for everything connected with Frederick. Peter had not contented himself with making peace with him, and sending forces to help him; he endeavoured to introduce Prussian regulations and fashions into both the state and army. He ordered the much more graceful Russian uniform to be set aside, and the stiff and formal one of Prussia to be adopted; he affected Frederick's contempt for religion, and attempted innovations in the church—amongst other things compelling the clergy to shave off their beards. But there were other causes than his Prussian mania which excited the resentment of his subjects. Like George of England with Hanover, he regarded himself with more complacency as duke of Holstein than as emperor of Russia. He prepared to make war on Denmark for its treatment of Holstein, and, what eventually became the most fatal to him, he quarrelled with and slighted his wife, a princess of the German house of Anhalt-Zerbst-Dornburg, and gave himself up to the society of his mistress, a niece of the chancellor Woronzow, and a sister of the princess Deschkow.

The czarina Catherine was not a woman to brook indignity. She was a person of the most determined character, the most powerful passions, which converted her afterwards into a modern *Messalina*. She suddenly left the emperor with his mistress at his country palace of Peterhof, at

Oranienbaum, hastened to the capital, and, availing herself of the general discontent, gathered around her a number of resolute partisans, at the head of whom was Gregory Orloff, her paramour, and his brother Alexia, officers of the guards. The Orloffs gathered a body of the guards around her, to whom they had communicated their plan, and, on the 9th of July, 1762, they declared the emperor deposed. The troops who were called out raised a loud hurrah, supposing his son was about to be proclaimed. But presently a manifesto was read, announcing that the Russian people had deposed Peter as the sworn enemy of the country and the church, and had elected the empress, by the name of Catherine II., as the czarina. Brandy and beer were plentifully given to the soldiers; the priests were sent for to consecrate the empress, which was done by the archbishop of Novogorod. In the course of a forenoon the revolution was complete. The news flew to Oranienbaum, and count Münnich advised Peter to fly instantly to Cronstadt, where he would be secure in the great fortress, and where the fleet would enable him to bring the insurgents in the city to obedience. They were about embarking, when Peter's Holstein guards arrived, and he deemed himself too strong to have any cause of fear. The news that Catherine was approaching with twenty thousand men again alarmed him, and he sailed for Cronstadt, but too late: the czarina had won it over. He returned to Oranienbaum, and there weakly gave himself up to his treacherous wife, though Münnich earnestly implored him to flee to Frederick of Prussia.

Catherine shut him up in a country house at Robshak, and a week afterwards he was murdered by one or both of the Orloffs, the court giving out that he died of hæmorrhoidal colic. Such sudden deaths are frequent amongst Russian monarchs. Peter had, amongst the generous things which, with all his eccentricity, he did, taken out of prison the boy Ivan, whom the czarina Anna had appointed her heir, but whom the czarina Elizabeth had set aside. Catherine again seized and shut him up in prison, where he also was afterwards murdered. In the original manifesto issued by Catherine, Frederick of Prussia was declared to be "the worst enemy of Russia." The order by Peter to evacuate Prussia as foes and to assist Frederick was countermanded; but, on examining Peter's papers, a letter of Frederick's was discovered, advising the czar to more prudent conduct, and to a more honourable treatment of his wife. This greatly mollified the disposition of Catherine towards Frederick, and she contented herself alone with the recall of the forces, but without violating the peace.

Confounded as Frederick was by this change of affairs, he prevailed on Czernicheff to keep secret the imperial order for three days, whilst he attacked Daun's outposts on the heights of Burkersdorf and Leutmannersdorf, which he drove in with brilliant success, taking a great number of prisoners, and seventeen pieces of cannon. This affair is frequently called the battle of Reichenbach. Czernicheff contributed essentially to the victory, though he did not fight; for his troops, being drawn out as spectators, kept a great body of Daun's men in inaction, watching them. On the following day Czernicheff took a friendly leave of Frederick, who presented him with valuable presents, and he commenced his march homewards.

On the 8th of August Frederick sat down before Schweid-

nitz, which cost him much trouble, expense, and bloodshed before it surrendered, on the 9th of October. In Saxony, meantime, the king's brother had defeated at Freyberg the united forces of Austria and the empire, and thus terminated the campaign which had been altogether disastrous to Maria Theresa, though at its commencement Frederick had appeared in the last extremity.

Ferdinand of Brunswick maintained the struggle manfully in Westphalia, notwithstanding the change of policy in England tended to cast a damp on the war. Still, the pay for the army had not been withdrawn, as Frederick's subsidy had, and Ferdinand exerted himself with his usual spirit. He had still to contend with two French armies. The one before commanded by Broglie was now commanded by D'Estrées; the other, as before, by prince Soubise. Prince Xavier commanded a separate detachment, and the prince of Condé headed a reserve on the Lower Rhine. Ferdinand attacked the enemy on the 24th of June at Wilhelmsthal, and drove them to Cassel, with a loss of four thousand men. Towards the end of July he defeated, by the help of lord Granby, prince Xavier at Luttenberg, and finally took Göttingen and Cassel. Ferdinand's success was complete; but, on the other hand, his nephew, the hereditary prince, was defeated by Condé, at Johannisberg, with heavy loss.

England, as Pitt had foreseen, was now called on to defend her ancient ally from the attacks of Spain, and the renewed attack of France. The kings of Spain had long desired to absorb Portugal, and embody it permanently as a part of their own country. Supported by France, which promised to give her faithful aid in the enterprise, Spain now called on Emanuel Joseph, the king of Portugal, to renounce the English alliance. Spain and France designated the English as the common enemies of all maritime states: insisted that he should order all English merchants to quit his kingdom, and all English ships his ports. Under pretence of defending him against the vengeance of England, they offered to garrison his ports and fortresses with French and Spanish soldiers. The king of Portugal could regard this proposal as nothing less than an attempt to seize his kingdom, under the show of protecting it. He had strictly maintained the neutrality with these nations, and he now refused to comply with this imperious demand. Four days only were allowed for his answer, and, on receiving his decided negative, the Spanish and French ambassadors quitted Lisbon, and the Spanish troops on the frontiers began their march for the invasion.

Portugal was in the worst possible condition to resist an enemy. The earthquake in 1755, and a conspiracy in 1756, had reduced the country to a much feebler condition than usual. The king was a lawless debauchee, and the conspiracy had been excited by his licentious conduct. He had dishonoured the marchioness of Tavora, and the duchess of Aveiro and her daughter. He had narrowly escaped with his life in one of these scandalous adventures, and he had sanguinarily avenged the conspiracy of the houses of Aveiro and Tavora, by beheading the chiefs of these houses, who had sought to punish the outrage committed against them, and by burning the Jesuit, Malagrida, at the stake.

Besides the disaffection arising from these causes, the country was suffering from the want of government. The

finances were in the most deplorable condition; the army, such as it was, did not exceed twenty thousand; the fortresses were in ruins; the army did not possess a single commander of note; and the fleet numbered only six ships of the line, and a few frigates. The conde de Oeyras, afterwards the celebrated marquis de Pombal, was beginning, but only beginning, to institute the necessary reforms. Spain, therefore, calculated on making an easy prey of the country; but, fortunately for Portugal, Spain itself was in little better condition. Lord Tyrawley, who was then in Portugal, wrote to Mr. Pitt that, such was the condition of the two countries, an army on the frontiers between them might take its choice whether it would march to Lisbon or Madrid. Still more fortunate was it for Portugal that she possessed the alliance of England, which was at this very time attacking the Spanish colonies both east and west, and capturing her treasure ships on the home-bound voyage.

The Spaniards, with twenty thousand men, under the marquis of Saria, entered the *Tras os Montes*, and took the towns of Miranda, Braganza, and Chaves, with Torre de Moncorvo. Another party of Spaniards penetrated south of Douro into Beira, and took Almeida. They were, however, bravely resisted by the peasantry, who withstood them more effectually than the regular troops, being commanded by some British officers. These peasants they hanged and shot whenever they fell into their hands; and their incensed comrades committed, in return, the most merciless barbarities on their prisoners.

The Portuguese were soon relieved from the unequal strife by the landing of eight thousand British soldiers, commanded by lord Tyrawley, with the earl of Loudon, lord George Lennox, general Townshend, brigadiers Crawford and Burgoyne, under him. Tyrawley soon resigned, being heartily disgusted with the people and the service, and lord Loudon succeeded him. The Portuguese army was intrusted to count la Lippe, who had been master of artillery to prince Ferdinand, in Germany. Lippe showed an activity worthy of the school he had studied in. He collected his forces at Puente de Marcello to prevent the advance of the Spaniards north of the Douro, and he dispatched brigadier Burgoyne to make a diversion by falling on Valencia D'Alcantara. Burgoyne executed this commission admirably. He struck through the mountains by Castel da Vida; and, after a forced march of five days, through a most rugged and difficult country, carried Valencia D'Alcantara by a *coup-de-main*, securing a great quantity of arms, ammunition, and stores, and taking prisoner a Spanish general, with all his staff. He also levied considerable sums on the town, and made his retreat as successfully. This brilliant movement confounded the plans of the Spaniards, but did not prevent the count D'Aranda taking Almeida and Ciudad Rodrigo. D'Aranda then marched for Castel Branco, and succeeded in crossing the Tagus, at Villa Velha, in spite of a force under count St. Jago. Meantime, Burgoyne, who was posted at Niza, threw a detachment across the Tagus, under colonel Lee, on a dark night, whilst he himself occupied the attention of the Spaniards by feigning to attack them in front from Niza. Lee's detachment thus came suddenly on the rear of the Spaniards, surprised and



CATHERINE II. SUPPORTED BY THE ARMY AT ST. PETERSBURG.



STORMING THE FORTRESS OF MORO.

routed them with great slaughter, destroyed their magazines, and spiked their guns, returning loaded with booty, and bringing great numbers of prisoners.

The autumnal rains now setting in, D'Aranda found himself harassed on all sides by the peasantry, his provisions exhausted; and the expected French reinforcements, under the prince de Beauvau, nowhere appearing, he dismantled the few fortresses that he had taken, and made a hasty retreat into Spain again.

This campaign was humiliating enough to the proud Spaniards, who had foolishly listened to the interested persuasions of France; but this was the least part of their losses and mortifications. The English fleets were everywhere busy attacking their colonies, and cutting off their ships at sea. The "*Hermione*," a treasure ship, returning from Lima, with nearly a million sterling on board, was captured off Cape St. Vincent by two of our frigates. The expeditions sent out against the Spanish possessions, in the West Indies and the Indian Ocean, proved most successful. A fleet had been dispatched, under admiral Rodney, at the latter end of the last year, against Martinico, carrying nearly twelve thousand men, commanded by general Monckton. They landed on the 7th of January at Cas de Navires, besieged and took Port Royal, the capital of St. Pierre, and, finally, the whole island. This was followed by the surrender of St. Vincent, Grenada, and St. Lucia, so that the English were now masters of the whole of the Caribbees.

A portion of this squadron, under Sir James Douglas, then proceeded to join an expedition, which sailed from Portsmouth on the 5th of March; the fleet commanded by admiral Sir George Pococke, and the army by the earl of Albemarle. On the addition of Sir James Douglas's squadron, the whole force, which was destined for Cuba, amounted to nineteen ships of the line, eighteen frigates, and other smaller vessels, with a hundred and fifty transports, carrying ten thousand men.

The squadron arrived before Havanna on the 4th of June—king George's birthday—and effected a landing without much difficulty. But the difficulties lay in the climate, which, during the summer, is deadly to the European, and to soldiers, who had to labour and fight under the fierce sun, it proved tremendously so. The city, as the great depot of the Spanish West Indian trade, was strongly fortified, and contained a garrison equal in number to the besiegers. In the port lay twelve ships of the line; the port was surmounted by strong bastions and batteries, and its narrow entrance, defended by two forts, Puntal and Moro, deemed almost impregnable. The English commenced their attack first on the Moro, on the 12th of June; but they found the utmost difficulty in casting up batteries, in consequence of the fortress standing on a bare rock. Besides this, the artillery had to be dragged for a great distance over a very rugged shore; and such was the excessive labour, that several of the men fell exhausted, and died from the heat and fatigue. Still, on the 12th of June, they commenced playing with their batteries on the Moro; but they found the Spaniards respond with vigour to their attack, fighting not only bravely from the walls, but making desperate sallies to drive them from their guns.

In order to silence their guns, three ships of the line were brought up as near as possible to the Moro, to act on it from the sea, simultaneously with the batteries on land, but they were soon compelled to draw off. When the besiegers were beginning to despair, some further reinforcements, from New York and the West Indian Islands, gave them fresh spirit. Eight hundred marines were also landed from the fleet, and it was determined to carry the fort by storm. On the 30th of July a mine was sprung, a breach, though only a narrow one, was effected, and through that the British troops, fighting furiously, forced their way. The commander of the fort, Don Louis de Velasco, and the second in command, the marquis de Gonzales, fell mortally wounded in defending the breach.

The next attack was on the city itself. It was not, however, till the 12th of August that they were ready with their batteries. The effect of the bombardment was almost instantaneous. Within six hours nearly all the enemy's guns were silenced, and the next day the Spaniards capitulated, agreeing to yield not only the place, and the vessels in the harbour, but the country for a hundred and eighty miles to the westward; in fact, all the best part of Cuba. The booty taken was valued at nearly three million pounds; but the same dishonourable conduct in the distribution of the prize money, which has too often disgraced our service, was most flagrant here, and excited the loudest murmurs. The admiral and general pocketed each one hundred and twenty-two thousand six hundred and ninety-seven pounds; the sea captains one thousand six hundred pounds each; the field officers only five hundred and sixty-four pounds each; the land captains only one hundred and eighty-four pounds each, not so much as a naval lieutenant, who had each two hundred and thirty-four pounds; whilst the poor sailors had merely three pounds fourteen shillings and ninepence each! and the soldiers, who had borne the brunt of the heat, the labour, and the fighting, received the paltry sum of four pounds one shilling and eightpence each! What had been the nature of the service to these poor fellows may be known from the fact, that one thousand one hundred of them were killed by the climate and the enemy, and of the remaining army, of at least ten thousand men, not more than two thousand five hundred were capable of service. By this conquest, the passage of the Spanish plate-fleets was left entirely at our mercy.

In the East Indies, immediately afterwards, another severe blow was inflicted on Spain. An expedition sailed from Madras, and admiral Cornish conveyed in a small fleet a body of men amounting to two thousand three hundred, and consisting of one regiment of the line, in addition to marines and sepoy. Colonel William Draper, afterwards so well known for his spirited contest with the still undiscovered author of "*Junius's Letters*," was the commander. They landed near Manila, the capital of the Philippine Islands, on the 24th of September, the Spanish garrison there being taken completely by surprise, having received no information of the war. But the archbishop, who was also governor of the whole group of islands, defended the place with the bravery of a bishop of the earlier ages. He summoned the natives to his aid, and, with about eight hundred Spanish regulars, endeavoured to drive out the

invaders. The Indians fought with the utmost ferocity, though only armed with bows and spears, and, when pierced by the bayonets, turned and gnawed them with their teeth like wild beasts. These poor people had no chance against European artillery, and were mowed down or dispersed; and, on the 6th of October, the twelfth day after landing, Manila was carried by storm. Admiral Parker, who was made a baronet for his services on this occasion, and became well known as Sir Hyde Parker, and captain Kempenfelt, who became rear-admiral Kempenfelt, and was lost in the "Royal George," off Portsmouth, most ably supported the movements of the troops. Though the town was taken, the archbishop still held out in the citadel, and only surrendered on conditions. These were to pay a ransom of two millions of dollars for the lives and safety of the inhabitants and their property. This was a cheap purchase; for, though Draper agreed to accept an order on the treasury in Madrid for the same amount, there was very little prospect of this second sum ever being paid. The invaders had, however, helped themselves pretty freely to money's worth. They had seized all public property, several ships, the artillery and military stores, and they captured the "Santa Trinidad," a great Manila and Acapulco galleon, valued at three millions of dollars. Another still richer galleon, the "Santa Philipina," escaped them, after a long chase. The whole of the Philippines submitted without further resistance; and Draper, besides being made a knight of the Bath, was, with the naval commanders, thanked by parliament, as well they might be.

Such were the ruinous results, in a single campaign, of Spain having listened to French counsels, and quarrelled with a power capable of stripping her of all her colonies. Besides the capture of Havana, the Philippines, and the treasure ship there, we had, as already stated, captured the "Hermione," a very valuable prize, and many smaller ones. The whole mercantile navy of Spain was at our mercy; her resources were cut off, and France was in no condition to defend her at sea, and had really afforded her no aid on land. The only trifling piece of success was the seizure of the Portuguese colony of Sacramento, on the river La Plata; the capture of several British merchantmen there, and the repulse, by these means, of a private expedition of English and Portuguese adventurers against Buenos Ayres.

The brilliant successes of this campaign had clearly been the result of Pitt's plans before quitting office. Bute and his colleagues had no capacity for such masterly policy, and as little perception of the immense advantages which they gave them in making peace. Peace they were impatient for—less on the great grounds that peace was the noblest of national blessings, than because the people grumbled at the amount of taxation—and because, by peace, they diminished, or hoped to diminish, the *prestige* of the great minister, who had won such vast accessions to the national territory. Bute was eager to come to terms with France and Spain, regardless of the advantages he gave to prostrate enemies, by showing that impatience. Had he made a peace as honourable as the war had been, he would have deserved well of the country; but to accomplish such a peace required another stamp of mind.

Bute made overtures to France through the neutral court

of Sardinia. Louis XV. and his ministers caught at the very first whisper of such a thing with the eagerness of drowning men; a sufficient intimation to all able and cautious ministers, that he might safely name his own terms. The duke of Bedford was immediately sent to Paris as ambassador, and the gallant and graceful duke of Nivernois was sent to London as the French envoy to arrange the terms of the treaty. The two ambassadors, however, soon found that the real business of the treaty was transacted betwixt Bute, on our part, and the duke de Choiseul, on that of France; and that not through the two ambassadors, but through Sardinian envoys.

The conditions first agreed upon were, that both England and France were to withdraw their support, either by men or money, to the war in Germany. France was to evacuate the few towns that she held there, as well as Cleves and Gueldres. Minorca was to be restored in exchange for Belleisle, which thus fully justified Pitt's capture of that little, otherwise useless island. The fortifications of Dunkirk were to be reduced to the state required by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.

France ceded Canada, Nova Scotia, and Cape Breton, stipulating for the free exercise of their religion by the inhabitants of Canada, and for their leaving the country if they preferred it, carrying away their effects, if done within eighteen months. Nova Scotia and Cape Breton were given up unconditionally. The boundaries of Louisiana were more clearly defined. The French retained the right to fish on part of the coast of Newfoundland and in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and to retain the two little inlets of St. Pierre and Miquelon, as places of shelter for their fishermen, on condition that no batteries should be raised on them, nor more than fifty soldiers should keep guard there. Their fishermen were not to approach within fifteen miles of Cape Breton.

In the West Indies it was decided that we should, of the French islands that we had taken, retain Tobago, Dominico, St. Vincent, and Grenada, but restore to France Guadaloupe, Martinico, St. Lucia, Marigalante, and Desiada.

In the East Indies France agreed to keep no troops, and raise no fortifications in Bengal, and on these conditions their settlements were restored, but merely as places of trade. Goree, on the coast of Africa, was restored, but Senegal was surrendered.

As for Spain, she abandoned all designs on Portugal, and restored the colony of Sacramento; and she surrendered every point on which her declaration of war against England was based—namely, the right to fish on the coast of Newfoundland; the refusal to allow us to cut logwood in Honduras; and to admit the settlement of questions of capture by our courts of law.

These certainly were large concessions, but it was to be remembered that we had not received these gratis; they had cost enormous sums, and the national debt had been doubled by this war, and now amounted to one hundred and twenty-two million six hundred thousand pounds. These territories had then, in fact, cost us upwards of sixty million pounds; and it is certain that Pitt would have exacted a more complete renunciation from France of the conquered countries. There was a clause inserted which Pitt would never have

permitted—namely, that any conquests that should, after the signing of these conditions, be made, should be restored by all parties. Now, Bute and the ministry knew that we had expeditions out against Cuba and the Philippines, and that the only conquests likely to be made were in those quarters. To throw away without equivalent the blood and money expended in these important enterprises was a most unpatriotic act. Still, there was opportunity for more rational terms, for Grimaldi, the Spanish ambassador at Paris, held back from signing, in hope that we should be defeated at the Havanna, and that then he could raise his terms. When the news of the loss of both Havanna and Manilla arrived, Grimaldi was in great haste to sign, and Mr. Granville and lord Egremont very properly insisted that we should demand an equivalent for the conquest in Cuba. Pitt would have stood firm for the retention of that conquest as by far the most important to us, and as justly secured

manlike hurry to conclude the peace, aggravated by the general opinion that he might with ease have secured Goree, Porto Rico, as well as Florida, and some other of the French West Indian Islands, he did not escape the violent suspicion of having so readily sacrificed the interests of the country to a weighty bribe from France. This charge for years was loudly made without satisfactory refutation. In 1670 it was again brought forward in the house of commons, but was got rid of; but we still find in Wilberforce's Diary of 1789 this entry:—"I dined with lord Camden. He is sure that lord Bute got money from the peace of Paris. He can account for his sinking near three hundred thousand pounds in land and houses; and his paternal estate in the island which bears his name is not above one thousand five hundred pounds a year, and he is a life tenant only of Wortley, which may be eight thousand or ten thousand pounds." When we recollect the short tenure of office by



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to us, by the refusal of the Spanish ambassador to sign at the proper time. But Bute would have signed without any equivalent at all. Fortunately, there was too strong an opposition to this in the cabinet, and the duke of Bedford was instructed to demand Florida or Porto Rico in lieu of the Havanna. Florida was yielded—a fatal, though at the moment it appeared a valuable concession, for it only added to the compactness of the American colonies, hastening the day of independence, whilst Cuba would have remained under the protection of our fleet, one of the most valuable possessions of the British empire.

This point settled, the preliminaries of peace were signed at Fontainebleau on the 3rd of November. To console Spain for her losses by her unlucky alliance with France, Louis XV. ceded Louisiana to that country by a private convention.

Besides the blame which Bute incurred by his unstates-

manlike hurry to conclude the peace, there certainly were great grounds for the suspicion.

The violent discontent with the conduct of Bute and his ministry gave considerable strength to the opposition, at the head of which now stood Pitt, supported by lord Temple and the duke of Newcastle. Bubb Dodington, who had begun his career as the son of an apothecary, and made his way, by many wriggling manœuvres, to a peerage, died about this time. Lord Anson, who had rendered more real services to his country, also died in the course of the summer, and the earl of Halifax succeeded him at the board of admiralty. George Grenville, not satisfied with the terms of the peace, resigned the post of secretary to Halifax, and took his new one at the head of the admiralty; and Mr. Fox, paymaster of the forces, became the leader of the commons. The duke of Devonshire and the marquis of Rockingham also resigned their places in the royal household:

and the king, in his vexation, striking Devonshire's name out of the list of privy councillors, his kinsmen, lords George Cavendish and Bessborough, also resigned.

Such was the formidable opposition with which parliament came to the consideration of this peace. It met on the 25th of November, and the tone of the public out of doors was then seen. The king, as he went to the house of lords, was very coolly received by the crowds in the streets, and Bute was saluted with hisses, groans, and the flinging of mud and stones. On the 19th of December he moved in the lords an address in approbation of the terms of the peace. Lord Hardwicke opposed the motion with great warmth and ability, but there was no division. Very different was the reception of a similar address in the commons the same day, moved by Fox. There Pitt, who was suffering with the gout, denounced the whole treaty, as shamefully sacrificing the honour and interests of the country. When he rose he was obliged to be supported by two of his friends, and was at length compelled to beg to be allowed to address the house sitting. He yet made a vehement speech of three hours and a half against the conditions accepted. The ministry, however, had a large majority, three hundred and nineteen voting for them against sixty-five. With this brief triumph of Bute's unpopular party closed the year 1762.

The year 1763 opened with the signing of the definitive treaty at Paris on the 19th of February, whence it was called the Peace of Paris. Five days after, a peace was signed betwixt Prussia and Austria at Hubertsburg, in Saxony, to which Saxony, as the ally of Austria, was a party. Indeed, when England and France, Russia and Sweden, had withdrawn from the contest, there was little prospect of the continuance of the war. Both parties were exhausted, and yet, of the two, Frederick, in his dogged firmness, and in the almost unparalleled endurance of his people, was more than a match for Austria. If Maria Theresa could not cope with him when she had France, Russia, Saxony, and Poland, all united with her to put him down, the case was now hopeless. The English had stipulated that France should evacuate all the places in Germany and Flanders that belonged to those countries, and Frederick had easily induced the German states, under these circumstances, to a maintenance of neutrality. Austria, therefore, consented to this peace. She stood out the longest for the retention of Glatz, the only place won from Frederick, still in her hands, but she was compelled to yield that, too. Both parties returned to the same situations as before the commencement of this fatal Seven Years' War. It must be confessed that Frederick had made a brilliant resistance to the powerful combination against him to strip him of all his territories; but it must not be forgotten that through the greater part of the war he was vastly indebted to the subsidies and troops of England. These had enabled Ferdinand of Brunswick to maintain so brave a stand against France in Westphalia, Hanover, and Cassel, who would otherwise have borne down on that side unresistingly on Prussia. Neither need it be forgotten that the war was the direct consequence of Frederick's previous unprovoked and unwarrantable aggressions on Austria, his invasion and seizure of Silesia, which he still retained.

During the war Frederick had shown the powers of a great general. Of ten pitched battles which he had fought,

he had conquered in seven of them, and had repeatedly rescued himself from positions which appeared hopeless; but at what an awful cost of blood, and treasure, and popular misery had this success been purchased! According to Frederick's own calculation, he had lost in this seven years' war one hundred and eighty thousand soldiers; the Russians, one hundred and twenty thousand; the Austrians, one hundred and forty thousand; and France, two hundred thousand. Spackman's calculation is that England lost no less, in one quarter of the world or another, than two hundred and fifty thousand!—altogether, the massacre of eight hundred and ninety thousand men! For what?—To enable Frederick of Prussia to retain the territory which he had plundered Austria of in the former war! Nor was this all: the Russians, in their invasions of Prussia, are said to have destroyed thirty thousand of the unarmed inhabitants. Pestilence had followed, and swept away many thousands more. Thus, little less than a million of people had perished in this war. In Hesse and Westphalia whole villages stood depopulated. An officer relates that he rode through seven villages in Hesse, and found only one human being there—a clergyman, who was boiling horsebeans for his dinner! In Pomerania and Neumark the country was a desert, the towns heaps of ashes. There was no seed, even to sow, no cattle or horses to plough the ground. The most fertile regions were horrid wildernesses; and there were in vast districts only women left to cultivate the soil!

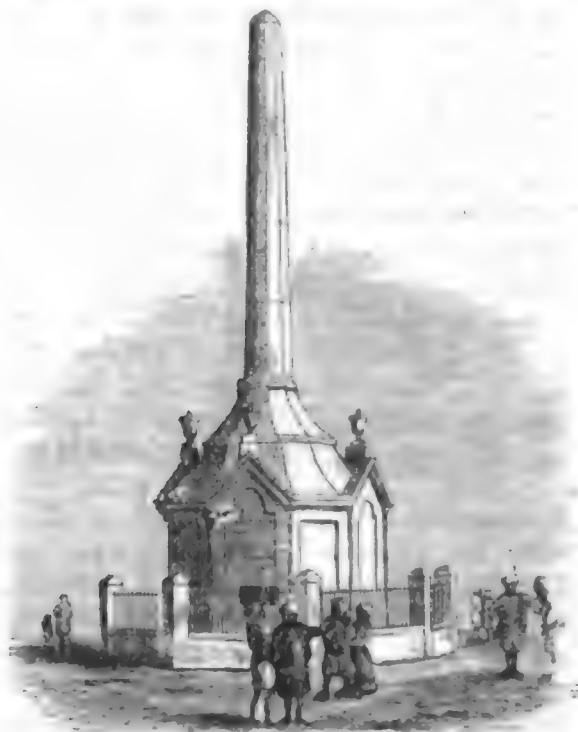
Such were the fruits of a war which historians call just and necessary; and which they call so only because they refuse to trace consequences to their original causes. Had Frederick of Prussia abstained from the seizure of Silesia, there would have been no seven years' war. In this war France, Spain, and Sweden became bankrupt; England acquired vast territories, but increased its national debt a hundred and twelve million pounds; Saxony, though she recovered her lands, was exhausted by the expenditure, and reckoned her losses at eighty million dollars. Everywhere, but especially in Germany and France, the people were subjected to the most frightful miseries.

Frederick entered Berlin, having with him Ferdinand of Brunswick; but he entered it only in the evening, and escaped by obscure ways to his palace to avoid the cheers of the assembled people. This suffering population of Berlin, which, in 1747—that is, just before the commencement of the war—numbered a hundred and seven thousand souls, now numbered only ninety-eight thousand, of whom thirty thousand were reduced to subsistence on alms! Yet, as the Prussians generally had most stanchly supported the king through the war, so these poor people were still ready, forgetting their misery, to receive with acclamation the man who had brought all their calamities upon them, but had done it bravely and unflinchingly himself—so wonderful are the fascinations of military enterprise!

Whilst the seven years' war was raging in Europe, and carrying its ramifications to the most distant regions of the world, Clive and Eyre Coote were extending our empire in India, and, in the case of Clive himself, with as much ability and as little principle as Frederick of Prussia in Europe. Clive, in 1757, put down Surajah Dowlah, the nabob of Bengal, and in June of that year defeated him at Plassy

with a mere handful of men against his enormous host. He set up Dowlah's general-in-chief, Meer Jaffier, and hailed him nabob of Bengal, Orissa, and Bahar. So far, the punishment of Dowlah for the atrocity committed on our countrymen in the Black Hole would have had an air of justice, had not this *Black Hole* been the *English* prison, where our countrymen in that hot climate had been in the habit of confining *their* prisoners. As Mr. Mill, their own historian, of the India House, very justly asks, "What had they to do with a *Black Hole*? Had no *Black Hole* existed, as none ought to exist anywhere, least of all in the sultry and unwholesome climate of Bengal, those who perished in the *Black Hole* of Calcutta would have experienced a different fate."

This was bad enough; but the means of accomplishing this whole treason were of the most infamous kind. Clive engaged one Omichund, a wealthy merchant, to betray Dowlah, for a reward of three hundred thousand pounds. Never intending to pay this reward, Clive had two treaties drawn up with Meer Jaffier—one on white paper, intended to be real, in which no mention was made of Omichund; and another on red paper, stating the reward to Omichund. All the members of the committee of the council of Calcutta, with Clive, signed both treaties, except admiral Watson, who,



MONUMENT ERECTED TO THE MEMORY OF THE SUFFERERS IN THE BLACK HOLE, CALCUTTA.

with an Englishman's proper sense of honour, signed only the real one. But, lest the absence of the admiral's signature should excite Omichund's suspicion, the signature of the admiral was attached to the document without his consent. When the plot had succeeded, when the battle of Plassy was won, and Meer Jaffier acknowledged as nabob, or subadah, of Bengal, Omichund was coolly informed that the treaty which he had seen was a sham, and that he would not receive a single rupee! No more diabolical transaction ever took place in any country or in any age of the world, however dark and abandoned. Omichund, confounded at this example of

monstrous treachery, sank down into idiotcy, and soon after expired.

Clive and his associates took care of themselves. They claimed from their tool, Meer Jaffier, two million seven hundred and fifty thousand pounds as the claim of the company, the fleet, the army, and themselves for their services. Clive's own share was two hundred and fifty-four thousand pounds, and the shares of the members of the committee from twenty thousand to one hundred thousand pounds each. They and



MEDAL STRUCK IN COMMEMORATION OF THE BATTLE OF PLASSY.

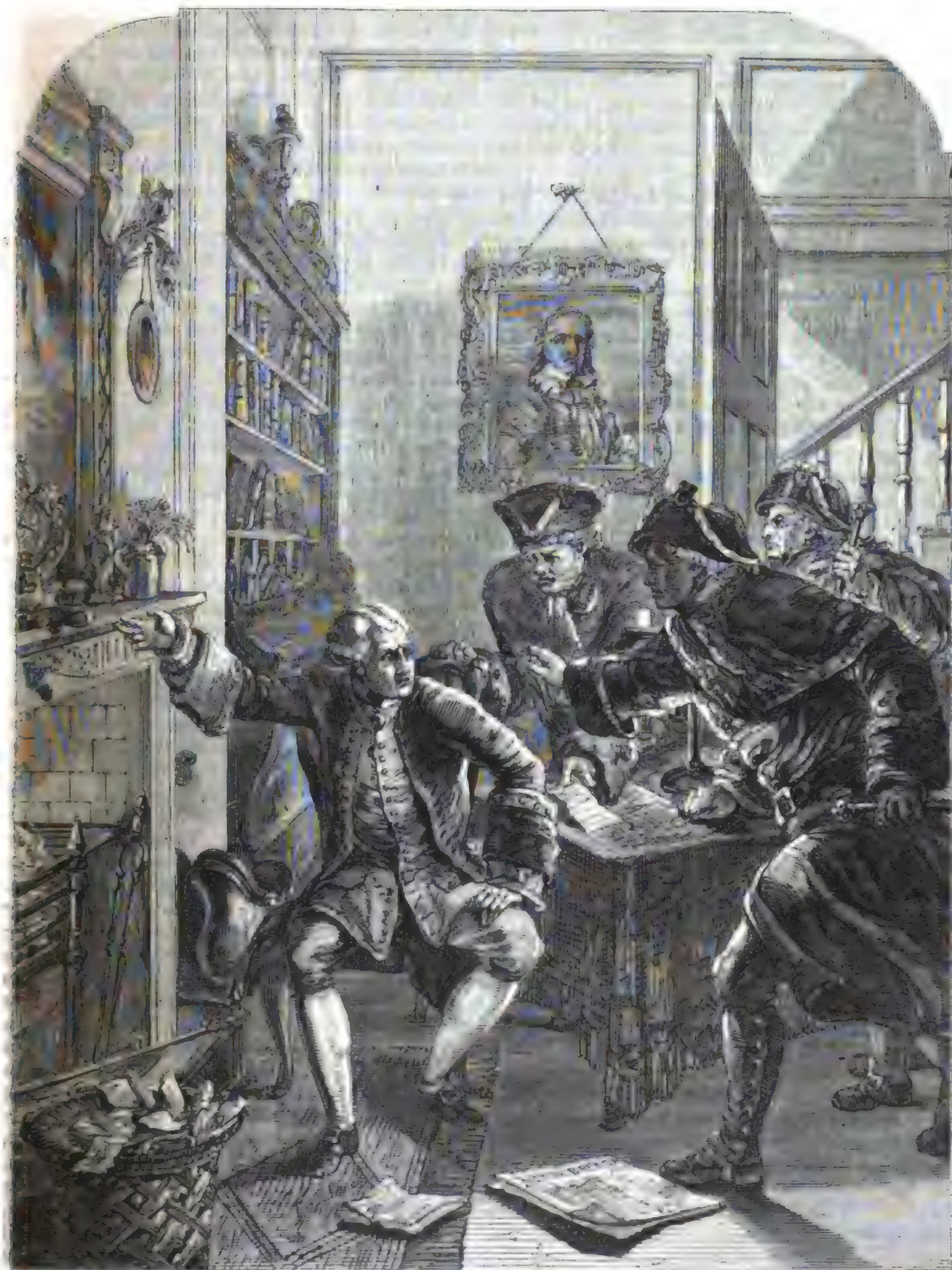
the officers of the army and navy shared amongst them for this job one million two hundred and sixty-one thousand and seventy-five pounds. Besides this, it was stipulated that the French factories and effects should be given up to the English, and the French never again allowed to enter Bengal. The territory surrounding Calcutta, to the distance of six hundred yards beyond the Mahratta ditch, and all the land lying south of Calcutta as far as Calpee, should be granted them on zemindary tenure, the company paying the rent, like the other zemindars. Thus the English, who were before merely the tenants of a factory, became, in reality, the rulers of Bengal, for Meer Jaffier was a mere tool in their hands, as they, ere long, showed by deposing him.

At this moment poor Meer Jaffier found it impossible to retain his seat without the support of the English. Shah Alum, the eldest son of the great mogul, was coming against him with a large army. Clive met and defeated him, and for this service he received from his puppet a jaghire, or domain worth twenty-seven thousand pounds a year.

Some years after, when Clive was called to account for these gifts before a committee of the house of commons, so far from admitting that he had shown any culpable cupidity, he expressed his astonishment at his own moderation. "When I recollect," he said, "entering the nabob's treasury at Moorshedabad, with heaps of gold and silver to the right and left, and those crowned with jewels, I am amazed at nothing but my own forbearance."

At the same time, Clive sent expeditions under colonel Forde to drive the French from the Northern Circars—a tract of country stretching from the mouth of the Kistna to the pagoda of Juggernaut. Bussey had invaded it from the Deccan, and left the marquis de Conflans to hold it. Forde defeated Conflans, and made himself master of Masulipatam against a very superior force.

Scarcely had colonel Forde returned from this expedition, towards the end of the year 1759, when the Dutch, envious of the English success, sent an armament of seven men-of-



THREATENED ARREST OF WILKES

war and one thousand four hundred soldiers from Java. They landed in the Hooghly, and began committing ravages; but Forde surprised and defeated them, taking every one of their ships. They were glad to apologise, and pay the expenses of the war. In February, 1760, a few weeks after these events, Clive, whose health was failing, set sail for England, where he was received with the highest *clat*, was made an Irish peer, as lord Clive, baron of Plassy. He soon after entered parliament.

Thus had this bold, able, and unprincipled man, by a bargain with a traitor to betray his prince and country, enriched himself, and laid the foundation of that system of perpetual aggression by which we have made ourselves masters of India. That Clive saw and intended this great scheme is plain from his own words before parliament during this visit. He declared—"We must now go further; we cannot stop here. Having established ourselves *by force, and not by consent of the nabob*, we must endeavour to drive them out again." Again, in 1765, before his return, he said—"We have at length arrived at that critical period which I have long foreseen; I mean that period which renders it necessary for us to determine whether we can or shall take the whole to ourselves. Jaffier Ali Khan is dead. His natural son is a minor, but I know not whether he is yet declared successor. Sujah Dowlah is beat from his dominions. We are in possession of it; and it is scarcely hyperbole to say, to-morrow the whole Mogul empire is in our power!"

The scheme of wholesale aggression and aggrandisement thus boldly sketched out by a man who had talent and daring for anything, and not a single restraining principle to impede him, soon grew busy, vast, and amazing. The great mogul, the territories of Oude and Arcot, Mysore, Travancore, Berar, Tanjore, the Mahrattas, the whole peninsula, in fact, speedily felt the influence of this man's views; and the future history of Indian conquest is but the filling up of them.

Our next great move was against the French in the Carnatic. After various actions betwixt the French and English in India during the seven years' war, general count de Lally, an officer of Irish extraction, arrived at Pondicherry in April, 1758, with a force of one thousand two hundred men. The admiral count d'Aché was engaged by admiral Pococke, who, however, could not prevent him landing the troops. Lally attacked and took Fort St. David, considered the strongest fort belonging to the East India Company, and then, mustering all his forces, made his appearance, in December of that year, before Madras. He had with him two thousand seven hundred French and four thousand natives, whilst the English had in the town four thousand troops only, of which more than half were sepoys. But captain Caillaud had marched with a small force from Trichinopoly, which harassed the rear of the French. After making himself master of the Black Town, and threatening to burn it down, he found it impossible to compel Fort St. George to surrender, and, after a severe siege of two months, on the appearance of admiral Pococke's squadron, which had sailed to Bombay for more troops, he decamped in the night of the 16th of February, 1759, for Arcot, leaving behind him all his ammunition and artillery, fifty-two pieces. Fresh combats

took place betwixt Pococke and D'Aché at sea, and the forces on land. Colonel Brereton attempted to take Wandewash, but failed; and it remained for colonel Eyre Coote to defeat Lally. Coote arrived at Madras on the 27th of October, and, under his direction, Brereton succeeded in taking Wandewash on the last of November. To recover this place, Lally marched with all his force, supported by Busey, but sustained a signal defeat on the 22nd of January, 1760. In this battle colonel Brereton was killed, and general Busey taken prisoner. Arcot, Trincomalee, Devi-Cottah, Cuddalore, and other places fell rapidly into the hands of colonel Coote. The French called in to their aid the nabob of Mysore, Hyder Ali, but to little purpose. Pondicherry was invested on the 8th of December, and, on the 16th of January, 1761, it surrendered, Lally and his troops, amounting to two thousand, remaining prisoners. This was the termination of the real power of France in India; for though Pondicherry was restored by the treaty of 1763, the French never again recovered their ground there, and their East India Company soon after was broken up. The unfortunate Lally—called also "Lally-Tollendal," from a corruption of his Irish name, Lally of Tullydale—on his return to France was thrown into the Bastille, condemned for high treason, and beheaded in the Place de Grève on the 9th of May, 1766.

As we proceed, we shall from time to time have to narrate a series of the most marvellous deeds of bravery, and equally marvellous crimes, done by our country in the conquest of the great peninsula of India, with its one hundred and fifty millions of people. We shall have to unfold a system of the most unparalleled conquests, oppressions, and extortions perpetrated by us, a Christian people, the pioneers of civilisation; and these mingled details of glory and darkness we shall draw, not from the testimony of the enemies, but from the friends and members of the East India Company itself—from Sir Thomas Munro, the marquis of Wellesley, Sir John Shore—afterwards lord Teignmouth—the Hon. Frederick Shore, his brother, an Indian judge, from Forbes, Orme, Scott Waring, Strachey, Vansittart, and others, actors and narrators of these facts—men covered with Indian honours, enriched with Indian spoils; from Warren Hastings himself; but, above all, from Mill, the secretary of the East India Company, and its own historian, drawing his materials from their own archives. Following these authorities, there can be no mistake; and, when our readers have had these details before them, they will see that when England intrusted the destinies of India—which has been so emphatically called the *IRELAND of the East*—to a mere trading company, she assumed the responsibility of a monstrous load of crime and oppression; and having now made the first righteous step of setting aside that company, she has a vast work of recompense before her—a work of wise reform and humane wisdom towards that immense, that beautiful, and populous empire.

The earl of Bute became more and more unpopular. The conditions of the peace were greatly disapproved, and the assurance that not only Bute, but the king's mother and the duke of Bedford, had received French money for carrying the peace, was generally believed. The conduct of Bute in surrounding the king with his creatures, in which he was joined by the princess of Wales, added greatly

to the public odium. George was always of a domestic and retiring character, and he was now rarely seen, except when he went once or twice a-year to parliament, or at *levees*, which were cold, formal, and unfrequent. Though, probably, the main cause of this was the natural disposition of himself and queen, yet Bute and the princess got the credit of it. Then the manner in which Bute paid his visits to the princess tended to confirm all the belief of their guilty intimacy. He used always to go in an evening in a sedan chair belonging to one of the ladies of the princess's household, with the curtains closely drawn, and taking every other precaution of not being seen. There were numbers of lampoons launched at the favourite and the princess. They were compared to queen Isabella and Mortimer, and Wilkes actually wrote an ironical dedication of Ben Jonson's play of "The Fall of Mortimer," to Bute. It was declared that he was cramming all the public offices with Scotchmen, whilst it was notorious that only one Englishman, Mr. Chauncey Townshend, had ever been elected to any public office in Scotland since the union.

All these causes of unpopularity were rendered more effective by the powerful political party which now assailed him. Pitt led the way, and the dukes of Devonshire, Bolton, and Portland, the marquis of Rockingham, the earls Temple, Cornwallis, Albemarle, Ashburton, Hardwicke, and Besborough, lords Spencer, Sondes, Grantham, and Villiers, James Grenville, Sir George Saville, and other whigs, presented a formidable phalanx of opponents in both houses. The measures, too, which he was obliged to bring forward, were certain to augment his discredit. The funded debt had grown to upwards of a hundred millions, and there were three millions and a half besides unfunded. It was necessary to raise a new loan, and, moreover, to raise a new tax, for the income was unequal to the expenditure, even in time of peace. The chancellor of the exchequer recently chosen was not a man likely to make these new burdens go down easily. Dashwood was a man of taste, who had travelled in Italy, and acquired a fondness of the fine arts, but he by no means was a man of business. On the contrary, he was a man of known dissolute character, afterwards described by Wilkes as all his life puzzling over tavern bills, and therefore chosen by Bute to be chancellor of a kingdom a hundred millions in debt. He had had himself painted, in the habit of a Franciscan friar, a play on his own name, kneeling in adoration of a Venus de Medici. Wilkes could well describe him, for he had been with him one of a set of licentious and irreligious rakes, who had formed themselves into a company of so-called "New Franciscans." Amongst these were Paul Whitehead, lord Sandwich, and others, twelve in all. They had taken Medenham, near Marlow, a beautiful place on the banks of the Thames, amid hanging woods and green meadows. The abbey belonged to the Cistercian monks, and these so-called New Franciscans now used to meet there, to put on the habits of that order, and practice all kinds of profligacy and obscenity to burlesque the rites and processions of a catholic brotherhood. Over the portal they inscribed the motto pretended by Rabelais to have been over the portal of Thelème Abbey, *Fay ce que voudras*—"Do as you like." There were other inscriptions over other doors, or in other parts of the grounds,

equally profligate, and still more lewd. There these scandalous associates rivalled the "Hell-Fire Club" in their orgies.

This unique chancellor—"my chancellor," as Wilkes says Bute used to call him—issued the new loan to the public with so little advertisement, that the friends of the ministers secured the greater part of the shares, and they soon rose to eleven per cent. premium, by which they were enabled, at the public cost, to make heavy sums. The tax which Sir Francis proposed was one on cider and perry, besides some additional duties on wines. There was at once an outcry in the city against this tax, led on by the lord mayor, alderman Beckford, a great friend of Pitt. The cry was only too sure to find a loud echo from the cider-growing districts. Bute and his chancellor were quickly compelled to reduce the proposed impost from ten shillings a hogshead, to be paid by the first buyer, that is, by the merchant, to four shillings, to be paid by the grower. The tax thus cut down was calculated to produce only seventy-five thousand pounds—a sum scarcely worth the while to incur so much odium for. But it was still equally declaimed against, because this sum was to be levied on all qualities alike. The City of London still petitioned against it as a tax levied especially on the most loyal counties in the kingdom, and as being a strange first-fruits of peace. Pitt denounced it as introducing the exciseman into private dwellings, thus violating the old maxim, of every Englishman's house being his castle.

George Grenville stood forward and declared that the tax was necessary, from the profuse war expenditures of the former ministry—a blow at Pitt, which was scarcely dealt, when it recoiled on the speaker. He said, if Pitt objected to this tax, ministers would be glad to hear from him where they should lay another. "Let him tell me where?" he exclaimed, "I say, sir, let him tell me where?" On which Pitt, who sat opposite, sang out, in a tone admirably mimicking the querulous one of Grenville, the well-known line of a popular song, "Gentle Shepherd, tell me where?" The house was thrown into convulsions of laughter, amid which Pitt rose and walked out of it. The name of "Gentle Shepherd" stuck by Grenville, who, in his stiff manner and countenance, was anything but the ideal of a gentle shepherd.

The cider tax passed, opposed by thirty-nine peers and a hundred and twenty commoners; but it left a very sore feeling in the western counties, that cider, worth only five shillings a hogshead, the poor man's meagre beverage, should have a tax levied on it nearly doubling the price; whilst that of fifty shillings a hogshead, the rich man's luxury, only paid the same. The growers even threatened to let the apples fall and rot under the trees, rather than make them into cider, subject to so partial a tax. No imposition had excited so much indignation since Sir Robert Walpole's excise bill, in 1733. In the cider counties bonfires were made in many places, and Bute was burnt emblematically as a jack-boot—Jack Bute—and his supposed royal mistress under that of a petticoat, which two articles, after being carried about on poles, were hurled into the flames.

Instead of taking means to conciliate the public, Bute,

stung by these testimonies of dislike, and by the pamphlets and lampoons which issued like swarms of wasps, revenged himself by others, which only intensified the hatred against him.

A well-deserved pension was granted to Dr. Johnson; but the merit of that was more than neutralised by a similar pension being conferred on Dr. Shebbeare, a mere hackney pamphleteer, who had recently been convicted of fraudulent practices at Oxford, when employed to arrange the Clarendon papers; and who, in the reign of George I., had been set in the pillory for a libel on the king. Bute refused the professorship of modern languages to Gray, the poet, and gave it to the tutor of Sir James Lowther, a man of no note, and evidently only because Sir James had lately married his daughter. Still worse for him, he had caused the dukes of Newcastle and Grafton, and the marquis of Rockingham, to be dismissed from the lord lieutenancies of their respective counties, because they voted against the peace on Bute's terms. With a still more petty rancour he had visited the sins of these noblemen on the persons in small clerkships and other posts who had been recommended by them, turning them all out. Sir Henry Fox joined him relentlessly in these pitiful revenges, and would have carried them further had he not been checked by others.

For a time, Bute and his colleagues appeared to brave the load of hatred and ignominy which was now piled everywhere upon them, but it was telling; and suddenly, on the 7th of April, it was announced that the obnoxious minister had resigned. Many were the speculations on this abrupt act, some attributing it to the influence of Wilkes, and his remorseless attacks in the "North Briton;" others to the king and queen having at length become sensitive on the assumed relations of Bute and the king's mother; but Bute himself clearly stated the real and obvious cause—no support, either in parliament or out of doors. "The ground," he wrote to a friend, "on which I tread is so hollow, that I am afraid not only of falling myself, but of involving my royal master in my ruin. It is time for me to retire."

With Bute retired his two staunchest supporters, Dashwood and Fox; but they were both raised to the peerage, Dashwood to become lord de Despencer, and Fox, lord Holland. Fox, who had by no means acquired a pleasant reputation, retired, for the most part, from public life. He built himself a villa, in a fanciful style, at Kingsgate, on the coast of Thanet; and where Gray, who had been so scurvily served by him and his colleagues, did not forget, in some caustic stanzas, to tell him that it was the most congenial place for him:—

Old and abandoned by each venal friend,
Here Holland took the pious resolution,
To smuggle a few years, and strive to mend
A broken character and constitution.
On this congenial spot he fixed his choice;
Earl Goodwin trembled for his neighbouring sands:
Here sea-gulls scream, and cormorants rejoice,
And mariners, though shipwrecked, fear to land.

George Grenville succeeded to both Bute and Dashwood, becoming first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer, and the king announced that he had intrusted the direction of affairs to him, and the lords Egremont and Halifax, the secretaries of state, whence they soon acquired the name of "The Triumvirate." The duke of Bedford

quitted his post as ambassador at Paris, and was succeeded by the earl of Hertford. The earl of Sandwich became head of the admiralty, and the earl of Shelburne head of the board of trade. Old marshal Ligonier was removed from the post of master of the ordnance, to make way for the marquis of Granby, but received a peerage. These changes being completed, the king closed the session of parliament on the 19th of April, with a speech, in which he declared the peace honourable to his crown, and beneficial to his people.

This avowal in the royal speech called forth John Wilkes in No. 45 of the "North Briton," destined to become a famous number indeed. Wilkes had ceased in the "North Briton" to employ mere initials when commenting on leading men in parliament or government; and he now boldly declared that the speech put into the king's mouth by the ministers was false in its assertion, that the peace was either honourable to the crown or beneficial to the country. This was regarded as a gross insult to his majesty, though it was avowedly declared to attack only the ministry; and on the 30th of April, Wilkes was arrested upon a "general warrant," that is, a warrant not mentioning him or any one by name, but applying to the authors, printers, and publishers, of the paper in question.

George Grenville, the new minister, had, of course, the credit of this proceeding; though it was well known that Bute still secretly directed the movements of government, and he or the king might be the real authors of the order. George Grenville, a plain, methodical man, of no remarkable talent, thus inaugurated the first remarkable act of his administration—he raised Wilkes into a wonderful notoriety; and his next great act was to be the passing of the Stamp Act, by which he lost us America. Nothing could have been so fortunate for Wilkes. It was by audacity rather than talent that such a man must make his reputation with the public, and this afforded him the occasion; this made a martyr and a hero of him. As for the number itself, it was declared to be below the usual merit of the "North Briton," which was altogether more distinguished for reckless, bold assertion, and daring onslaught on ministers, than for wit or ability. Compared with the keen, stinging, scathing diatribes of "Junius" of that period, how bald and tame reads now the "North Briton!" Burke, some years afterwards, referring in the house of commons to this No. 45, described it as a weak mixture of vinegar and water. But it was foolishly made important by the government, and Wilkes was not the man to let the opportunity go unimproved. The king's messengers commenced their work by a blunder; they arrested Leach, a printer, who had no connection with the paper. They then, however, secured Kearsley, the publisher, who named Balfe as the printer. These two men had been carried before lord Halifax, on the 29th, and, admitting that Wilkes was the author of the paper, he was seized too. Wilkes assumed such a tone, declaring that the messengers were acting on an illegal authority, a general warrant, and menacing them with the consequences, that, in alarm, they returned without him. But receiving more positive orders, the next morning they arrested him, without even allowing him to see the warrant, though he demanded it, and which they were bound legally to have shown to him. They conveyed him to the house of

lord Halifax. Lord Temple, with whom, as well as with Pitt, Wilkes had been on good terms, hurried to the court of common pleas for a writ of *habeas corpus* on his behalf; but lord Halifax and his brother secretary, Egremont, had used such diligence, that Wilkes, who refused to answer any questions put to him under such a warrant, was already committed to the Tower.

Wilkes entered the Tower in all the elation of spirits which the occasion of acting the political hero naturally inspired. He asked to be confined in the same room which had been occupied by lord Egremont's father on a charge of treason; and he sat down and wrote to his daughter in France, congratulating her on living in a free country. He was soon called on by the dukes of Bolton and Grafton, and lord Temple, who, as well as his own friends, his solicitor, and counsel, were refused admittance. His house was entered, his papers seized, and examined by Wood, the under-secretary of state, and Carteret Webb, the solicitor to the treasury. It was soon deemed advisable to relax the severity of Wilkes' confinement, to allow him the free use of writing materials, and to admit his friends, amongst whom appeared lord Temple and the duke of Grafton. A second writ of *habeas corpus* was obtained, and, on the 3rd of May, Wilkes was conveyed to the court of common pleas, before Sir Charles Pratt, where his case was stated by Mr. Serjeant Glynn, and then Wilkes himself made a speech of an hour long. In this he spoke with much flippancy, declaring that there was a dark conspiracy on foot to destroy the liberties of the nation, and that he had been selected as the first victim, because he had refused to be corrupted and bought up by government—the notorious fact being that Wilkes had repeatedly been refused admission to place, and that his rancour against government sprang from that cause. As for himself, he declared that he had been treated ~~worse~~ *worse* than any rebel Scot. At this word Scot, the people, being reminded of their antipathy to Bute, set up a great shout, which the lord chief-justice instantly stopped.

On the 6th of May he was brought up to hear the joint opinion of the judges, which was that, though general warrants might not be strictly illegal, the arrest of Wilkes could not be maintained, on account of his privilege as a member of parliament; that nothing short of treason, felony, and an actual breach of the peace, could interfere with that privilege, and that a libel could not be termed a breach of the peace. The judgment of the bench, therefore, was that Mr. Wilkes be discharged from his imprisonment.

The release of Wilkes by the court of common pleas was a triumph over ministers, which, had they been wise, would have induced them to take no further notice of him. They not only made a popular demigod of him. The people, not only in London, but all over the country, celebrated his exit from the Tower with the liveliest demonstrations, especially in the cider districts, still smarting under the new tax, and where they accordingly once more paraded the jack-boot and petticoat, adding two effigies—one of Bute, dressed in a Scotch plaid and with a blue ribbon, the other no less a person than the king, led by the nose by Bute.

Wilkes, elated with his triumph and this public favour, wrote a letter to the secretaries of state, lords Halifax and Egremont, charging them with having robbed his house:—

“My lords,—On my return from Westminster Hall, where I have been discharged from my commitment to the Tower under your lordships' warrant, I find that my house has been robbed, and am informed that the stolen goods are in the possession of one or both of your lordships. I therefore insist that you do forthwith return them to your humble servant,—JOHN WILKES.”

Besides his papers, the articles missing were a silver candlestick, his pocket-book, containing some bills, and a quarto paper-book, containing private accounts. Wilkes set up in his own house a printing press, for printing the “North Briton.” He printed and circulated this letter, and the secretaries of state felt compelled to reply to it. They told him that his expressions were indecent and scurrilous; but the very act of replying to such an accusation was a humiliation. There were not wanting numbers, both in parliament and out of it, who took the part of Wilkes, as an oppressed individual. The press loudly vindicated him; it went for little with the opposition and the newspapers that Wilkes was a man of a notoriously profligate life; that he had abused and forsaken his wife; that he had dissipated his and her fortune; and then had abused the ministry because they would not pension him. He was held up as one of the greatest and purest patriots that ever lived—a second Hampden or Algernon Sydney. He commenced an action against the secretaries of state, and threatened Egremont with a challenge as soon as these proceedings should terminate. He then went over to Paris, where he was challenged by Forbes, a Scotch exile in the French service, but the duel was prevented by the lieutenant of police.

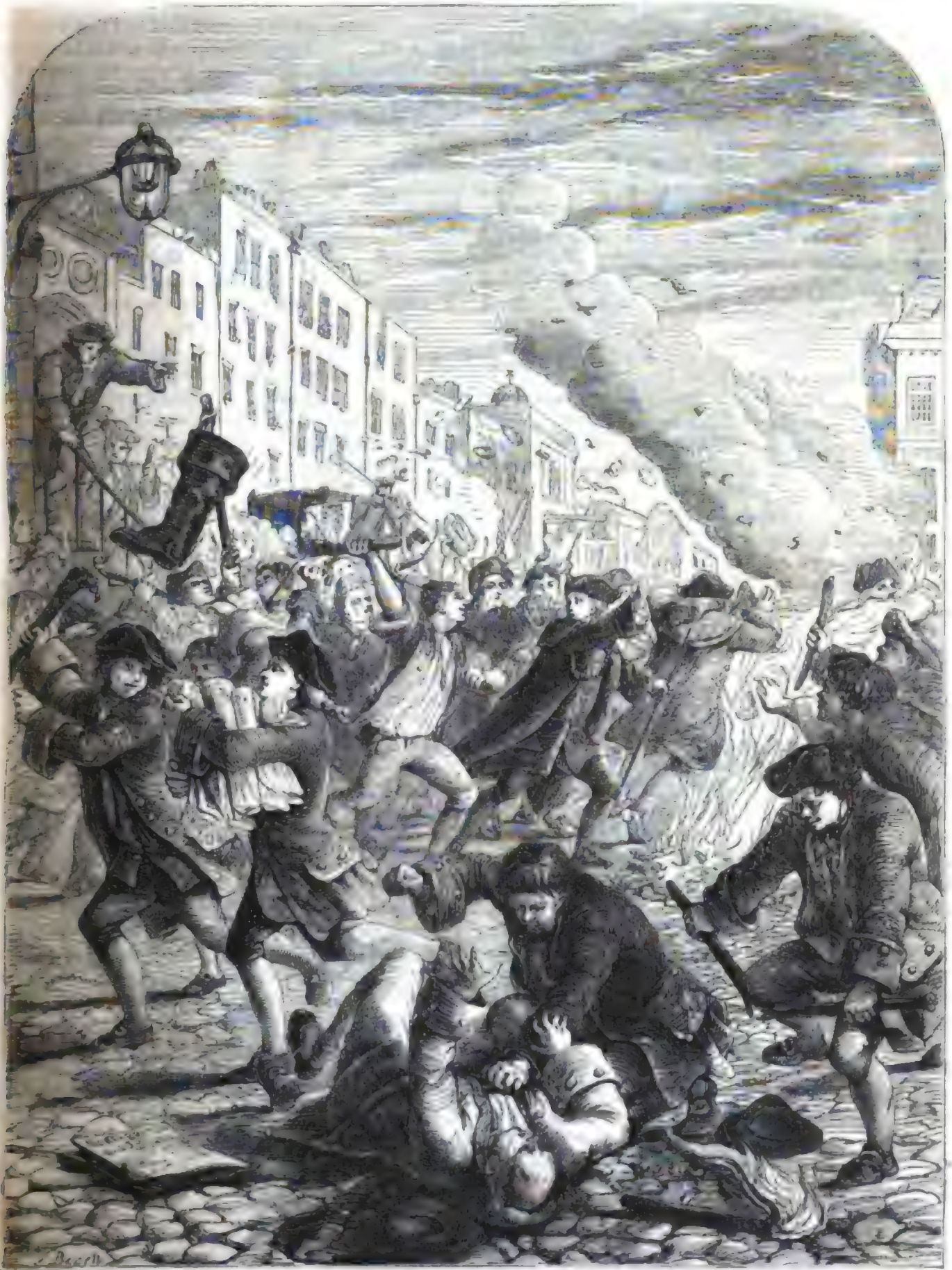
The English government, instead of treating Wilkes with a dignified indifference, was weak enough to show how deeply it was touched by him, dismissed him from his commission of colonel of the Buckinghamshire militia, and treated lord Temple as an abettor of his, by depriving him of the lord-lieutenancy of the same county, and striking his name from the list of privy councillors, giving the lord-lieutenancy to Dashwood, now lord le Despencer.

Whilst these damaging proceedings were in course, Grenville found that he had internal as well as external enemies. It was seen that there was a coolness betwixt himself and Bute. Bute expected to rule through Grenville; but Grenville was too proud to act the part of a subordinate. The consequence was, that the Triumvirate, not having the favour of the favourite, found that they had not the confidence of the king. Whilst Grenville was considering how to strengthen himself, he was additionally weakened by the death of lord Egremont, on the 20th of August. Bute at once took it for granted that the Grenville cabinet could no longer go on, and recommended the king to send again for Pitt.

That Bute should recommend Pitt, whose policy he had so long and utterly condemned, was not the result of spleen against Grenville, but it was a wonderful justification of Pitt's administration. It was, in fact, admitting that he alone was the man of successful management; that all other attempts were failures. The duke of Bedford gave the same counsel; although, little more than five months before, he had been equally hostile to Pitt. The king sent for the great commoner, who, however, would not come till he had



DUEL BETWEEN WILKES AND MARTIN.



RIOTS ON THE BURNING OF NO. 45 OF THE "NORTH BRITON."

been formally commanded. On the 27th of August he had an audience of the king at Buckingham House. Grenville, coming there to transact business, was annoyed to see Pitt's chair standing in the court, and had to wait till the interview was over, when he went in himself; but the king said not a word of Pitt having been there. George had, indeed, intimated a day or two before, that he might send for Pitt; but this closeness was not very encouraging to Grenville. Pitt, however, insisted on having in with him all, or nearly all, his old colleagues, and this was too much for the king; whilst not to have had them would have been too little for Pitt, who was too wise to take office without efficient and congenial colleagues. The king, nevertheless, did not openly object, but allowed Pitt to go away with the impression that he would assent to his demands. This was Saturday, and Pitt announced this belief to the dukes of Devonshire and Newcastle, and the marquis of Rockingham. But on Sunday Grenville had had an interview with the king, and finding that he considered Pitt's terms too hard, had laboured successfully to confirm him in that opinion. Accordingly, on Monday, at a second meeting, the king named the duke of Northumberland, lord Halifax, and George Grenville, for leading posts in the cabinet, saying, "Poor George Grenville, he is your near relation, and you once loved him." Pitt said that it would not do, bowed and retired; the poor king saying, "My honour is concerned, and I must support it." He could not perceive that only able men can support a king's honour.

Grenville, chagrined as he was, still clung to the government, and called in the duke of Bedford, as president of the council, lord Sandwich, as secretary of state, lord Egremont succeeding the latter at the admiralty. Lord Hillsborough succeeded lord Shelbourne at the board of trade. Such was the government which was to supersede the necessity of Pitt; lord Chesterfield declaring that they could not meet the parliament, for that they had not a man in the commons who had either abilities or words enough to call a coach. The ministers endeavoured to obtain congratulatory addresses from the mayors of towns and lord-lieutenants of counties, on the peace, but there was a mortifying coldness everywhere.

Parliament met on the 15th of November, and the very first object which engaged the attention of both houses was Wilkes. In such fiery haste were ministers, that lord Sandwich, in the peers, started up, before the king's speech could be considered, and declared that he held in his hand a most filthy and atrocious libel, written by Wilkes, called "An Essay on Woman." He denounced it as everything that was impious and indecent, and as a breach of privilege, by most unwarrantably and scandalously introducing the name of one of the right reverend prelates. He complained, too, of another profane production by the same hand—a parody on "THE VENI CREATOR."

Now, though the "Essay on Woman" was undoubtedly a vile production, it was as dull as it was vile. The wit of Wilkes, such as it was, came from his tongue, and not from his pen. It was of that coarse character, and derived so much of its pungency from the adventitious circumstances of the moment, that it was lost in transferring it to paper, and was by no means likely to acquire so much admiration

with the age as to corrupt it. But the most singular part of the matter, and the great offence, was its publication; and this was not the work of Wilkes, but of lord Sandwich himself. Wilkes never had published the filth. He had written, as it appeared, by the assistance of a profligate, and now deceased son of archbishop Potter, this "Essay on Woman;" but he had never published it. It had lain in his desk, and had only been read to two persons—one of whom was Sandwich himself. When Wilkes, however, was driven to set up a printing press in his own house, he had printed a dozen copies of the "Essay on Woman," to give to his dissolute friends, whom he used to meet at the Dilletanti Club, in Palace Yard. Sandwich, aware of the existence of the essay, had bribed one of Wilkes's printers, named Curry, to lend him a copy of it, and had paid him five guineas as a guarantee for its safe return.

Such were the disgraceful means employed to drag this nuisance under the public nose, in order to damage Wilkes. Sandwich, and both houses of parliament, which entertained the matter, were the real publishers. They, who should have suppressed it, if published, made it known, and really committed the greatest offence; for they gave it a universal notoriety, and excited a keen curiosity about it. The ministers listened to passage after passage, which Sandwich read, till lord Lyttleton, sick of the rubbish, begged that they might have no more.

The whole thing was a stupid parody on Pope's "Essay on Man;" in which, instead of the inscription to Bolingbroke, commencing "Awake, my St. John!" it commenced, "Awake, my Sandwich!" The name of the prelate introduced was that of Warburton, now bishop of Gloucester, in ridicule of his celebrated commentary on the "Essay on Man." Warburton, who was rather famous for heterodoxy, but not for indecency, might have let the silly squib alone, but he was transported to fury, and declared in the wildest excitement, that the blackest fiend in hell would scorn to keep company with Wilkes—nay, he begged pardon of Satan for naming them together.

This was severe satire on a good many members of parliament, especially on Sandwich and Dashwood, now in the peers, who had long been boon companions of Wilkes in the most indecent of his orgies. These virtuous peers, these Satans correcting sin, readily agreed to vote the two parodies blasphemous, and breaches of privilege, but lord Mansfield moved that they should adjourn the question for a couple of days, in order to give Wilkes opportunity for explanation or defence.

In the commons, on the same day, Grenville delivered a message from the crown, announcing to the house the imprisonment of one of their members during the recess. Wilkes immediately rose in his place, and complained of the breach of that house's privilege in his person; of the entry of his house, the breaking open his desk, and the imprisonment of his person—imprisonment pronounced by the highest legal authority to be illegal, and therefore tyrannical. He moved that the house should take the question of privilege into immediate consideration. On the other hand, lord North, who was a member of the treasury board, and Sir Fletcher Norton, attorney-general, put in the depositions of the printer and publisher, proving the authorship of No. 45

of the "North Briton" on Wilkes, and pressing for rigorous measures against him. A warm debate ensued, in which Pitt opposed the proceedings to a certain extent, declaring that he could never understand exactly what a libel was. Notwithstanding, the commons voted, by a large majority, that No. 45 of the "North Briton" was a false, scandalous, and seditious libel, tending to traitorous insurrection, and that it should be burnt by the common hangman.

Nor did the wrath of the commons stop here; some of the members actually thirsted for his blood. There was a common opinion at that time that Wilkes, with all his bluster, was a coward. The challenge of Forbes had come to nothing; but that was not the fault of Wilkes, but of the French police. He had been challenged by lord Talbot for ridiculing the fact of Talbot's horse at the coronation, when performing an absurd part of that old feudal ceremony, turning his tail on the king and queen. There resulted no harm from that; for having exchanged shots by moonlight, without injury to either of them, they had shook hands and retired to the Red Lion, at Bagshot, and spent the evening together in jollity—Talbot being as great a *bon vivant* as Wilkes. This friendly termination—no uncommon circumstance—occasioned the report that the whole was a sham. Encouraged by this popular notion of Wilkes's cowardice, during the debate in the commons, Mr. Samuel Martin, member for Camelford, who had been secretary to the treasury under Bute, and had been grievously ridiculed in the "North Briton," made a point of insulting Wilkes. Looking across the house to where Wilkes sat, he said, in a marked and ferocious manner, "Whoever stabs a reputation in the dark, without setting his name, is a cowardly, malignant, and infamous scoundrel." To leave no mistake, he repeated the words a second time.

Wilkes appeared to take no notice at the time, but the next morning he wrote a note to Martin, concluding thus:—"To cut off ignorance as to the author, I whisper in your ear, that every passage in the 'North Briton,' in which you have been named, or even alluded to, was written by your humble servant, JOHN WILKES." The consequence was a duel that evening, in which Wilkes received a dangerous wound in the side from Martin at the second fire. The consequences were an intense excitement in favour of Wilkes, and of execration against the commons. Wilkes was reported to be delirious, and crowds collected in the streets before his house, calling for vengeance on his murderers. Sandwich was especially denounced; in return for his dragging forth the obscenity of Wilkes, his own private life was ransacked for scandalous anecdotes, and they were only too plentiful. His lewd and blasphemous revels with Wilkes himself, at Medenham Abbey, and in London, were exposed. It was declared that only a fortnight before he had supped at a tavern in town with Wilkes, and other loose characters, and singing lewd catches together. Horace Walpole says that Sandwich's conduct to Wilkes had brought forth such a catalogue of his own impurities as was incredible. The "Beggars' Opera" being just then acted at Covent Garden, when Macheath uttered the words, "That Jemmy Twitcher should 'peach, I own surprises me!" the whole audience burst into one most tumultuous applause at the obvious application; and thenceforth Jemmy Twitcher

was the name of Sandwich much more commonly than that of his title.

Yet, notwithstanding this high tide of public opinion, parliament went on trying to crush, but only, in reality, to deify Wilkes. He could not be called to the bar of the lords, as was ordered, but that house carried an address to the crown, praying for a prosecution of the author of the "Essay on Woman;" and assented to the order of the commons, that the paper should be burnt by the hangman.

Still the affairs of Wilkes continued to occupy almost the sole thought and interest of the session. On the 23rd of November the question of privilege came on; and though he was absent, it was actively pushed by the ministers. Mr. Wilbraham protested against the discussion without the presence of Wilkes, and his being heard at the bar in his defence. Pitt attended, though suffering awfully from the gout, propped on crutches, and his very hands wrapped in flannel. He maintained the question of privilege, but took care to separate himself from Wilkes in it. He was vehement against parliament surrendering one atom of its privilege; but he was equally vehement against Wilkes and the "North Briton." Wilkes and his publisher he gave up to all the vengeance of government, as just and necessary for the maintenance of religion and morals; but he endeavoured to separate his brother-in-law, lord Temple, from all charge of intimacy or concert with Wilkes. This was certainly no maintenance of morals in Pitt's own person, for nothing was more notorious than lord Temple's intimacy and advocacy of Wilkes. He had actually paraded both since these prosecutions began. He had visited Wilkes at the earliest possible moment in the Tower; he had exerted himself personally to procure the writ of *habeas corpus* for him; he had zealously defended him in his place in the house of peers.

The rest of the debate was violent and personal, and ended in voting, by two hundred and fifty-eight against one hundred and thirty-three, that the privilege of parliament did not extend to the publication of seditious libels; the resolution ordering the "North Briton" to be burnt by the hangman was confirmed. These votes being sent up to the lords, on the 25th they also debated the question, and the duke of Cumberland, lord Shelburne, and the duke of Newcastle, defended the privilege of parliament as violated in the person of Wilkes. In the end, however, the ministers obtained a majority of a hundred and fourteen against thirty-eight. Seventeen peers entered a strong protest against the decision. On the 1st of December there was a conference of the two houses, when they agreed to a loyal address to the king, expressing their detestation of the libels against him.

The next day Wilkes was ordered to attend at the bar of the house, if his health permitted him; and, on the 3rd, the sheriff of London was ordered to execute the burning of the "North Briton" in Cheapside. Alderman Harley, the sheriff, attended by one of the members for the City, and all the City officers, and the hangman, proceeded to perform this most unpopular office—the lord mayor and the common council awaiting the event at the Mansion House. The duty was no less dangerous than had been anticipated. The mob cried "Wilkes and liberty for ever!" and were en-

couraged by numbers of gentlemen from windows and balconies waving their handkerchiefs, for Wilkes was supported almost to a man in the City. The sheriff and his company were hissed, hooted, pelted with mud from the kennels, and other missives of a more substantial nature. A piece of wood from the fire was flung at the sheriff's carriage, dashed in the window, and wounded him in the face with the broken glass. The hangman struggled boldly to set fire to the obnoxious journal, and, having only partly succeeded, the whole City host of officials hurried back to the Mansion House, and the hangman after them. The mob then carried the rescued "North Briton" in triumph as far as Temple Bar, where they made a bonfire, and burnt, instead of it, a huge jack-boot.

Ministers, and their abettors in parliament, were highly incensed at this outburst. An inquiry was instituted in the house of lords, and continued for four days, witnesses being examined, but to little satisfaction of government, for these declared that the whole City thought Wilkes in the right. Both houses passed resolutions, thanking the sheriff for the discharge of his duty, but severely blaming the lord mayor and common council, and even threatening to deprive the City of its charter.

Simultaneously with these proceedings, the actions commenced by Wilkes, and the printer, publishers, and others arrested under the general warrant, were being tried in the common pleas. All the parties obtained verdicts for damages, and that of Wilkes was for a thousand pounds. Wilkes, all this time, had contrived to entertain his visitors with all kinds of stories to the disadvantage of lord Sandwich, and the ministers in general, which flew abroad like wildfire.

Chief-justice Pratt, strengthened by the verdicts, made a most decided declaration of the illegality and unconstitutional nature of general warrants. He said, "There is no authority in our law-books that mentions this kind of warrant, but in express terms to condemn them. Upon the most matured consideration, I am bold to say that this warrant is illegal; but I am far from wishing that a matter of this consequence should rest solely on my opinion." He then intimated that government could refer the question to the twelve judges, or to parliament itself. If he were proved wrong, he said, he should kiss the rod; but he should always consider it as a sort of iron for the chastisement of the people of Great Britain. Ministers did not think proper to refer the question to the twelve judges; but Pratt's judgment was afterwards confirmed by the court of king's bench.

Whilst all London was in a state of effervescence with the triumph of Wilkes over the ministers in the court of law, a foolish, or perhaps crazy, Scotchman, named Dun, went to Wilkes's house, and, being refused admittance, declared in a neighbouring coffee-house, that he and ten others had sworn to take Wilkes off. The Scotch hated him for his continual sarcasms on them in the "North Briton," and some members of the opposition of that country had voted with government against him in their spleen. Dun made a second attempt to get access to Wilkes; and a new penknife being found in his pocket, the friends of Wilkes in the commons charged him with an attempt against the life of a member

of the house. He was brought to the bar of the house, but he was dismissed, as being insane. The court of king's bench, however, did not let him off so easily; it detained him in prison, in default of finding bail and security.

The day had now arrived for Wilkes to appear at the bar of the commons in obedience to its order; but, instead of Wilkes, two physicians appeared to testify that his health would not allow him to attend. The house granted a further delay till the 16th of December; but the physicians again appeared, and made the same statement. The house then appointed two other physicians to see him and report the state of his health, but Wilkes refused to see them, and sent in a report by two Scotch doctors, as a jocular proof that they must give a truthful report, as all Scotchmen were so hostile to him. And in this violent excitement regarding one man, which had occupied nearly the whole of the session, closed the year 1763.

As this excitement closed the old year, so it opened the new one. No sooner did the parliament meet, after the Christmas recess, than, on the 17th of January, the order for Wilkes's attendance at the bar was read. It was then found that he had thought it best for him to get over into France. His notoriety in England had made him a subject of curiosity in Paris, where he was enjoying himself in fashionable society. Still he did not hesitate to send over a medical certificate, signed by one of the king's physicians and an army surgeon, affirming that his wound was in such a condition that it was not safe for him to leave Paris. As all Paris was making a lion of him, and wonderfully admiring his wit and jokes, imagining him as great a man as Pitt, the house of commons paid no attention to the certificate, but proceeded to examine evidence, and the famous No. 45 of the "North Briton;" and after a violent debate, continuing till three o'clock in the morning, passed a resolution that the paper in question contained the grossest insults to his majesty, to both houses of parliament, and tended to traitorous insurrection against the government. Accordingly, the next day, he was formally expelled the house, and a new writ was issued for Aylesbury.

Wilkes continued in Paris, being now afraid of being arrested for debt, being no longer a member of parliament. Still the people regarded him as a man persecuted for his defence of their rights, and did not hesitate to show their disapprobation even to the king. Whenever he appeared in public, or at the theatre, they gave no token of loyalty towards him, but shouted "Wilkes and liberty!" On the 13th of February the opposition in the commons brought on the question of the validity of general warrants. The debate continued all that day and the next night till seven o'clock in the morning. Numbers of whigs and many ladies of rank, amongst them lady Rockingham, lady Sondes, the duchess of Richmond, lady Pembroke, &c., sate out the whole debate. The motion was thrown out; but Sir William Meredith immediately made another, that a general warrant for apprehending the authors, printers, and publishers of a seditious libel is not warranted by law. The combat was renewed, and Pitt made a tremendous speech, declaring that if the house resisted Sir William Meredith's motion, they would be the disgrace of the present age, and the reproach of posterity. He upbraided ministers with

taking mean and petty vengeance on those who did not agree with them, by dismissing them from office. This charge Grenville had the effrontery to deny, though it was a notorious fact. Even whilst he was denying it, general A'Court, who had just been dismissed from his command of a regiment of the guards, walked up the house, as if to convict the minister of the lie; the circumstance being noticed by a murmur through the whole house. Soon after the speaker calling on Barré, as colonel Barré, that officer said, "I beg your pardon, sir: you have given me a title I have no right to, I am no longer a colonel; they have dismissed me from my regiment, and from the office of adjutant-general." In addition to these two unfortunate *contretemps*, it was equally well known that they had dismissed Mr. John Calcraft from the post of deputy commissioner-general of musters, and menaced many others; and, in spite of this public exposure, they soon after dismissed general Conway, brother of the earl of Hertford, our ambassador at Paris, both from his military and his court employments, simply for his voting against them on the general warrant question, though it was the only instance in which he had voted with the opposition.

The chagrin of ministers was made the more intolerable because they saw that their conduct was thus alienating their supporters in the house. As the debate approached its close, they called in every possible vote; the sick, the lame were hurried into the house, so that, says Horace Walpole, you would have thought they had sent a search warrant into every hospital for members of parliament. When the division came, which was only for the adjournment of Meredith's motion for a month, they only carried it by fourteen votes. In the City there was a confident anticipation of the defeat of ministers, and materials for bonfires all over London, and for illuminating the monument. Temple was said to have faggots ready for bonfires of his own.

Government, not content with expelling Wilkes from the house of commons, had commenced an action against him in the court of king's bench, where they succeeded in obtaining a verdict against him for a libel in the "North Briton." Temple paid the costs, and the City of London turned this defeat into a triumph, by presenting its freedom to the lord chief-justice Pratt, for his bold and independent conduct in declaring against the general warrants. They ordered his portrait to be placed in Guildhall; and the example of London was followed by Dublin and many other towns, who presented freedoms and gold snuff-boxes to Pratt. The City of London also presented its thanks to their members of the house of commons for their patriotic conduct there.

During this session, the princess Augusta, one of the king's sisters, was married to the hereditary prince of Brunswick, and parliament voted her a dowry of eighty thousand pounds. The prince, who was a nephew of Frederick of Prussia, and had fought in Germany with our army under the auspices of Pitt, gave offence to the court, during his visit, by showing his veneration for the great man, and by paying him a visit at Hayes. He lived to engage in the campaign, as Duke of Brunswick, against Buonaparte, and died of a wound received, in 1806, at the

battle of Jena. A daughter of his marriage was the unfortunate queen Caroline, wife of George IV.

Another minor act of this summer was the presentation of our bills for the two million dollars from Spain, as the Manila ransom, given to Sir William Draper by the governor of the Philippines. The Spaniards laughed at the demand; and the feeble Grenville, whom Dr. Johnson said could have counted the money had he been able to get it, for that was rather his post than governing a great nation, knew not how to enforce it. Had Pitt been in power, he would have seized unceremoniously a Spanish treasure ship, and paid himself.

Several distinguished members of the opposition died during this year, amongst them Legge, formerly Pitt's chancellor of the exchequer, the duke of Devonshire, and the earl of Hardwicke. Pitt, though tortured with the gout, received the unexpected legacy of an estate in Somersetshire of three thousand pounds a-year, from Sir William Pynsent, whom he had never seen in his life, but who had a wonderful admiration of him.

CHAPTER III.

REIGN OF GEORGE III. (Continued).

Commencement of the Troubles with America—Grenville's Stamp Act—Barré's Speech—Franklin's Letters—Ferment in America—House of Burgesses dissolved in Virginia—Patrick Henry—Dangerous Illness of George III.—Regency Bill—Insult to the Princess Dowager—Disturbances in Spitalfields—Attack on Bedford House—Pitt asked to form a Government—Declines—Again applied to—Declines a Second Time—Marquis of Rockingham minister—Parties in Ireland—Death of Duke of Cumberland—Turbula at Boston in America—Resistance to the Stamp Act—Petitions from Commercial Towns—Franklin examined at the Bar of the Commons—Repeal of the Stamp Act—Rejoicings in America—First Appearance of Edmund Burke—Ministers treat with Wilkes—Pitt Minister, and created Earl of Chatham—Murmurs against him—The Design of the Northern Alliance—Mismanagement of the East India Company—Chatham's Illness—New Taxes on America—Mutiny Tax—Grafton Minister—Nullum Tempus Bill—Wilkes Candidate for Westminster—Committed to Prison—Riots—War between Russia and Turkey—Jesuits expelled from Spain—Corsica taken by France—Death of Duke of Newcastle—Resignation of Chatham.

If Grenville and his cabinet, in their ignorance of human nature, had made a gross mistake in their conduct towards Wilkes, they now made a more fatal one in regard to our American colonies. These colonies, as we have stated, in our progress of the nation at the close of our last volume, had now assumed an air of great importance, and were rapidly rising in population and wealth. The expulsion of the French from Canada, Nova Scotia, and Cape Breton, the settlement of Georgia by general Oglethorpe, the acquisition of Florida from Spain, had given a compactness and strength to these vast colonies, which promised a still more accelerated and prosperous growth. At this period the inhabitants are calculated to have amounted to two millions of Europeans, and half a million of coloured people, Indians and negroes. The trade was becoming every day more extensive and valuable to the mother country. The imports from England, chiefly of her manufactures, amounted to three million pounds annually in value. They carried on a great trade with our West Indian islands and the Spanish American colonies, and French and Dutch West Indies, importing thence sugar, rum, molasses, coffee, ginger, pimento, &c., and carrying out in exchange flour, biscuits, pease, timber, pork, hams, bacon, cider, cheese, leather, &c.

They also built ships for the French and Spaniards, in the West Indies. They had extensive iron and copper mines and works in different states. They manufactured great quantities of hats in New England. The fisheries of Massachusetts produced two hundred and thirty thousand quintals of dried fish, which they exported to Spain and Portugal, and other catholic countries of Europe. Carolina exported its rice to these countries as well as to England; and they exported great quantities of cured provisions, dye-woods, apples, wax, leather, tobacco from Virginia and Maryland, fifty thousand hogsheads annually to England alone, valued at three hundred and seventy-five thousand pounds; flax, furs, skins, hemp, linseed oil, sawn timber, shingles, cask staves, silk and indigo, from Georgia and Carolina, &c. &c. The masts from New England, sent over for our royal navy, were the largest in the world.

Such was the busy scene which these colonies were now presenting. Dutch, German, and Swedish emigrants were carrying their industry and handicrafts thither. But, instead of our merchants seeing what a mighty market was growing up for them there, their commercial jealousy was aroused at the sight of the trade which the colonists carried on with the Spanish, French, and other colonies, and even with Europe. They complained of the introduction of the American hats into Spain, Portugal, and the West Indies. The planters of the British West Indies complained of the American colonists taking their rum, sugar, coffee, &c., from the Dutch, French, and Spanish islands, in return for their raw produce, asserting that they had a monopoly for all their productions throughout the whole of the British dominions. Loud clamours were raised by these planters in the English parliament, demanding the prohibition of this trade; and, after repeated endeavours, in 1733 an act was passed to crush it, by granting a drawback on the re-exportation of West Indian sugar from England, and imposing duties on the importation of West Indian produce direct into the American colonies.

These were measures which must have greatly irritated the American colonists. They exhibited a disposition to curb and repress their growing energies betwixt the interests of English merchants and English West Indian planters. The prospect was far from encouraging; whilst, at the same time, the English ministers, crushing these energies with one hand, were contemplating drawing a revenue by taxation from them on the other. The whole process betrayed a profound ignorance of the science of colonisation. England contended that she sacrificed large amounts in building up colonies, and therefore had a right to expect a return for this expenditure. Such a return, had they had the sagacity to let them alone, was inevitable from the trade of the colonies in an ever-increasing ratio. But colonies, like children, demand, as a right of nature, support in their minority; and they cannot be made to return that care and cost, except as the free-will offering of men and states at their majority. Then, and in the spirit of mutual love and benefit, they will pay, and pay munificently.

It was well said of Grenville, that "he lost America because he read the colonial dispatches which some of his predecessors did." That is, he was looking out for new taxes, and, by paying attention to the rapid growth of these

colonies, he was inspired with the design of drawing a revenue from them. And so he might, had he not attempted to force it from them by taxation without representation. The scheme had been suggested to Sir Robert Walpole, when his excise bill failed, by Sir William Keith, who had been governor of Pennsylvania; but Sir Robert had a far deeper insight into human nature than the shallow and obstinate Grenville. He replied, "I have already Old England set against me, and do you think I will have New England set against me too?" But the "Gentle Shepherd" was still looking round and asking, "Where? tell me where?" During the session of 1764 he imposed several duties on American articles of export, as well as those we have just mentioned, if imported direct from the French, Dutch, and Spanish West Indies. The Americans did not dispute the right of the mother country to impose such duties on the trade of the empire in any quarter; but these imposts, seeing the object of them, were not the less galling. But Grenville did not stop there; he stated, at the time of passing these duties, that it was probable that government would charge certain stamp duties in America. This was making a raw and immediately striking on it. The infatuated minister was contemplating an act, of the nature of which neither he nor his colleagues had any conception.

The news of these imposts, and of this intended stamp duty, flew across the Atlantic, and produced the most bitter excitement. It was true that Grenville had called together the agents of the several American colonies, and told them to write to their respective assemblies, and say that if any other duties would be more agreeable, he should be glad to consult their wishes. It was a choice of modes only where the radical evil was the same—a violation of the fundamental right of free people; and therefore the Americans made no reply on that head. Never, either, could these unwelcome news have reached the colonies at a more unpropitious moment. To the restrictions on their legitimate trade, they had been adding others on their illegitimate trade. Nearly all the American colonies lay on the seaboard, and were, therefore, naturally addicted to a free sort of trade, which these new duties made contraband. The English government had sent out a number of revenue ships and officers to cut off this trade, and capture and confiscate all vessels found practising it. The colonists met in various places, and passed very strong resolutions against these regulations. They declared that to cut off their trade with foreign West Indies and the Spanish main, was to crush them altogether. They complained that the English officers and crew were only solicitous to make prizes; that they understood little of maritime law, and set that little at defiance; that British officers, thus degraded to tide-waiters, knowing nothing of bonds, clearances, cockets, affidavits, stamps, registers, manifests, &c., confounded the legal and illegal traders together, and were knocking all commerce on the head.

To add to the bitterness of the American mind, the colonies were suffering frightfully from the incursions of the Indians. These savage tribes lay all along their frontiers, and the scattered populations exposed to them had come into a deadly conflict with them. The French, smarting under the loss of Canada, and their other North American possessions, sent their agents amongst the Indians, with



whom they had long cultivated friendly relations, and excited them to lay waste the British territories, and butcher the unprotected out-lying settlers. The colonies flew to arms to defend themselves, and retaliated with merciless vengeance on the offenders. The Indians, led on, as was supposed, by their French instigators, only planned a more extensive war. They came down on the whole length of the frontiers, whilst the settlers were busy in their harvest. They burnt the farms and villages, set fire to the corn, drove off the cattle, and murdered the inhabitants, till the whole of the back settlements lay a black and awful desert. In Canada they surprised some of the forts, and murdered the garrisons. Troops were dispatched to repel these insidious and murderous invaders; but they met them with a degree of discipline and address which showed that they were under European instruction. They defeated and killed captain Dalziel near Fort Detroit; they put to flight colonel Bouquet, as he was conveying provisions to Fort Pitt, seized them, and surprised an escort near Niagara, and killed eighty men with the officers. Fortunately, Sir William Johnstone, who had a wonderful influence with the Indians of the Six Nations, not only prevailed on them to refrain from the general onslaught, but to assist him against it.

Just breathing from this terrible infliction, it was no wonder that the colonists received the news of the impositions by the mother country, and the menace of more, with rage and resistance. The people of New England spread their views and resolves all over the colonies by means of the press. They refused to listen to any overtures of the British government on the subject. They claimed the right to grant, of their own free will, such contributions to the revenue of the empire as their own assemblies should deem just, and to submit to no compulsion where they had no voice. They called on all the colonists to refrain as much as possible from purchasing any of the manufactures of England so long as she showed a disposition to oppress them, but to obtain their materials for clothing from other countries, or to begin to manufacture them themselves; and to cease also to use all luxuries on which the duties were laid.

To make their determination known in England, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Maryland, and Georgia appointed the celebrated Benjamin Franklin their agent in London. Franklin, as is well known to most readers, had raised himself by his industry, sagacity, and science, from the humble position of the son of a tallow-chandler of Boston, New England, following the occupation of a journeyman printer, to that of an able statesman and a natural philosopher of great eminence. His discoveries in electricity had made him known throughout the whole world. He had, by means of a kite, identified that active and all-pervading imponderable with the lightning, and thus led to still more important developments of science. He had been some years in England, working as a journeyman printer, and, whilst thus engaged, had been one of the very first apostles of temperance. He was accustomed to urge its benefits, both personal and pecuniary, on his drinking fellow-workmen, showing them that, whilst they had to borrow money frequently of him, in anticipation of their wages, he retained his own, and he challenged them to trials of strength when

they had drunk their beer, and he had fortified himself with a penny roll and a glass of water. This shrewd, moderate, and observant man, his countrymen now dispatched to England, with orders to oppose with uncompromising firmness, not only the stamp act, but every other act which the parliament of England should attempt to impose without the consent of the American people.

Parliament met on the 10th of January, 1765. The resentment of the Americans had reached the ears of the ministry and the king, yet both continued determined to proceed. Grenville was far from firm in his position. During the latter end of 1764 there had been fresh overtures made to Pitt and Newcastle through the duke of Beaufort; but Pitt had declined them, and the opposition predicted that the Grenville cabinet could not survive Christmas. Yet here it was not only braving the people of England, but of America.

Franklin, who was destined to sign the Declaration of the Independence of the States of America, stood amongst the spectators in the House of Lords, and heard the king, in his speech, refer to the discontents across the Atlantic, but only to recommend their being silenced by force. "The experience I have had," said the unapprehensive monarch, "of your former conduct, makes me rely on your wisdom and firmness in promoting that obedience to the laws, and respect to the legislative authority of the kingdom, which is essentially necessary for the safety of the whole." Not an idea crossed the imagination of either king or parliament that it was much more conducive to safety to consult the will of the people instead of endeavouring to force their submission to arbitrary taxation.

It was a moment of unhappy measures. Along with this fatal recommendation, George announced the intended marriage of his youngest sister, Caroline Matilda, with the king of Denmark—an event as miserable in the princess's personal fortunes as the taxing of America was to the empire at large.

In the interviews which Franklin and the other agents had with the ministers, Grenville begged them to point any other tax that would be more agreeable to the colonists than the stamp-duty; but they replied that no duty, or tax of any kind, would be submitted to by the Americans which was imposed without their own assent. They claimed the right, like any other British subjects, to be represented in any assembly which assumed to tax them; and they earnestly recommended them to continue the established practice of sending a letter, in the king's name, to each house of assembly, recommending contributions to the public service, and they were confident that they would be liberally complied with. And Franklin long afterwards declared, that "had Mr. Grenville, instead of his stamp act, applied to the king in council for requisitional letters, I am sure he would have obtained more money from the colonies, by their voluntary grants, than he expected to obtain from his stamps." All that he did expect to obtain was but a shilling a head from the North Americans, which, according to the estimate of two millions of European population, would have produced only one hundred thousand pounds a-year.

Grenville paid no attention to these reasonable representations—he was destined to establish a great principle of

colonial government by the loss of a continent. Fifty-five resolutions, prepared by a committee of ways and means, were laid by him on the table of the House of Commons at an early day of the session, imposing on America nearly the same stamp-duties as were already in practical operation in England. These resolutions being adopted, were embodied in a bill; and when it was introduced to the house, it was received with an apathy which betrayed on all hands the profoundest ignorance of its importance. No ordinary tamper act ever went through it with half the indifference. Horace Walpole, in his private correspondence on all the topics of parliament, never alludes to it but once, and that is to say that on the 7th of February "there was a slight lay on the American taxes." Walpole confessed his utter ignorance of American affairs, and almost every other member of parliament might have done the same. This stolid apathy is only equalled by that of our own times which attached to East Indian affairs. In vain did gentlemen out of doors, and in-doors, too—well acquainted with the ruinous and wicked policy in progress in India—warn and expostulate. They awoke no feelings but impatience and disgust till the tempest burst upon us in all its horrors. So, then, all was apathy and stolid unconsciousness. Burke, who was a spectator of the debates in both houses, in a speech some years afterwards, stated that he never heard a more languid debate than that in the commons. Only two or three persons spoke against the measure, and that with great composure. There was but one division in the whole progress of the bill, and the minority did not reach to more than thirty-nine or forty. In the lords, he said, there was, to the best of his recollection, neither division nor debate! With such ease are empires thrown away, whilst a question of contemptible party interest will convulse parliament and nation.

Yet, if we are to believe colonel Barré, Grenville having spoken of the Americans as our children, planted by our care, and nourished by our indulgence, he burst out—"Children planted by your care! No; your oppression planted them in America. They fled from your tyranny, to a then uncultivated and inhospitable wilderness, exposed to all the hardships to which human nature is liable. They nourished by your indulgence! No; they grew by your neglect of them. Your care of them was displayed, as soon as you began to care about them, by sending persons to rule them who were the deputies of deputies of ministers; men, whose behaviour, on many occasions, has caused the blood of those sons of liberty to recoil within them—men, who have been promoted to the highest seats of justice in that country, in order to escape being brought to the bar of a court of justice in their own. I have been conversant with the Americans, and I know them to be loyal indeed, but a people jealous of their liberties, and who will vindicate them, if ever they should be violated; and let my prediction of this day be remembered, that the same spirit of freedom which actuated that people at first will accompany them still."

Unfortunately, so far as can be discovered from Debrett's parliamentary debates, and the evidence of Burke, it is doubtful whether this spirited appeal was made at the time. Had it been so, it would have produced no effect. It would

have been treated only as the expression of chagrin in Barré, who had just been deprived of his regiment. But Barré, on many other occasions, spoke in the same strain, without effect. No eloquence, however divine, could have turned these stupid Pharaohs of England from the work of national dissection. They went on, rejecting all information, all remonstrance. English merchants, connected with these colonies, and others who had interests in them, or had been in them, sent in petitions which were treated with contempt. The agents of Connecticut, Virginia, Rhode Island, Carolina, and Jamaica, begged to be heard, but were refused, and on the 22nd of March the fatal stamp act became law.

Grenville, when afterwards upbraided with this disastrous measure, said, "I did propose the stamp act, and shall have no objection to have it christened in my name." Posterity has taken him at his word. Yet it would be unjust to charge all the blame upon him. Nearly every other member of the ministry and parliament were equally impervious of the mischief or equally indifferent. Barré, Grenville admits, did anticipate that the Americans would be angry, but he denied that Barré, or any one, had prophesied beforehand what they spoke loud enough after the event. Pitt himself was quite as undiscerning, or as culpable. During all this time, when his voice should have been heard in its most potent tones, it was silent. Either he did not see the extent of the mischief, or he lay wilfully and criminally still, in order to allow his opponents to commit themselves irrevocably with the nation. Nay, what is still more singular, the cool and sagacious Franklin undoubtedly gave up the question as inevitable. Writing to Mr. Charles Thompson, in America, July 11th, 1765—a letter preserved in the Biography of Jared Sparks—he says, "There is no use in any further opposing this act. We might as well have hindered the sun's setting. That we could not do. But since it is down, my friend, and may be long before it rises again, let us make as good a night of it as we can. We may still light candles. Frugality and industry will go a great way towards indemnifying us." He even consented, at Grenville's request, in conjunction with the other agents, to nominate such a person, for his own province, as the most suitable distributor of stamps in America, under the act!

But a very different spirit displayed itself in America on the arrival of the news of the passing of the act. Franklin's friend Thompson replied to him, that, instead of lighting candles, there would be works of darkness. The rage of the American public burst forth in unequivocal vigour. At New York, the odious stamp act was represented surmounted with a death's head instead of the royal arms, and was hawked through the streets with the title of "the folly of England and the ruin of America." At Boston the colours of the shipping were lowered half-mast high, and the bells of the city were muffled and tolled funeral knells. Everywhere there was a frenzied excitement, and the provincial assemblies resounded with the clamour of indignant patriotism. It was the fortune of that of Virginia to give the leading idea of union and co-operative resistance, which led to the grand conflict, and to eventual victory over the infatuated mother country. There a very different man

to Franklin, started up, and kindled by his fiery breath the torch of confederate resistance, which was soon sent, like the fiery cross, through every state, and lit the conflagration which burnt England and all her follies and despotisms from the country.

Patrick Henry, like Franklin, was an American born. He saw the light at Mount Brilliant, in Virginia, in 1736; consequently, he was now twenty-nine years of age. He had tried his hand at a little shop, at farming, and other things, and failed in all. He then commenced as barrister, on a six weeks' study of the law, but soon found that, though he could not be heavily laden with law, he had eloquence and strong sense, and they gave him immediate popularity. He rose at once to the head of his profession; he became a member of the assembly of burgesses, at Williamsburg, and then he burst out on the stamp act with that fire and impetuosity which carried all before him. "Caesar," he cried, with indignant vehemence, "had his Brutus; Charles I. had his Cromwell; and George III.—" "Treason!" cried the speaker. "Treason! treason!" resounded from all sides of the house; but Henry, pausing only for a moment, added, "may profit by their example. If that be treason, make the most of it."

Catching the contagious fire, the assembly passed a series of resolutions, denying, in the most unqualified language, the right of the mother country to tax them without their consent, and demanding the repeal of the obnoxious statute.

The governor hastened to dissolve the assembly; but the resolutions were already passed, and set the example to the other assemblies. But it was at once seen that, to acquire their full weight, the colonies must unite. Speeches, pamphlets, articles in newspapers, all called for co-operation. A print was published exhibiting a snake cut into a number of pieces, each piece inscribed with the name of a colony, and with the motto, "*Join or die*." In consequence, several of the states sent representatives to a general congress, to be held at New York in the month of October, to take measures for a general resistance to the stamp act.

Whilst the American colonies were thus stimulated, by unwise taxation, into a temper which never again could be entirely allayed, and which concession only made more determined, because it gave them a heightened idea of their own strength, the king was suddenly attacked with an illness, that startled himself and the kingdom from that security which his apparently robust constitution had inspired. The disorder was attributed to a humour which appeared in his face, and which means had been employed to remove which only repelled it inwardly, and threw it upon his lungs. He was said to labour under cough and fever; but it became pretty well understood, after a time, that it was something more alarming—that it was, in fact, an attack of that insanity which recurred again and again, and held him for years, during the latter part of his reign, in its fearful power. This time it was of short occurrence; and the moment it was past, George held a levee at St. James's, and appeared at it with a cheerful air, as if to dissipate all alarm. The real nature of the attack was kept as close buried as possible in the inner circle of the palace. But the king himself immediately proposed a measure, which showed that it had awoken serious thoughts in him. He submitted to

ministers the propriety of a provision for a regency, in case of any recurring malady which should incapacitate him for business. His eldest son was not yet quite three years old. He did not wish to nominate any particular person now, but to authorise, by an act of parliament, at any time when he might deem it expedient, such person as he thought proper. The matter was discussed in the cabinet, and it was agreed that such a bill should be prepared, empowering the king to name, if deemed necessary, "either the queen, or any other person of the royal family usually residing in Great Britain."

On the 24th of April, accordingly, the king proposed, in a speech from the throne, the measure to the houses in these words. Both houses sent addresses of affection, and the bill was introduced into the house of lords; and it was there contended that it was too vague, no person being directly named, except the queen. To remedy this, the king sent a new message, naming the five princesses of the royal house, with the power of nominating others in the case of the deaths of any of them. Still, on the second reading, lord Lyttleton declared that this left it perfectly uncertain who would become regent; and he moved an address to the king to name which one of the persons specified he would nominate as regent. But here the duke of Richmond asked, whether the queen were naturalised; and if not, whether she were capable of acting as regent. He asked, also, who were, strictly speaking, the royal family? The earl of Denbigh replied, "All who were prayed for;" but the duke of Bedford contended that those only in the order of succession constituted the royal family. This went at once to exclude the princess dowager of Wales, the king's mother; and Halifax, his colleague, agreed with him. The question was proposed to lord Mansfield, but he warded it off by saying, that he had his own thoughts who were, and who were not, of the royal family, but he did not choose to express them. The question of the queen's naturalisation was then referred to the judges, who reported that she was capable of acting without any formal naturalisation. The lord chancellor, Henley, also declared that the royal family was not confined to the persons merely in course of succession, as the duke of Bedford supposed. Amidst all this confusion, lord Halifax hastened away to the king, and advised him to have the name of his mother omitted, lest the lords should strike it out, and thus make it appear a public insult. The poor, bewildered king, taken by surprise, said, "I will consent, if it will satisfy my people."

Halifax, possessed of this authority, returned to the house of lords, and announced that, by the king's permission, he proposed the recommitment of the bill, with the names only of the queen and the sons of the late king now living. Thus, the princess dowager was publicly stigmatised, on the authority of her own son, as incapable of reigning, whilst such men as the butcher Cumberland were made capable. The amendment, as the royal pleasure, was agreed to. The country was struck with astonishment. The duke of Bedford is represented by Horace Walpole as almost dancing about for joy; the consternation of Bute and his party was indescribable. To cover the disgrace, they represented it as the wish of the princess dowager herself.

But, when the king was left to his own reflections, it

began to flash upon him that he had, by his weak compliance, openly insulted his own parent in the grossest manner. He bitterly upbraided Halifax with having thus stolen his consent by a surprise. He expressed his mortification to lord Mansfield amid torrents of tears, and demanded Grenville to reinstate the princess's name in the house of commons. But Grenville, with his usual obstinacy, declined to do it, unless it were strongly pressed upon him in the house. He trusted, however, that the opposition, who hated the princess, would relieve him of this necessity by voting against the reinsertion of the name. But he was mistaken. Mr. Morton, the chief justice of Chester, one of the Bute party, moved for the insertion of the princess's name in the bill, and the opposition made no objection; they only too much enjoyed Grenville's embarrassment. He was therefore compelled to insert the name, which—thus falsifying Halifax's assertion to the king, that, if left in, it would be struck out by parliament—was carried by an overwhelming majority.

The circumstance sank deep into the mind of the king, and, resenting especially the conduct of Grenville—who had acted as though he held a monopoly of office—he determined to be rid of him. He therefore consulted with his uncle, the duke of Cumberland. Besides this public affront, and the pertinacity with which Grenville was accustomed to enforce his measures on the royal mind, he had just vexed the monarch in another particular. George had desired a grant of £20,000, to secure a piece of land behind the gardens of Buckingham House, foreseeing the danger of buildings springing up there,—as they afterwards did, in the present Grosvenor Place,—overlooking the gardens, and destroying their retirement. Grenville opposed it. To this might be added the public discontent. Grenville had succeeded as little as Bute in securing the goodwill of the public. There was an under current of popular displeasure, and, whilst the ministers and parliament were thinking little but of their party feuds, the people were on the verge of outbreak. That outbreak, to a certain extent, immediately followed this miserably managed regency bill. On the very day that it passed the lords, a bill was sent up to it, from the commons, for imposing high duties on foreign silks. The duke of Bedford made a speech against this bill, and was particularly severe on what he termed the folly and selfishness of those concerned in the domestic silk trade. But the fact was, that vast numbers were thrown out of work by the influx of silks from France—through the stipulations of the peace of Paris—and hungry men are not patient listeners to lectures on political economy, much less to taunts, when they are famishing.

The next day three or four thousands of these poor men, with their ragged garbs and emaciated looks, marched off to Richmond to petition the king in person for redress. They found him gone to a review at Wimbledon, and they followed him there. The king evinced great compassion for them, and declared he would do all in his power to contribute to their relief. They returned in apparent satisfaction, but the next day assembled about Whitehall, carrying red and black flags, and denouncing the peers in furious language. They stopped several of their carriages as they went to the house, and demanded if they were for or against the bill. On seeing that of the duke of Bedford,

they pursued it with yells, and dirt, and stones. One of the stones struck the duke, and that and the glass wounded him on the hand and the forehead.

Bedford learned that the mob was not contented with this display of their resentment. They returned on the evening of the next Friday, May 7th, to attack his house on the north side of Bloomsbury-square. He therefore got together his friends and dependents to assist in its defence, and procured detachments of soldiers, both horse and foot. The incensed people appeared at the appointed time, and began to pull down the wall of his court. The riot act being read, the cavalry rushed out, and, striking right and left with the flat of their sabres, and riding resolutely amongst them, soon cleared the square. Whilst this was going on, however, another army of the rioters had attacked the house in the rear, and were marching up the garden when they were met, and encountered, and put to the route by another body of soldiers. The mobs were all dispersed without any loss of life, but with a great many injuries.

The duke and his friends continued their watch, under the protection of the military, all night, but no fresh attempt was made. The exasperated weavers had bent their way to the city, and demolished the windows of Carr, a fashionable mercer, who dealt largely in French silks; but they were prevented doing further mischief by the soldiers. For some days, indeed, the streets were thronged with military, and with the lowering and disappointed weavers. The City was also full of alarming reports of similar riots in Norwich, of gatherings in Essex and in Lancashire, and mutinies amongst the sailors at Portsmouth. The most prominent statesmen and members of parliament seriously were afraid of a rebellion. Two days after, when Horace Walpole paid a visit to Bedford House, he found soldiers still posted there, and all in alarm and confusion, and was himself hooted and pelted, when he turned into the court, by the mob. The duchess of Bedford declared that the mob had been set on by lord Bute, in revenge for the duke procuring the erasure of the princess's name from the regency bill; others were sure that Wilkes had a hand in it. The weavers were not appeased till a subscription was raised for their relief, and an association entered into by the silk mercers to countermand all their orders to the foreign manufacturers.

All parties were decidedly of opinion that it was high time for the king to be rid of his present ministers. They had grossly insulted him in the regency bill; they had misrepresented his opinions and desires to parliament; and their incapacity was fast running the nation into fearful difficulties. Pitt was the man who could extricate king and people out of their dilemmas, if his enormous pride did not prevent him; and the king, having consulted his uncle, the old and fast-declining Cumberland, that prince, to whom age and infirmities seemed to have given a degree of wisdom, declared the offer of the ministry to Pitt to be the necessary step, and willingly undertook to make it. But he knew that Pitt would not even listen to the proposal without Temple; he dispatched a summons to Stowe for that nobleman, and himself, extremely infirm as he was, went to Hayes, to learn the will of the great commoner personally.

No sooner did this circumstance transpire, than there arose extreme public excitement and expectation. Edmund

Burke, who was now fast rising into notice, in a letter, on the 18th of May, stated clearly how much lay in the power of Pitt. "Nothing but an intractable spirit in your friend Pitt can prevent a most admirable and lasting system of administration from being put together, and this crisis will show whether pride or patriotism be predominant in his character; for you may be assured he has it in his power

that general warrants should be declared illegal; the officers dismissed on account of their votes be restored; and an alliance with protestant powers, and especially with Prussia, should be formed, to counterbalance the family compact betwixt France and Spain. This was asking a great deal; but Pitt demanded more in the particulars of appointments, namely, that Pratt, who had opposed the



WILLIAM PITT, EARL OF CHATHAM. FROM AN AUTHENTIC PORTRAIT.

to come into the service of his country upon any plan of politics he chooses to dictate, with great and honourable terms to himself and every friend he has in the world, and with such a strength of power as will be equal to anything but absolute despotism over king and kingdom. A few days will show whether he will take this part, or continue on his back at Hayes, talking fustian."

Pitt showed himself disposed to accept office, on condition

court so decidedly as regarded Wilkes and general warrants, should be lord chancellor, and he opposed the court desire that the duke of Northumberland should be at the head of the treasury. Northumberland was a Mr. Smithson, who had married the heir of the Percies, and received the title, but was a man of no particular talent. Pitt, moreover, designed the treasury for Temple. But, when Temple arrived, he refused to take office at all. He pleaded a



THE PRINCESS AMELIA ATTEMPTING A RECONCILIATION BETWEEN GEORGE III. AND LORD BUTE.

delicacy that must for ever remain a secret. In fact, Temple had taken so prominent, and almost violent, a part against the court, in the matter of Wilkes, and in voting wholly against the regency bill, that he knew very well that he should only be tolerated in the cabinet on account of Pitt; and, with a pride equal or superior to Pitt's, he was not disposed to accept office under such circumstances. Still more, he was just now making a reconciliation with his brother, Grenville, and was averse to throw him overboard. So far from joining Pitt, he was on the verge of another breach with him.

Pitt, disconcerted by this repulse, with a weakness to be deplored in so great a man, refused to accept the offer to form a ministry at all. He took leave of Temple with a quotation from Virgil, meaning, "Brother, you have ruined us all." Such are the weak places in great minds. Whilst the fate of his country and her colonies depended on his resolute and wise action, he suffered a mere private feeling to influence him, and defeat the consideration of the momentous public interests. Such weaknesses are scarcely simple weaknesses—they amount to crimes against duty and humanity.

Cumberland and the king behaved in this dilemma far more worthily than Pitt and his wrong-headed brother. They endeavoured to make fresh arrangements, and the treasury was offered to lord Lyttleton; but he did not venture to accept it. There was a general dread of undertaking the administration with Pitt standing aloof, and the present powerful whig houses in violent opposition. The unfortunate king was obliged to submit, and retain his present incompetent ministers. These incompetent ministers, on their part, now believing themselves indispensable, became at once proportionably assuming, and even insolent, in their demands. Grenville and Bedford put several direct demands to the king as the conditions even of their condescending to serve him: that he would promise to have no further communications with lord Bute, nor to allow him the slightest share in his councils; that he would dismiss Bute's brother, Mr. Mackenzie, from the office of privy seal of Scotland, and from the management of Scottish affairs; that he would dismiss lord Holland from being paymaster of the forces, and appoint lord Granby commander-in-chief.

Mr. Mackenzie had a promise of his office for life from the king, and Mackenzie was an amiable man, his only objection being that of being Bute's brother; and, to make Granby commander-in-chief, was to remove and disparage Cumberland. The king, after some demur, submitted to all these conditions, except the appointment of lord Granby, and escaped that only by Granby himself declining the post. George submitted, because he could not help it, to these imperious conditions; but he only resented them, and did not avoid showing it by his coldness towards both Bedford and Grenville. He invited the duke of Devonshire to court—a youth of only seventeen—and received him cordially, as the son of an old friend. At this, the haughty Bedford took fire, and read the king a severe lecture before leaving town for Woburn. He complained of the king showing kindness to the enemies of the administration; and demanded, in a manner, perhaps, never used by any subject in this country since Henry of Lancaster spoke in similar

assumption to Richard II., whether the king had kept his promise not to consult lord Bute.

George had much difficulty in restraining his indignation, but he kept it down, and only bowed the duke silently out of his presence. No sooner had he departed than he flew to Cumberland, and declared he would bear this no longer. Again overtures were made to Pitt, again Pitt expressed himself willing to take office, but again declined, because Temple still refused. The weakness and folly of this conduct are inconceivable, as Pitt could have formed a powerful ministry without this froward brother-in-law. But, instead of this, he pettishly exclaimed, "This is an amputation! All is over with me, and by a fatality I did not expect." And he at once, like a spoiled child, set off to his new place, Burton Pynsent, in Somersetshire, to bury his chagrin in solitude. What an unequal creature is a proud but crotchety man of genius, capable of conquering the world, but not of conquering his own petulance—strong enough to uphold states, but believing himself unable to do the smallest thing without some miserable reed to lean on!

Foiled in these attempts to engage Pitt, and equally foiled in an endeavour to engage some of the heads of the leading whig houses, who would enter no administration without Pitt, a heterogeneous cabinet was at length cobbled up, through the management of the old duke of Newcastle, who was hankering after office. The marquis of Rockingham was put forward as first lord of the treasury and premier. Grafton and Conway were to be secretaries of state; and the latter, so lately dismissed with ignominy from the army, was to lead the commons. The earl of Northington was made chancellor, the old duke of Newcastle privy seal; another old and almost superannuated nobleman, lord Winchelsea, president of the council. Charles Townshend retained his post of paymaster of the forces. Such materials, it was clear, could never long hold together. "It is a mere lute-string administration," said Townshend himself; "it is pretty summer wear, but it will never stand the winter!"

As for the head of it, lord Rockingham, he was an honourable man, of no pretensions to political talent, but renowned for a large estate. He was about five-and-thirty years of age; horse-racing his great passion and pursuit—a mere plebeian Watson on the father's side, but, on the mother's, descended from the great house of Wentworth, and inheriting its honours. He had been a lord of the bedchamber; and when George III. was told that the whigs proposed to make him prime minister, he said, in astonishment, "I thought I had not two men in my bedchamber of less parts than lord Rockingham!" The best of lord Rockingham was that he was of very honourable principles—the worst, that he was so indolent that he never could be roused to do anything; and when any one expressed his surprise at "such a poor, dumb creature," as lord Gower styled him, being made prime minister, his supporters replied, as sufficient answer, "He is one of the greatest landowners in England!" The ablest man in the set was general Conway, a man of fascinating manners and upright mind.

To conciliate Pitt, the new administration recommended that chief-justice Pratt, his great friend, should be raised to the peerage, which was immediately done, as lord Camden; and his confidential solicitor, Mr. Nuthall, was made

solicitor to the treasury. These concessions, as it soon appeared, had not the slightest effect on the recluse of Burton Pynsent. Though refusing to take office himself, he was prepared to hurl his lightnings on those who did, and especially growled at the folly of admitting the poor old whimpering duke of Newcastle to a place in the cabinet.

At this period it would puzzle the reader to distinguish the difference betwixt whigs and tories. The tories were no longer Jacobites, all were equally attached to the present dynasty, and the distinguishing marks of conservatism and of a moderate liberalism were no longer to be found. There was little difference discernible in the political principles of whigs and tories; there were no uniform acts or political doctrines by which the two great sections of politicians openly held,

and when George said such things seriously, there might be full reliance on him. He was honest in intention, however much led astray by bad counsellors, and dogged in his error when once committed to it. It would appear that the king's aunt, the princess Amelia, about this time, made an attempt to introduce Bute again to the king; that she invited the king to dine with her at Gunnersbury, near Brentford; and, when there, took him into the garden, saying there was no one there but an old friend of his. This old friend, the king soon perceived, was Bute, who was walking in a neighbouring alley. On seeing him the king turned back, and told the old lady that, if she ever attempted such a thing again, it would be the last time she would see him at her house. The story is told differently by different authorities, but, in the main, is probably true. George appears, at this



THE STAMP ACT RIOTS AT BOSTON, IN AMERICA.

except that the whigs declared that they still venerated the principles of the revolution, and the tories said nothing about them. The chief distinctions were those of being in or out of office; and the so-called whigs were split into a number of parties, as hostile to each other as whigs and tories had formerly been. In only two things did they really accord—in the adhesion to the great whig houses of Russell, Cavendish, Wentworth, and Grenville, and in the love of office. There was also an indistinct and mysterious party called the king's friends, to whom almost all were averse. At the head of these was Bute, who was still imagined, even by Burke, and Bedford, and Grenville, to sway secretly the king's counsels. Yet the king declared, on the word of a gentleman, that he had now utterly cut off all communication betwixt him and his former favourite,

period, to be endeavouring to act the best for the country, but to be hopelessly trammelled by party faction.

Just at this time, too, he lost the only relative on whom he appeared to rely for counsel—the duke of Cumberland. This once and most justly unpopular prince appeared by the sufferings of his later years to have been softened and much improved. He lived quietly, and certainly gave the harassed king, his nephew, the best and most earnest assistance that he could. The people, who used in former years to abhor him, had also much softened towards him, and had grown to respect him. The duke died suddenly. On the 30th of October he was playing at piquet, when he grew confused, and mistook the cards. The next morning, however, he appeared at court, but returned to dine, and after dinner died in his chair.

Whilst these changes had been passing at home, the effervescence in America had grown most riotous and alarming. Boston took the lead in tumultuous fury. In August, the house of Mr. Oliver, the newly-appointed stamp-distributor, was attacked and ransacked; his effigy was hung upon a tree, thenceforward honoured by the name of the Liberty Tree. It was then taken down, paraded about the streets, and committed to the flames. The colonel of the militia was applied to, but sent an evasive answer, showing that there were others above the mob who enjoyed what the mob were doing. With this encouragement they broke out afresh, crying, "Liberty and Property!" which, said a colonial authority, was their cry when they meant to plunder and pull down a house. This time they gutted and partly demolished the houses of the registrar-deputy of the admiralty, the comptroller of the customs, and the lieutenant-governor, destroying a great quantity of important papers. The streets were found the next morning scattered with plate, money, and jewels, and other valuable articles, and the inhabitants, now become alarmed for their own dwellings, roused themselves to self-defence. News now arrived of the change of ministry, and the Bostonians voted thanks to Colonel Barré and General Conway for their speeches in behalf of the colonies, ordered their portraits to be placed in the town-hall, and waited events.

In New York, delegates assembled from nine different colonial assemblies. The governor forbade them to meet, declaring their meetings unprecedented and unlawful, but he took no active measures to prevent their deliberations. The congress met in October, and sat for three weeks. They appointed Mr. Timothy Ruggles, from Massachusetts, their chairman, and passed fourteen resolutions denying the right of the mother country to tax them without their own consent; and they drew up petitions to the king and parliament. The whole passed off with the utmost order and decorum, but not the less did far-seeing men behold in this confederate body the foreshadowing of a greater and more significant union.

It was imagined that the agitation would have been most visible in New England, but it extended all over the colonies, except to those of Canada and Nova Scotia, which quietly submitted. Strange enough, apparently, those which had so lately been taken possession of, and where the bulk of the inhabitants were not English, were the only ones which made no resistance. This, in fact, however, might result from the French not being accustomed to our ideas of liberty, and from there being a stronger force maintained there. In Virginia, as we have seen, the voice of Patrick Henry created the most ominous ferment; and even in the peaceful city of Philadelphia the people rose and spiked the guns on the ramparts. Everywhere associations were entered into to resist the importation of English manufactures after the 1st of January next, which, it was agreed, should dissolve themselves as soon as the stamp tax was abolished. But it is well known, from letters addressed to Franklin at this time, that the republican element was already widely spread through the colonies, and this very first opportunity was seized on by its advocates to encourage the idea of throwing off the allegiance to England without further delay.

As the 1st of November approached, the day on which the stamp act was to take effect, the excitement became intense. Furious crowds assembled in the ports to prevent the landing of the stamped paper from the ships which brought it. The appointed distributors were compelled to resign their posts. At New York the stamped paper was landed, but such was the commotion that it had to be put into the custody of the city magistrates, and be kept under guard in the city hall. It was utterly impossible to put the paper into use, and, after some interruption, business and the courts of law were allowed to proceed without it, on the plea that the stamps could not be obtained.

Such were the news which greeted the new ministry towards the close of the year. Many of them were averse to the act altogether, but they were not the less aware of the difficulty and danger of retracing steps of such moment when once taken. They delayed the meeting of parliament as long as possible, but events compelled them to this at last; for, owing to changes in office, new appointments, and deaths, there were forty new writs to fill up. Parliament was therefore summoned for the 17th of December, and the ministers endeavoured to escape from the great question a little longer by referring to the disturbances in America in the king's speech as demanding serious attention after the Christmas recess. Grenville, however, furious with indignation at the treatment which his mischievous measure had received, so completely fulfilling the warnings of Barré and Conway, moved an amendment on the address, expressing the utmost abhorrence of the insurrectionary conduct of the Americans, and calling on government to enforce the laws and punish the offenders. As there were no ministers in the house except one or two who had retained their posts, no answer could be given to opposite arguments by them, and he was prevailed on to withdraw his motion.

On the 14th of January, 1766, the king opened parliament with a second speech, rendered necessary by the change of ministry and the affairs of America. He informed the two houses that no time had been lost in issuing orders to all the governors of provinces and commanders of the forces there to exert themselves for the enforcement of law and the preservation of order; that he had commanded all the necessary papers to be laid before them, and that he commended the whole of the subject to their best wisdom. The debate which ensued upon the address was one of the most remarkable in our annals. The ministers were evidently confounded by the newness and the greatness of the circumstances. It was not for a man like Rockingham, nor for the feebleness of Newcastle, to cope with such startling facts. To go forward or to go backward appeared equally hazardous. Never was the "*sed revocare gradus*" seen in a more perilous point of view. All eyes were therefore turned in anxious silence towards the only great pilot who, it was believed, could weather the storm which the narrow and obstinate spirit of Grenville had conjured up.

And there was the great arbiter of England's destinies. No fit of gout now detained him from the breathless and expectant assembly. He came from his solitude in Somersetshire, where he had pondered over these gloomy events, and yet had let no single whisper of his conclusions upon them escape him. He entered, wrapped, as it were, in a mantle

of mystery, charged with the thunder which must fall destroyingly on the late ministers or on the Americans. He was pale and solemn, but evidently, though lame, much freer from his habitual torments of gout than usual. All eyes followed him, all hearts waited in deep suspense for his words. Two or three members had followed the mover and seconder of the address, before he rose from his seat. A young Irishman, destined to become one of the greatest orators who had ever started on the public eye in that arena, was, amid the impatience for the opinions of Pitt, awaking the wonder of the commons by his fervid eloquence, and condemning the policy which had thus embroiled us with our brethren across the Atlantic. As Edmund Burke sat down, Pitt rose and pronounced his warm congratulations on the new genius which thus sprung into existence, on the admirable speech of "that young member," of "that very able advocate," and he then turned himself to the mighty topic of the evening.

He took care to tell the house that he stood alone and unconnected. He had lately been declaring that that should be his future policy. That he came quite uninformed of the contents of his majesty's speech, and, contrary to all precedent, begged to have it read a second time. These were clearly only those arts by which an orator seeks to raise the wonder of his eloquence, by making it appear that he speaks without preparation. But Pitt knew well in his solitude what had been passing in America, and had undoubtedly settled the course he would take on this occasion. Turning to Grenville, he bluntly declared that everything that the late ministry had done was wrong. As for the present ministry (turning towards general Conway), he declared that he had no objections to them: their characters were fair; he had never been sacrificed by any of them, still he could not give them his confidence. "Pardon me, gentlemen," he said, bowing, "confidence is a plant of a slow growth in an aged bosom; youth alone is the season of credulity!"

He then declared that he felt there had been an influence at work in the late disastrous affairs; and denouncing all national prejudices, declaring that he cared not whether a man was born on this or the other side of the Tweed, that he had been the first to draw the intrepid mountaineers of Scotland into the public service, and that they had nobly justified his policy; he added, "it was not the country of the man, but the man of that country, who had wanted wisdom, and held principles incompatible with freedom."

This was shifting the burden of the mischief really from Grenville to Bute. He then excused his not having been present to oppose the attempt to tax America, by his illness, protesting that, could he have been even carried in his bed to the house, he would have done it. He then went on in his loftiest tone of eloquence: "This kingdom has no right to lay a tax upon the colonies. On this point I could not be silent, nor repress the ardour of my soul, smote as it is with indignation at the very thought of taxing America internally without a requisite voice of consent."

"Taxation is no part of the governing or legislative power. Taxes are the voluntary gift and grant of the commons alone. At the same time, on every real point of legislation, I believe the authority to be fixed as the pole-

star—fixed for the reciprocal benefit of the mother country and her infant colonies. They are the subjects of this kingdom, equally entitled with yourselves to all the rights of mankind and the peculiar privileges of Englishmen, and equally bound by its laws. The Americans are the sons, not the bastards of England."

"The distinction between legislation and taxation is essential to liberty. The crown, the peers, are equally legislative powers with the commons. If taxation be a part of simple legislation, the crown, the peers, have rights in taxation as well as yourselves—rights which they will claim whenever the principle can be supported by might."

"There is an idea in some that the colonies are virtually represented in this house. I would fain know by whom an American is represented here! Is he represented by any knight of the shire in any county in the kingdom? Would to God that respectable representatives was augmented to a greater number! Or will you tell him he is represented by any representative of a borough?—a borough which, perhaps, its own representative never saw! This is what is called '*the rotten part of the constitution.*' It cannot continue a century. If it does not drop, it must be amputated. The idea of a virtual representation of America in this house is the most contemptible idea that ever entered into the head of man; it does not deserve a serious refutation."

A deep and long silence fell on the house at the close of this speech, which general Conway at length broke by saying that he agreed to almost every word of it, and should be most happy to see the right honourable gentleman in the ministry instead of himself. But he energetically repudiated the charge of influence. "I see nothing of it, I feel nothing of it," he exclaimed. "I disclaim it for myself, and, so far as my discernment can reach, for all the rest of his majesty's ministers."

This appeared now to be the truth; but the idea of Bute was so deeply ingrained in the public mind that nobody believed it.

Grenville then rose and defended the stamp act. He denied that the right of taxation depended on representation. He complained justly, that when he proposed to tax America, there was little opposition in that house. He contended that protection and obedience were reciprocal. "Great Britain," he said, "protects America; America is bound to just obedience. If not, tell me when the Americans were emancipated? When they want the protection of this kingdom, they are always ready to ask it: that protection has always been afforded them, in the most full and ample manner. The nation has run itself into an immense debt to give them protection; and now they are called upon to contribute a small share to the public expense—an expense arising from themselves—they renounce your authority, insult your officers, and break out, I might almost say, into open rebellion. Sir, the seditious spirit of the colonies owes its birth to the factions in this house. Gentlemen are careless of the consequences of what they say, provided it answers the purposes of opposition."

There was much justice in these remarks. The stamp act had been suffered to pass with wondrous apathy: it was true that the colonies were always ready enough to ask protection, and were bound to show obedience so far as it was

according to constitutional principles. But Grenville had gone beyond that, and attempted to exact an obedience to legislation, which must, if submitted to, have degenerated into slavery. It was a legislation which violated magna charta, and every principle of our bill of rights; it was true that such speeches as those of Barré and Pitt marvelously encouraged the most daring of the colonists, and unquestionably accelerated the catastrophe of separation as much or more than the American repugnance and the American arms. The colonists had the enthusiastic sanction of the greatest minds and statesmen of England, and that was enough to carry them beyond all restraint. The words of Grenville, so pointedly directed against him, immediately called up Pitt again. He had spoken; it was contrary to all rule, but the lion of parliament broke recklessly through the meshes of its regulations, and the members supported him when called to order, by cries of "Go on! go on!" He went on severely castigating Grenville, for complaining of the liberty of speech in that house; and dropping in his indignation the terms of courtesy towards the late minister of "honourable" or "right honourable," said simply—

"Sir, the gentleman tells us that America is obstinate—America is almost in open rebellion. Sir, I rejoice that America has resisted. Three millions of people so dead to all the feelings of liberty as voluntarily to submit to be slaves, would have been fit instruments to make slaves of all the rest." He then exposed the cases quoted by Grenville to show that taxation in this country had been imposed without representation, showing that these very instances led to immediate representation. "I would have cited them," he continued, "to show that even under arbitrary reigns parliaments were ashamed of taxing a people without their consent. The gentleman asks when the Americans were emancipated? But I desire to know when they were made slaves?" He then touched on the true sources of benefit from our colonies, the profits of their trade. He estimated the profits derived from the American commerce at two millions sterling, adding triumphantly, "This is the fund that carried us victoriously through the late war. This is the price America pays us for protection."

He then alluded to the comparative strength of the two countries. "I know the valour," he said, "of your troops. I know the skill of your officers. In a good cause, on a sound bottom, the force of this country can crush America to atoms. But in such a cause as this your success would be hazardous. America, if she fell, would fall like the strong man. She would embrace the pillars of the state, and pull down the constitution along with her. Is this your boasted peace, not to sheathe the sword in its scabbard, but to sheathe it in the bowels of your countrymen?"

After characterising the stamp act as "a paltry mark of the narrow genius of the man who conceived and brought it forth," he characterised the resistance of the Americans as "eclipsed in its glory by the most odious steps of rage, violence, and rapine, against their brethren of a different opinion." But he contended that the ministers had driven them to madness by injustice, and he called on the English nation to let prudence and temper first come from this side. As for America, quoting two lines from Prior, he continued:

"Be to her faults a little blind;
Be to her virtues very kind."

Upon the whole, I will beg leave to tell the house what is precisely my opinion. It is, that the stamp act be repealed absolutely, totally, and immediately. That the reason for the repeal be assigned, because it was founded on an erroneous principle. At the same time, let the sovereign authority of this country over the colonies be asserted in as strong terms as can be advised, and made to extend to every kind of legislation whatsoever. That we may bind their trade, confine their manufactures, and exercise every power whatsoever, except only that of taking their money from their pockets without their own consent."

The advice of Pitt prevailed. Ministers determined to bring in two acts in accordance with his counsels: an act declaratory of the supreme power of parliament over the colonies, and another repealing the stamp act, on the plea which he had suggested. Meantime, the doors of the house of commons were thrown open to petitions from all quarters. Those which it had peremptorily rejected from the agents of different American colonies and of Jamaica were freely entertained by the house. Others from the traders of London, Bristol, Liverpool, Manchester, now rising into importance, were sent in, stating that the colonists were indebted to the merchants of this country several millions sterling; that the colonists had hitherto punctually liquidated them, but were now disabled, by the consequences of the stamp act; and that therefore its abolition was as requisite for the mother country as for America. Extracts from a large correspondence with America were read; and gentlemen familiar with the statistics of those colonies were heard in evidence at the bar of the commons. Amongst these was Dr. Franklin, who at this moment, as he had advised his countrymen to submit to the stamp act when passed, now supported Pitt's high-flown notions respecting the right of England to lay external, but not internal, taxes on America. He made a wide distinction betwixt an excise levied on the consumption of goods, and a customs duty levied on their import. "An excise," he said, "for the reasons I have just given, the Americans think you can have no right to lay within their country. But the sea is yours; you maintain by your fleets the safety of navigation on it, and keep it clear of pirates. You may, therefore, have a natural and equitable right to some toll or duty on merchandise carried through those your dominions of the sea, to defray the expense of your ships to maintain the safety of conveyance," &c.

It is scarcely necessary, at this time of day, to say how thoroughly unsound were these views of Pitt and Franklin. Our supreme power over our colonies must always have been limited by the principle of representation, or this power would have extended beyond magna charta, and have been a real despotism. If our power was supreme, then the stamp act was legitimate. The notion of Pitt again, that taxation and legislation were separate things; that legislation of all kinds, except taxation, could be exercised at pleasure, was a sophism of the flimsiest kind. Neither taxation nor legislation of any kind can become valid, except by the consent of the commons, who are the representatives of the whole people, and that of the lords, who are the representatives

of a class. All legislation, therefore, whatever, is the work of representation, and any other is impossible, any other is illegal, within this empire of Great Britain.

Again, the distinctions betwixt excise and customs duties is equally spurious. The land as well as the sea is ours, that is, the people's. We maintain order and safety on land as well as on sea. We expend our money for it, and therefore have a right to be reimbursed that outlay; but in either case, only by constitutional methods. We had ex-

The colonists had to pay the amount of that duty in the augmented price of the imported goods; and we shall soon find Franklin himself coming to a clear perception of these facts, and assisting to arouse his countrymen to reject duties just as much as excise. In fact, it was on the question of import duties that the Americans finally rebelled; it was in fighting out that issue that we lost America. What an absurd notion was that, that you might do anything but take the money out of the colonists' pockets! On this



LORD CLIVE FROM AN AUTHENTIC PORTRAIT.

ended much to clear America of the French; to defend the colonists against the Indians. We had a right to repayment as much there as on the sea; but nobody disputed this. The Americans had discharged these debts through the true channel of representation—through their provincial assemblies, and were ready to do it again. We might do anything but take the colonists' money out of their pockets, said Pitt; but customs duties did this entirely as much as the excise.

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principle you might crush their trade, destroy their liberty, and interfere with their religion; not one of which things they would have allowed you to do.

The declaratory act passed readily enough, for all parties agreed in it; but the repeal of the stamp act met with stout opposition. Grenville, with the pertinacity of a man who glories in his disgrace, resisted it at every stage. When he was hissed by the people, he declared that "he rejoiced in

the hiss. If it were to do again, he would do it!" When the crowds around the doors of the house of commons hissed and hooted him, in his rage he seized one man by the collar and shook him. "Well, if I may not hiss," said the fellow, "at least I may laugh," and he laughed in his face, and the mob laughed. In the lords there was a strong resistance to the repeal. Lord Temple, who had now deserted Pitt, supported his brother Grenville with all his might. Lords Mansfield, Lyttleton, and Halifax, the whole Bedford faction, and the whole Bute faction, opposed it. The king declared himself for repeal rather than bloodshed, but he would have preferred modifying the stamp act, which would have been sheer absurdity. The Americans would have had none of it—not a shred, not a particle.

The Rockingham administration, during these debates, equally convinced of their own weakness and of the all-powerful influence of Pitt, omitted no exertions to prevail on him to join them. But here, again, the enormous pride of Pitt rendered him utterly intractable, and again certainly unpatriotic toward his country. The whole, or nearly the whole, of the cabinet were of his own views; they had shown themselves most ready to follow his advice, and therefore they sought to induce him to take the lead in the commons, and in fact, as must have been the case, in the whole direction of affairs. It was in his power thus to guide the public councils safely and soundly, and heal the breach which was made with America entirely. With so great and warmly-avowed a friend, all the best men of America would have felt confidence, and have thus been able to keep in check the excited elements of democracy. It was not to be expected that the Americans, having felt their strength, would not be now on all occasions ready to stand more stilly on their privileges; but with a wise, able, and friendly ministry, such as that of Pitt would have been, they would gradually have subsided into a more satisfied condition and temperament. But all endeavours to induce Pitt to accept office were in vain. He objected to lord George Sackville being restored to the privy council, and declared that he would never sit at the same board with him. He was equally determined never to belong to a ministry in which Newcastle was a member. In vain did the marquis of Rockingham himself solicit him, representing that he could hold the office of secretary of state and prime minister without interfering with the positions of Rockingham and his principal friends. The duke of Grafton, lord Shelburne, Mr. Nuthall, all implored him to comply; he would only answer, that if the king thought fit to summon him, he would give him his views on the formation of a government. As this amounted to breaking up the present cabinet, there was no alternative but to cease to entreat him, or to resign. The duke of Grafton, finding all persuasions hopeless, threw up his own post, saying he was willing to serve with or under Pitt in any capacity, not only as a general officer, but as a pioneer; under him he was ready to wick spade or mattock—without him, he saw no prospect of permanence.

To acquire popularity, the Rockingham administration made a further restriction on the import of foreign silks; they made a modification of the cider bill, but this only extended to taking the duty off cider belonging to private

persons, and was regarded as a *placebo* to the country gentlemen. They induced the house of commons to pass a resolution on the 25th of April, declaring general warrants illegal, and, if for seizing any member of the house, a breach of privilege. But when they passed this in the form of a bill, the lords threw it out; and a second bill for the same purpose failed in the commons. Still, these conciliatory measures did not procure them confidence. Colonel Barré refused them his support; general Conway was sick of his post, and longed to be out of it; and Henley, lord Northington, as chancellor, was found actually intriguing against his colleagues. With the court they grew into no favour, because the king thought them backward in procuring from parliament suitable provision for his younger brother. It was clear that this could not last. To cap the climax of weakness, the Rockingham cabinet came to open issue amongst themselves on the plan of government for Canada. Northington informed the king that they could not go on; and the king, on the 7th of July, gave the chancellor a letter to Pitt, inviting him to form a new ministry. The same day his majesty also informed the existing cabinet of the change which he contemplated. Conway said frankly, it was the best thing the king could do; but lord Rockingham and the duke of Newcastle were deeply offended.

Pitt hastened up to town, and was graciously received by the king, who told him that he left the choice of his colleagues entirely to himself. Pitt, as twice before, immediately proposed that his brother-in-law, lord Temple, should be placed at the head of the treasury. Temple was summoned from Stowe, but was as haughty and unmanageable as ever. He demanded that all the old ministers should be dismissed, that lord Lyttleton should have the privy seal, lord Gower be secretary of state, &c. Pitt could not accede to these terms. It was clear Temple was determined to have as much influence in the cabinet as Pitt himself, who desired to retain several of the old ministers, as Conway, the duke of Grafton, Dowdeswell, &c. This time Pitt did not throw up the offer of the premiership to oblige his wrong-headed brother-in-law, who had the overweening idea that he was as great a man as Pitt himself. He stood firm, and, after a long interview at North End, Hampstead, where Pitt had taken a house for the time, Temple set off to Stowe again in high dudgeon, declaring that Pitt had thrown off the mask, and never meant to accept his co-operation at all. Lord Camden advised Pitt to stand fast, throw off the Grenvilles, and save the nation without them. He acted on the advice.

He found the Bedford clan ready, as usual, for office, but wanting to come in a whole legion; the twaddling and whimpering old duke of Newcastle equally ready, shedding tears in his facile way, hugging and kissing people in his trouble, and wondering why his dear old friend had thus abandoned him. Pitt passed on, and chose lord Camden as lord chancellor; Northington, president of the council; lord Granby, commander-in-chief; Shelburne and Conway, secretaries of state; duke of Grafton, first lord of the treasury; Sir Charles Saunders, first lord of the admiralty; Charles Townshend, chancellor of the exchequer; with lord North, James Grenville, brother of Temple, colonel Barré, and others, in secondary posts. Mr.

Stewart Mackenzie, Bute's brother, was restored to his former office, but without any control over Scottish affairs. It was clear that Pitt had selected his colleagues without regard to party, but with an eye to the ability of the respective persons. It was a mode of acting particularly after the fancy of the king, who had always been, according to his own words to Pitt on the occasion, "zealously ready to give his aid towards destroying all party distinctions, and restoring that subordination to government, which can alone preserve that inestimable blessing, liberty, from degenerating into licentiousness." Yet Pitt had not effected this union without some decided rebuffs; besides Temple, Dowdeswell had refused to join him, because he thought he was not respectfully enough invited; but Rockingham refused to consult with him or to see him; lords Gower and Scarborough declined his offers. And, after all, his miscellaneous cabinet might, to a certain degree, deserve the description of it given by Burke: "An administration so chequered and speckled, a piece of joinery so crossly indented and whimsically dovetailed, a cabinet so variously inlaid, such a piece of diversified mosaic, such a tessellated pavement without cement—here a bit of black stone, and there a bit of white—patriots and courtiers, king's friends and republicans, whigs and tories, treacherous friends and open enemies—that it was, indeed, a very curious show, but utterly unsafe to touch, and unsafe to stand upon. The colleagues whom he had assorted at the same boards stared at each other, and were obliged to ask, 'Sir, your name?' 'Sir, you have the advantage of me.' 'Mr. Such-a-one, I beg a thousand pardons.' I venture," he continued, "to say, it did so happen that persons had a single office divided between them, who had never spoken to each other in their lives, until they found themselves, they knew not how, pigging together, heads and points, in the same truckle bed."

But where, all this time, was the great commoner? Bargaining to be no longer the great commoner, but to mingle his well-won popular glories in the paltry, glow-worm splendour of a peerage! Pitt—who had conquered Canada, and laid the foundations of a vast empire in the East—had yet the poor and mistaken ambition to become a lord! Such pitiable flaws there are in the greatest minds. As if there were any distinction in wearing the badge of the "Hospital of Incurables," as Lord Chesterfield happily designated the house of lords, in comparison with that by which his own time did, and posterity would, know him as the unrivalled orator, the successful statesman, and the all-potent advocate of the principles of liberty and progress. The whole world was astonished when the fact came out that Pitt would accept no post in his own ministry but that of privy seal, which necessitated his removal to the peers. The king himself was astonished, but made no opposition. His colleagues were not only astonished, but confounded; for they calculated on having his abilities and influence in the house of commons. The peers were astonished and pleased; they desired that the great man should sink to a level with themselves. "It is a *fall up stairs*," said the witty Chesterfield, "which will do Pitt so much hurt that he will never be able to stand upon his legs again. It is not the first time," he added, "that great abilities have been duped by low cunning; but he is now, certainly, only earl of Chatham, and no longer

Mr. Pitt, in any respect." The City, where he had been so immensely popular, was astonished and deeply disgusted. There had been lamps suspended on the Monument, and other preparations for illumination, in honour of his return to power. As soon as this news transpired, the lamps were taken down and the rejoicings countermanded. The people were astonished, and could scarcely believe their own ears. "This is a second Pulteney," they said, "after such a great career, dwindling into a lord." The shock and disappointment were so universal that Chesterfield once more observed, "There is one very bad sign for lord Chatham in his new dignity, which is, that all his enemies, without exception, rejoice at it, and all his friends are stupefied and dumb-founded." Lord Macaulay, in our time, has endeavoured to vindicate what no one thought of doing in his own. He approves the step, because Pitt deserved a peerage. He deserved something far better, and had it before—the glory of his great deeds, and the affection of his country. He approves the step, because Pitt was old and infirm, and therefore unequal to the mighty labour of conducting the business of government in the house of commons. Pitt was *fifty-eight*. He had the gout, it is true, but he could have availed himself of the health and strength of his colleagues to reduce the amount of parliamentary toil. Walpole, the same historian observes, took the same course; but Walpole was a man of far inferior genius to Pitt; he was, as Dr. Johnson truly observed, a minister given by the king to the people; but Pitt was a minister given by the people to the king; and, when Walpole retired to the house of lords, he retired altogether. An incurable himself, he went instinctively to his own place. Amongst the most remarkable events of the present year were, certainly, the departure of Pitt from the house of commons and the appearance of Edmund Burke there. He was private secretary to lord Rockingham, and member of parliament for Wendover.

Burke, a young Irishman, had received his education chiefly in the seminary of Richard Shackleton, a member of the Society of Friends, of Ballitore, in Ireland, and seems to have imbibed many of the principles of that society; hence his dedication of his brilliant talents to the cause of temperate liberty and public morality, and to constitutional ideas of government. He had already distinguished himself by his "Essay on the Sublime and Beautiful," by many articles in periodical literature, and by editing the "Annual Register," but from this time he became one of the prominent figures of the age.

One of the earliest events of Chatham's administration was the return of Wilkes to solicit his favour. He had spent all his money in Paris, and, though still under the sentence of outlawry, the attempt of the Rockingham ministry to set aside general warrants had encouraged him to come over to London in May, and demand a pardon and a pension of one thousand five hundred pounds a-year on the Irish establishment. "If the ministers," he said, in his impudent way, "do not find employment for me, I am disposed to find employment for them." The Rockingham government were not quite weak enough to concede these terms, but they sent Burke to him, who persuaded him to accept three or four hundred pounds, and retire to Paris. No sooner, however, was Pitt in office than Wilkes again

made his appearance. He applied to the duke of Grafton to intercede in his behalf with Pitt on the ground of the firm friendship of lord Temple for him, though Temple had now quarrelled with Pitt. Meeting with no encouragement, he wrote most abusive letters to both Pitt and Grafton, denouncing Chatham as the most proud, insolent, and overbearing of men, with a mind cankered with the lust of power and grandeur—a marble-hearted man, guilty of the basest ingratitude to his brother-in-law, lord Temple: formerly a seditious tribune of the people, insulting his sovereign, and now the abject, crouching deputy of the proud Scot—meaning Bute—whom he had once so despised and reviled. Having eased his mind by this discharge of bile, Wilkes once more retraced his steps to Paris.

During this time, the speeches of Pitt had been flying all over America. At first, the feeling was that of tumultuous joy at the repeal of the odious stamp act. Addresses and thanks were voted to the king by all the assemblies. The next was that of repugnance to the declaratory act. The high-flown declarations of the supreme sovereignty of England over the colonies, even in the mouth of their great champion, Pitt, did not digest well. The republicans had learned a lesson by the folly of Grenville and the hasty concession of Rockingham. In Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and New York, with much reluctance, they were induced to issue orders for compensation to those who had suffered from the rioters, and the instructions to chastise the insurgents were quietly passed over. Fresh resolutions were entered into to endeavour to do without British manufactures. There arose, in many places, murmurs against a new clause in the mutiny act, by which the colonies were bound to furnish to the king's troops salt, vinegar, and other articles. In New York the assembly set the clause actually at defiance; and the soldiers and the people grew, in consequence, hostile to each other. The soldiers were insulted by the mob, and they returned the insult, till it came to blows and bloodshed. It was plain that, though the stamp act was repealed, the leaven of disaffection was yet in the American mind, and would surely produce its consequences.

The first care of Chatham was to strengthen as much as possible his position. At this time the great aristocratic houses exercised a control over the throne, and over all movements of government, much akin to that which the great feudal barons exercised before the wars of the Roses and the bold hands of the Tudors pulled them down. It was not now by arms, but landed and borough influence, that the aristocracy swayed and hampered the machine of state. Those houses especially which had sprung up at the reformation, and had been enriched by Henry VIII. and Edward VI. with the spoils of the church, as the Russells, the Seymours, the Grays, &c., had now grown on this property of the country, so recklessly bestowed by the Tudors, and others on country property bestowed by the Stuarts on their bastards, as overbearing as even the Nevilles and Bolingbrokes had been. Especially such of them as had assisted at the Revolution of 1688, and had claimed ever since almost a monopoly of power and favour, the so-called great whig houses, demanded, as a right, to be at the head of affairs, and tacitly dictated to the monarch whom he should and should not employ. The Bedford

family, the old duke of Newcastle, the Edgcombcs, and the Grenvilles, all possessed more or less of what was called parliamentary influence, that is, property in boroughs, and therefore of power to send up members to parliament in such numbers as to sway the decisions of the commons. The king was groaning under this aristocratic despotism, and seeking by all means to break it up: and Chatham, whose proud soul rebelled against it when it rebelled against him, was now denouncing this overbearing whig oligarchy, and exerting himself to counteract it. Nothing, in truth, could break it up but the advancing intelligence of the community at large. It was not till sixty-six years afterwards that it received its first blow by the Reform Bill, and has yet to receive many other blows ere it be extinct. But Pitt dared to war against it, and roused to his own cost its resentment. To maintain himself for the moment against it, he was obliged to increase it in other directions. The present head of the house of Percy was a Mr. Smithson, who had married the heiress of the Hotspurs. He was only an earl, and was ambitious of being a duke. In return, he promised to take office and throw in his influence. The influence was the real matter; there was nothing pre-eminent in the abilities of the man. Chatham solicited the king to create Smithson a duke: but George had promised to make a duke of lord Cardigan, who had married the heiress of the duke of Montague, and could not do one without the other. He was obliged to do both.

This matter settled, Chatham condescended to coax the haughty duke of Bedford, whom he met at Bath, to join him. He explained that the measures he meant to pursue were such as he knew the duke approved. Having heard him, Bedford replied, proudly, "They are *my measures*, and I will support them, in or out of office." It was understood that he would receive overtures from Chatham, and, under these circumstances, parliament met on the 11th of November.

Previous to this, however, Chatham had taken several decisive measures, and sketched out a scheme of both foreign and domestic policy, which marked how far above the intellectual grasp of most of his contemporaries was that of his mind. He determined, if possible, to form an alliance of European states against the family compact of the Bourbons, in France and Spain: to reform the government of Ireland, which greatly needed it, and that of India. It would have been well had his health allowed him to carry through these great plans. They might have saved this country much crime and bloodshed.

His first measure was to establish the Great Northern Alliance. He had obtained information of designs on the part of France and Spain to make a descent on our southern coast, and burn the dockyards of Portsmouth and Plymouth. By papers found at his decease it was made manifest, by reports to the French government which had fallen into his hands, that at this time, and for two years afterwards, that government had officers in disguise making accurate surveys of our southern coasts, and of the towns and country considerably inland, for this purpose. Before quitting office, in 1761, he had planned this alliance, and he now made endeavours, but in vain, to induce Frederick of Prussia to come into such an alliance. Frederick was too sore from the

treatment he had met with from the cabinet of lord Bute to listen to any proposals from England. Still, this would not have prevented Chatham prosecuting the object of the alliance with Sweden, Denmark, Russia, Germany, and Holland, had he remained long enough in office. His name carried the utmost weight all over the continent. His indomitable vigour, and his victorious arms, had been witnessed with wonder. In Paris, Horace Walpole found the news of his return to office produced a panic not to be described. The very mention of his name struck a silence into the most boastful or insolent companies.

His enemies of his own house were not so easily intimidated, for we have it on divine authority, that there are no enemies so bitter as those of your own house. The summer had been an unprecedentedly rainy one. The crops had failed, and, in consequence of the scarcity and dearness of corn, there had been riots, especially in the western counties. The enraged people had burned down the ricks and barns of the farmers who were hoarding their corn for higher prices. Chatham instantly, that is, on the 10th of September, issued a proclamation against "forestallors and regraters." As the riots still increased, on the 24th he caused an order in council to be issued, laying an embargo on corn, and prohibiting the sailing of vessels already laden with wheat for foreign markets, the failure of crops being as great on the continent as in England. He had been advised not to venture on so bold a measure without calling together parliament; but he would not hear of it, lest it should look like timidity of counsel.

It was a daring stretch of prerogative, and did not pass without severe censure. Foremost amongst those who assailed him was his brother-in-law, lord Temple, who was furious at the idea of Pitt presuming to carry on without him. He attacked him in fierce pamphlets, which were seconded by the diatribes of his friend Wilkes, who styled Chatham the first comedian of the age. Parliament opened only to transfer the war to its benches. Chatham, in his first speech in the peers, burst out upon the overbearing spirit of family connection, and declared, in the midst of them, that he would set his face against the proudest connections in the land. Lord Temple and the duke of Richmond led the attack on the order in council, declaring it a most scandalous stretch of the prerogative, and that an act of indemnity alone could protect the ministers who had advanced it. Richmond said he trusted that the nobility would not be browbeaten by an insolent minister.

Chatham defended the measure: he quoted Locke in justification of such measures for the prevention of internal calamity and tumult; and he defended it further by the fact, that to have called together parliament would have brought noblemen and gentlemen from their own neighbourhood, just when they were most needful there to maintain order. Lord Camden, the present chancellor, and lord Northington, the late one, stoutly supported him, Camden saying that it was a measure so moderate and beneficial, that a Junius Brutus might have trusted it to a Nero. Unfortunately, he added that, at worst, it was only "a forty days' tyranny"—a phrase which excited the utmost clamour, and was long remembered against him.

In the commons, George Grenville led the attack against

Chatham and the embargo, and both were warmly defended by alderman Beckford, Pitt's particular friend, a man of enormous wealth. He, too, in his zeal, unfortunately stumbled on an unlucky phrase, namely, that the crown had, in cases of necessity, a power to *dispense* with the law. Grenville took down the words, and such a tempest burst on the head of the poor alderman, that he was very glad to retract his slip of the tongue, protesting that he had, in his warmth, said more than he intended. In the end, ministers were obliged to cover themselves and their advisers by a bill of indemnity.

Still the storm of opposition raged, and Chatham found himself involved in the most harassing dilemmas by the very connections against whom he had vowed eternal war. The old duke of Newcastle had parliamentary influence enough to do much mischief, and, spite of his declared resolve never to be in any ministry with him, he felt compelled to concede that point. But Newcastle would not come in without the usual good things for his friends, and hence fresh embarrassments, fresh resentments. Newcastle wanted a post for Sir John Shelley, a near relative of his, and Chatham proposed to lord Edgcumbe to vacate his post of treasurer of the household for that of a lord of the bedchamber. Edgcumbe refused, Chatham insisted, exclaiming, angrily, in reference to lord Edgcumbe's parliamentary influence, "I despise your parliamentary interest! I don't want your assistance! I will rely on the favour and attachment of the people, and dare your proudest connections."

But this language and this lofty conduct wounded and irritated the connections all round. General Conway, one of his staunchest supporters, remonstrated on behalf of his friend, lord Edgcumbe, who had such great connections, such great influence, and had lately given a borough to Conway's nephew, lord Beauchamp. But the proud Chatham stood firm; Edgcumbe was compelled to resign, and Shelley took his place. The consequence was, however, that with him resigned lords Besborough, Scarborough, Monson, the duke of Portland, Sir Charles Saunders, first lord of the admiralty, and Sir William Meredith, junior lord.

Such were the desolating effects of the slightest attack on this sacred bulwark of family connection. None but a man of the daring and haughty spirit of Pitt would have ventured to touch this ark of aristocratic self-love. Even he could not do it without paralysing the power and engrossing the energies which should have been exerted on the great measures of national importance. In such pitiful contests with the barnacles of the monarchy was wasted the invaluable time, and were put aside the magnificent plans, of the great statesman of the age.

To fill up the deserted ranks, Chatham was necessitated to apply to the Bedfords. Lord Gower hastened down to Woburn, and the duke of Bedford came up, but his demands were so exorbitant that they defeated themselves. The king highly resented them, and showed much spirit on the occasion. He wrote to Chatham, that he expected, from Bedford choosing to deliver his answer in person, that he meant to attempt obtaining an office or two in addition to those offered, but could not imagine that even the rapaciousness of his friend could presume to think of more. He recommended firmness, to show all such presumers of how

little consequence they were. He expressed his determination to rout out the present method of parties banding together, which could only be done by engaging able men, let their connections be what they might. Accordingly, the Gazette speedily announced, as those who filled the vacant places—Sir Edward Hawke, as first lord of the admiralty; Mr. Jenkinson, afterwards lord Liverpool, and Sir Piercy Brett, junior lords. Lord le Despencer was made postmaster general; lord Cornwallis, chief-justice in eyre; earl of Hertford, lord chamberlain; Mr. Hans Stanley, cofferer; Mr. Nugent was created lord Clare of Ireland, and made head of the board of trade. These noblemen and gentlemen still, however, were friends and partisans, many of them of the Bedfords, of Newcastle, and of Bute, so that there was conciliation as well as defiance.

forward a motion for inquiring into the affairs of the East India Company at a future day, in a committee of the whole house. This motion was, in reality, made at the instigation of Chatham. He had long dwelt on this project, but he deemed it would come before the public in a more favourable manner if introduced as an independent motion, and afterwards taken up on its own merits by the government. He therefore engaged Beckford, who was a man of strong sense and upright nature, though of somewhat defective education, to propose the inquiry. Beckford had not only long been of the highest influence in the City, but had acquired a good standing in the house from his bold and independent character.

The subject was of the very greatest importance. The East India Company, holding only a charter to maintain a



JOHN WILKES BEFORE THE COURT OF KING'S BENCH, APRIL 20, 1768.

From an Engraving of the Period.

In one particular Chatham showed a determined and, as it proved, mischievous obstinacy. It was intimated to him by a friend that Edmund Burke was not averse to take office under him, declaring him to be "the readiest man in the house, perhaps, on all points, and one on whom the most thorough dependence might be placed, where he once owned an obligation." Chatham rejected the proposal haughtily, assigning as a reason that the maxims and notions of trade held by Mr. Burke were irreconcilable to his own. By this conduct—could it be dictated by jealousy of the rising genius?—Chatham made a steady enemy of Burke.

On the 25th of November alderman Beckford brought

few trading factories on the coasts and up the rivers of India, had begun a system of conquest which had already extended their dominion over a great part of Bengal, Bahar, Orissa, and the Carnatic, and was likely to extend it over all India in time. The question was of the highest moment, in whom was to reside the sovereignty of these magnificent territories? The crown of Great Britain, or in this mercantile company? The British troops and fleets had effected these conquests, and had been paid chiefly out of the spoils of the conquered. Neither on that ground nor any ground of imperial subordination could these vast states be suffered to remain in the hands of mere subjects. The company



WILKES'S TRIUMPHAL ENTRY INTO THE CITY.

derived its right to be in India at all from the charter obtained from the imperial government. It could not be permitted to a mere trading company to establish a right of sovereignty independent of their own government. But Chatham saw that the sooner this question was determined, the easier and the better. It was necessary for the authority of England, as well as for the protection of the nations, that the rights of the crown should be asserted. The accounts which were continually arriving from India were of the most unbounded rapacity and oppression of the company's servants; the honour of England was concerned to take the unhappy Hindoos out of the hands of a tribe of greedy and vulgar factors, who had no regard to anything but extortion and the amassing guilty wealth.

The motion of Beckford was opposed by Grenville and Charles Yorke. What is singular, Burke, destined in after years to expose the long train of horrors and crimes which the constant sway of the company had produced, at this time opposed the motion for inquiry with all his eloquence, and with all the revived resentment to Chatham which had just received its birth. He made no doubt of the question originating with Chatham; and, in no obscure language, intimated that he had kept his views on this great topic from both Townshend and Conway. He described Chatham as a person so sublimely and immeasurably high, that the greatest abilities and the most amiable dispositions amongst his colleagues could not gain access to him—a being before whom thrones, dominations, principedoms, virtues, and powers, "waving his hand over the whole treasury bench behind him," all veil their faces with their wings!

It was true that Chatham had not let Townshend or Conway into the full knowledge of his plans regarding the India question, but they were aware of the general nature of it, and were secretly opposed to it. The motion for inquiry was carried, and the company, at a full court, passed an unanimous vote recommending the directors, instead of opposing government, to endeavour to treat with them for terms.

In the Christmas recess Chatham hastened to Bath, to improve his health for the campaign of the ensuing session; but when parliament met again, in the middle of January, 1767, ministers were in consternation at his not reappearing. His cabinet was such a medley, composed of so many materials, drawn from the quarters of his enemies, that his best friends despaired of its working without his presence. Tidings came that he was suffering from a severe attack of his old tormentor, the gout; and weeks passed on, and he still was absent. At length they were greatly relieved by hearing that, though still in a bad condition, he was on the way. The good news quickly changed. He had reached the Castle Inn, at Marlborough, where he lay for a fortnight, in such a state that he was utterly incapacitated for business. The duke of Grafton and Beckford, who were his most devoted adherents, were thunder-struck. They found it impossible to keep in order the heterogeneous elements of the cabinet. All the hostile qualities, which would have lain still under the hand of the great magician, bristled up, and came boldly out. The spirit of Bedford, of Newcastle, and of Rockingham, was active in their partisans, and gathered courage to do mischief. Lord Shelburne and the

duke of Grafton became estranged; Charles Townshend, who had as much ambition and eccentricity as talent, began to show airs, and aim at supremacy. Grafton implored Chatham to come to town if possible, and when that was declared impracticable, to allow him to go down, and consult with him in his sick chamber. But he was informed that the minister was equally unable to move or to consult.

Under these unfortunate circumstances, Charles Townshend, as chancellor of the exchequer, proposed the annual rate for the land-tax. He called for the amount of four shillings in the pound, the rate at which it had stood during the war; but he promised next year to reduce it to three. The country gentlemen grumbled, representing that in years of peace it was commonly reduced to three and sometimes to two. Grenville saw his advantage—his great opponent away—the landholders ready to rebel, and he moved an amendment that, instead of next year, the reduction should take place immediately. Dowdeswell supported him, and the amendment was carried by two hundred and six votes against a hundred and eighty-eight. The opposition was astonished at its own success, and yet it need not; they who had to vote were chiefly land-owners, and men who did not like taxing themselves. As Lord Chesterfield observed, "All the landed gentlemen had bribed themselves with this shilling in the pound."

The opposition was in ecstasies: it was the first defeat of ministers on a financial question since the days of Walpole, and in our time, the chancellor would have resigned. The blow seemed to rouse Chatham. Three days after this event, on the 2nd of March, he arrived in town, though swathed in flannel, and scarcely able to move hand or foot. He was in the highest state of indignation against Townshend, not only as regarded the land-tax, by which half a million was struck from the revenue of the year, but because he had been listening to overtures from the directors of the India House, calculated to damage the great scheme of Indian administration which Chatham was contemplating. He declared that the chancellor of the exchequer and himself could not hold office together. A few days, and Townshend would have been dismissed from office, and the country might have escaped one of its greatest shocks: but, unfortunately, the malady of Chatham returned with redoubled violence, and in a new and more terrible form. He was obliged to refuse seeing any one on state affairs. For a time his colleagues and the king were urgent for some communication with him, supposing that his illness was merely his old enemy, the gout, and there was much dissatisfaction amongst his friends, and exultation amongst his enemies, at what was deemed his crotchety humour in so entirely shutting himself up under such critical circumstances, when his own fame, his own great plans, and the welfare of the state, were all at stake. But, in time, it came to be understood that this refusal to see any one, or to comply with the repeated and earnest desires of the king, expressed in letters to him, to admit Grafton, as one of his best friends, or to examine important papers, was no voluntary matter, but the melancholy result of his ailment. It seems to have been the fact, that anxious, when at Marlborough, to get to town and resume the reins of business, his physician, Dr. Addington, had given him some strong medicines to disperse

the gout. These had succeeded in driving it from his extremities, but only to diffuse it all over the system, and to fix it on the nerves. The consequence was that the physical frame, oppressed by this incubus of disease, oppressed the mighty mind of Pitt, and reduced him to a condition of nervous imbecility. Some people imagined that he had become deranged, but that was not the case; he was suffering no imaginary terrors or illusions, but an utter prostration of his intellectual vigour. Lord Chesterfield expressed his condition, when being told that Chatham was disabled by the gout, he replied, "No, a good fit of the gout would cure him!" That is one of his usual attacks of gout in his extremities, would be a proof that it had quitted its present insidious hold on his whole system.

Whately, the secretary of Grenville, thus describes his condition, as obtained from members of the family: "Lord Chatham's state of health is certainly the lowest state of dejection and debility that mind and body can be in. He sits all the day leaning on his hands, which he supports on the table; does not permit any person to remain in the room; knocks when he wants anything; and, having made his wants known, gives a signal, without speaking, to the person who answered to his call to retire."

The account given by the duke of Grafton, who obtained a brief interview with him, in May, on the most urgent plan, is quite in accordance with this of Grenville's secretary. "Though I expected," he says, "to find lord Chatham very ill indeed, his situation was different from what I had imagined. His nerves and spirits were affected to a dreadful degree, and the sight of his great mind bowed down and thus weakened by disorder, would have filled me with grief and concern if I had not long borne a sincere attachment to his person and character." At times, the slightest mention of business would throw him into violent agitations; at others, when such matters were carefully kept from him, he would remain calm, and almost cheerful, but utterly incapable of exerting his intellect. In this lamentable condition he continued for upwards of a year.

During this time the public and many of his friends expressed the utmost impatience, not comprehending the nature of the case; and his enemies demanded why, being incapable or indisposed to discharge his duties, he did not resign, but continued to receive his salary. These complaints have been repeated by historians; but the simple fact was, that he was as incapable of thinking of his salary as of resigning his duties. Once, indeed, he had sufficient command of his energies to request, in January, 1768, that the king would resume the privy seal; but his majesty would not hear of it, saying that his name alone enabled the government to go on better than it could without it. And thus, as the Cid Ruy Diaz, though dead, was carried into the field of battle on his horse, and thus, by his imagined presence, put the enemy to flight, the name of Chatham, in some degree, still gave force to the administration of affairs.

Such is the explanation of this episode in the life of Chatham, on account of which so much censure has been heaped upon him, as a wayward and intractable man. As if he were likely to be so regardless of his own fame, of his great designs, and of the country's prosperity, for which he

had at other times made such gigantic efforts. The very circumstances of his setting out from Burton Pynsent to town, when still so unfit, and of his seeking a medical means of enabling him to go on and attend to business, are of themselves sufficient proofs of his anxiety to have acted, had he been able.

Such a strange calamity could not but be attended with the most mischievous consequences. Chatham was obliged to leave town, and seek retirement and a purer air at North End, near Hampstead. Townshend, who in a few days would have ceased to be chancellor of the exchequer, still retained office, and now showed more freely the wild and erratic character of his genius. He was a singular and meteorlike combination of ambition, brilliancy, wit, levity, and recklessness. He more and more indulged himself in eloquent but startling speeches in the house; and by one, delivered after a dinner-party at his own house, and thence called the "champagne speech," he gave a loose to all the whimsies of his fancy, and astonished the whole country. In it he quizzed and satirised both himself and his colleagues, as well as all other parties. Horace Walpole says that it was "a torrent of wit, parts, humour, knowledge, absurdity, vanity, and fiction, brightened by all the graces of comedy, the happiness of allusion and quotation, and the buffoonery of force." He had long been preparing it; and Walpole says that for himself, "it was the most singular pleasure he ever enjoyed."

Such a man was evidently out of his sphere; he would have made an admirable comic actor, but was a fatal chancellor of the exchequer. There were now two questions of almost unprecedented importance before the government, those of India and America. Chatham was away, and Townshend plunged into them with all his inconsiderate vivacity.

The East India Company had proposed to make certain overtures to government, in order to stay the searching inquiry and inevitable measures which Chatham would have introduced for the recognition of the rights of the crown. Nothing could be more fortunate for the company than Chatham's illness. They drew Townshend into interviews with them during the recess, and flattered his vanity with the prospect of his achieving the settlement without the great minister. They now presented a string of propositions to the house of commons, which, instead of allowing the government to approach to anything like the grand plan of Chatham's for defining and fixing the rights of the country over India, and for regulating the company's conduct towards the natives, merely offered an annual payment of four hundred thousand pounds to government, on condition that the charter was continued till 1800; that the internal duties on tea should be lowered; the monopoly of trade to the Indies be secured for that term to the company; and that government should use its influence with France to procure the demands of the company for the conveyance of the French prisoners home, and with Spain for the payment of the Manilla ransom. In such terms was this question settled for the present, though not without strong opposition in the lords; and so elated was the company, that its stock immediately rose six per cent., and the proprietors raised their dividends to ten and then twelve

and a half per cent. There was a danger of another jobbing mania, like that of the South Sea Bubble, and government was obliged to step in, and, by a bill, restrained the annual dividends to ten per cent.

This was bad enough; but the proceedings with regard to America were far worse, and put the finish to the mad policy of Grenville. Grenville, in fact, was again the instigator of the fresh sins. He proposed that, notwithstanding the resistance of the Americans, they should be compelled to maintain the troops employed there, and that taxes of some kind should be levied on them to the amount of four hundred thousand pounds per annum. Wise men would, at all events, have let the subject rest till the irritation occasioned by the stamp act had subsided, and until the best mode of proceeding could have had full and mature consideration. The temper of the Americans still continued most excited and antagonistic. They still refused to find the vinegar, salt, &c., required by the mutiny act, and the assembly of New York had set aside the act altogether, by a decree of its own. Even Chatham had been roused from his lethargy by the accounts of the spirit of the colonists to condemn their conduct in the severest terms. In reply to their continued remonstrances against the mutiny act, he declared that they would, by their violence and ingratitude, bring destruction on their heads. His friend Beckford protested that the devil possessed the minds of the Americans; that Grenville's act had raised the foul fiend, and that only a prudent firmness would lay him for ever.

To such prudence Townshend was a stranger. He had lost half a million from the revenue by the reduction of the land tax, and he pledged himself to the house to recover it from the Americans. He declared that he fully agreed with George Grenville, even in the principle of the stamp act, and ridiculed the distinction set up by Chatham, and admitted by Franklin, of the difference betwixt internal and external taxation. This was language calculated to enrage Chatham, could anything at that moment have touched him; it was more calculated to fire the already heated minds of the colonists, who, the more they reflected on Chatham's lofty language on the supreme authority of the mother country in the declaratory act, the more firmly they repudiated it.

The speech of Townshend, and his proposition to lay his new taxes in the shape of import duties, which Franklin had declared were quite allowable, and could not be objected to by his constituents the Americans, greatly alarmed lord Shelburne, who, as one of the secretaries of state, was daily receiving news of the ominous state of public feeling in the colonies. He declared that he could not understand the conduct and language of Townshend. To lay import duties on glass, paper, painters' colours, and tea, which would produce only thirty-five thousand or forty thousand pounds a-year, was certainly to endanger a fierce excitement for a most paltry profit. He considered the language in which this was proposed the most unlikely to make the impost go down with the Americans.

But Gerard Hamilton, best known as "single-speech" Hamilton, who knew the colonies well, warned the ministers of the mine they were rushing upon in strong terms. "There

are," he said, "two hundred thousand men in these colonies fit not only to bear arms, but, having arms in their possession, unrestrained by the game laws. In Massachusetts there is an express law, by which every man is obliged to have a musket, a pound of powder, and a pound of bullets, always by him; so there is nothing wanting but a knapsack, or old stocking, which will do as well, to equip an army for marching, and nothing more than a Satorius or a Spartacus at their head, requisite to beat your troops and your custom-house officers out of the country, and set your laws at defiance. There is no saying what their leaders may put them upon; but, if they are active, clever people, and love mischief as well as I do peace and quiet, they will furnish matter of consideration to the wisest amongst you, and perhaps dictate their own terms at last, as the Roman people formerly did in their famous secession upon the Sacred Mount. For my own part, I think you have no right to tax them, and that every measure built upon the supposed right stands upon a rotten foundation, and must consequently tumble down, perhaps upon the heads of the workmen."

This was clear, sound sense, and completely prophetic in its soundness. There was another imminent danger which lord Shelburne glanced at—that France and Spain, eager for avenging themselves of the disgrace and losses which Chatham had piled upon them, would be likely to step in, should there be a breach with America, and assist to foil us. But so little did these dangers present themselves to men generally, so little did they, even the greatest of them, Chatham and Burke, see clearly what Hamilton saw—that we had no right to tax them, but through their own representatives—that this bill passed with the utmost indifference, and was immediately followed by two others, one putting these and all other duties and customs that might be laid on the American colonies, under the management of the king's resident commissioners; and the other prohibiting the legislature of New York from passing any act, for any purpose whatever, until the mutiny act should be complied with. This last act was the only one complied with by the colonists, whilst, at the same time, it no doubt strengthened their opposition to the rest.

The session was closed with the voting of annuities of eight thousand pounds a-year each to the king's brothers, the duke of York, who soon after died, as supposed, in consequence of excess, at Modena, in Italy, and the dukes of Gloucester and Cumberland; and parliament was prorogued on the 2nd of July.

But through the whole of this session the opposition, encouraged by the absence of Chatham, had kept up a continual system of annoyance, and rendered the ministry without a head anything but a bed of roses. General Conway was heartily disgusted with his position, and anxious to resign. He declared that no life could be so unsupportable as a ministerial one at that moment, and that it was impossible for any one, who had not gone through the ordeal, to form any conception of the manoeuvres, intrigues, and cabals, that prevailed; that there were so many great men in the world, and so many little ones belonging to them, that it was impossible to do the country's business properly. So far had the opposition prevailed

through the illness of Chatham, that in the debate in the Lords on the Massachusetts bill, the majority was only two—sixty-five against sixty-three. The ministers, but especially the duke of Grafton, who took the place and cares of Chatham, were in the most terrible anxieties. Nor was the king less so. He wrote the most pressing letters to Chatham to give them, if possible, his advice, and offered himself to call. Through the whole he showed the most extraordinary firmness, declaring that, though none of his ministers should stand by him, he would not truckle.

No sooner was the session at an end, than it was deemed necessary to endeavour to make some alterations in the cabinet. Townshend had retired to his house in Oxfordshire, and was supposed to be planning arrangements with some of the great whig houses which should place him at the head of the administration. To counteract this he empowered Grafton to open communications with the marquis of Rockingham, and this led to others with the dukes of Bedford, Newcastle, Richmond, and Portland, the earl of Sandwich, and viscount Weymouth. But these negotiations were defeated by the duke of Bedford and Lord Temple, as well as Grenville, who had also been invited to co-operate, insisting on America being compelled by force, if necessary, to submit to the enactments of this country. To this Rockingham objected, as well as to the duke of Bedford sending out general Conway to make way for his creature Rigby, whom he was always dragging after him.

In the midst of these abortive attempts, Townshend died on the 4th of September, of a putrid fever, in the forty-second year of his age. This event necessitated some changes. Lord North was prevailed upon to take Townshend's place, as chancellor of the exchequer; Thomas Townshend, a cousin of Charles Townshend, taking that of lord North, the paymastership of the forces, and Mr. Jenkinson succeeding Thomas Townshend as one of the lords of the treasury. General Conway and lord Northington retired, though Conway, at the express desire of the king, remained in the cabinet, and as spokesman of the house of commons. Again the duke of Bedford was applied to. He refused office for himself, for his health was failing, and he had lost his only son by a violent death; but he consented, instead of the everlasting Rigby, to introduce lord Weymouth as secretary of state, Rigby still having a snug berth. Lord Gower was made lord president, and lord Hillsborough was installed in a new office, that of secretary for the colonies, suggested by the increased business in that department.

Many of these arrangements would have been most welcome to Chatham, had he been in a condition to receive them; but he continued sunk in his depression, and the present ministry took the name of the Grafton ministry instead of the Chatham, though he still retained the privy seal.

Parliament met on the 24th of November, but little real business was transacted. The chief matter was the so-called Nullum Tempus Bill, introduced by Sir George Saville, one of the members for Yorkshire. The measure arose out of private enmities, but seriously affected the property of the crown. Amongst the vast estates given by William III. to his favourite Dutch follower, the duke of

Portland, out of the crown lands, was a fine estate including the Honour of Penrith. Contiguous to this lay the forest of Iglewood, which Portland, like so many of our nobility, had quietly appropriated, though not comprised within the terms of his grant. Sir James Lowther, a man of high tory principles, and of arbitrary temper, as well as of enormous landed estates in Cumberland and Westmoreland, taking advantage of the duke of Portland being now in opposition, applied for and obtained a lease of the king's interest in the forest of Iglewood, on the ground of the old state maxim, that "*Nullum tempus regi vel ecclesiæ occurrit*"—that no lapse of time affects the rights of king or church. The lease was readily granted, but the circumstance instantly raised a fierce clamour amongst those who held similar property by similar insufficient titles, and Sir George Saville brought in a bill called the Nullum Tempus Bill, to resist the claims of the crown on any property over which for sixty years it had not exercised its rights. This would have been a fine boon to numbers of noblemen and gentlemen who were quietly holding such crown property by no valid title, and would have been a fatal measure for the crown. Ministers were obliged, for decency's sake, to resist it, and it was thrown out by one hundred and seventy-four votes to one hundred and thirteen; but the very next session it was quietly introduced again, and passed almost unanimously. It was a measure too inviting to the aristocracy, and certainly alienated at once vast tracts of land from the crown. This, in fact, was one of those many means by which our landed aristocracy have robbed the crown of its revenues, and thrown it for support on the nation at large.

On the 11th of March, 1768, the parliament, having nearly lived its term of seven years, was dissolved, and the most unprecedented corruption, and bribery, and buying and selling the people's right to their own house, came into play. The system originated by Walpole was now grown gigantic, and the sale and purchase of rotten boroughs was carried on in the most unblushing manner by candidates for parliament, particularly aristocrats, who had managed to secure the old boroughs as their property, or to control them by their property.

The mayor and alderman of Oxford wrote to their members, long before the dissolution, to offer them the renewal of their seats for the sum of seven thousand five hundred pounds, which they meant to apply to the discharge of the debts of the corporation. The house arrested the mayor and aldermen, and clapped them in Newgate for five days; but on their humbly begging pardon at the bar of the house, they released them again to continue their base contract. Nay, whilst in prison, these corporation officials had sold their borough to the duke of Marlborough and the earl of Abington. Lord Chesterfield states in his letters to his son that he had offered four thousand five hundred pounds for a borough sent for him, but was laughed at; and was told that the rich East and West Indian proprietors were buying up little boroughs at the rate of from three thousand to nine thousand pounds. Thus new interests were coming in from the East and West Indies, by which men, seeking to protect their own corruptions in these countries, and to secure their unrighteous prey, swelled the great parliamentary sink of corruption, by which the people were turned out of their

own house by the wealthy, and made to pay their greedy demands on the government; for that which these representatives of rotten boroughs bought they meant to sell, and at a plentiful profit. Well might Chatham say this rotten part of the constitution wanted amputating. Where the people of corporations had votes, they were corrupted beyond all hope of resistance by the lavish bribes of the wealthy. The earl Spencer spent seventy thousand pounds to secure the borough of Northampton for his nominee. There were attorneys acting then as now for such boroughs, and such corrupt constituents, who were riding about offering them to the highest bidders. One Hickey was notorious amongst this tribe of political pimps and panderers; and, above all, the borough of Shoreham distinguished itself by its venality, which assumed an aspect almost of blasphemy. The burgesses united in a club to share the proceeds of bribery equally amongst themselves, and styled themselves "the Christian Club," in imitation of the first Christians, who had all things in common!

In the train of all this unprincipled corruption followed riots and tumults amongst the people, who were at once starving from the scarcity and dearness of bread, and infuriated with drinking to serve the views of these base candidates. From the centre of this unholy chaos again rose the figure of John Wilkes, as the reputed champion of liberty. Wilkes, uneasy in Paris, his funds dried up, his debts increasing, turned a sharp eye on the proceedings in England. There he saw the great mind of Chatham sunk in eclipse; and in his absence the members of both parliament and cabinet divided into furious factions, thinking not of the honour and interest of the country, but only of their own paltry power and enrichment. The people, left without representatives, without defenders, sunk in ignorance, and suffering from scarcity, were showing their discontent by public disturbances. Never was there so fine an opportunity for a bold demagogue. Was it any wonder that, thus cheated, and neglected, and uninstructed, the people should flock round the first impudent champion that offered to fight their battles? If men cannot have a stone bridge over a river, they will take up with a wooden one, or even a hollow tree, to carry them over. Wilkes was that hollow tree—a noisy and clever demagogue, an adventurer on his own account, caring little or nothing for real liberty or the people; but he was the only man who cried "Liberty!" and the people, without a leader or a friend, were sure to echo the cry.

Wilkes came over to England on the 7th of February. He was advised to try Westminster, where Mr. John Churchill, the brother of his coadjutor, the satirist, and others, were in his interest, but he boldly struck for the city of London. He took up his quarters with Mr. Hayley, in Great Alie Street, Goodman's Fields. There he wrote a most submissive and pleading letter to the king, stating his loyalty and his grievances, and praying for a full pardon, that he might enjoy the privileges of his country. No notice was taken of his letter; and though, when he first entered London, Horace Mann said he saw his hackney-chair followed only by a dozen women and children, yet, no sooner did he boldly appear in the streets of London, with the outlawry still in full force, yet declaring himself a can-

didate for the representation of the city, than he was received by the crowd with the most vociferous acclamations. There were seven candidates at the poll. Wilkes received one thousand two hundred and forty-seven votes, but he was still lowest on the poll. His friends, the mob, had no franchise.

Undaunted by his defeat, he immediately offered himself for Middlesex, and there, though the mob could not vote, they could act for him. They assembled in vast numbers, shouting, "Wilkes and Liberty!" They accompanied him to the poll; they stopped all the roads that led to the hustings at Brentford, suffering no one to pass who was not for Wilkes and liberty. His zealous supporters wore blue cockades or paper in their hats, inscribed "Wilkes and Liberty," or "No. 45." At night they assembled in the streets, insisting on people illuminating their houses in honour of Wilkes; abused all Scotchmen they met; scribbled "No. 45" on the panels of carriages as they passed; made the parties in them shout their favourite cry: broke the windows of lord Bute at the west-end, and of Harley, the lord mayor, at the Mansion House—the same Harley, a younger brother of the earl of Oxford, who, as sheriff, had had to burn the "No. 45" of the "North Briton," in Cornhill. By such means the mob managed to return Wilkes at the very head of the poll.

This was wormwood to the government; and Wilkes did not leave them many days in quiet. He had declared that, on returning to England, he would surrender himself under his outlawry on the first day of the next term. Accordingly, on the 20th of April, he presented himself to the court of king's bench, attended by his counsel, Mr. Glynn, and avowed himself ready to surrender to the laws. Lord Mansfield declared that he was not there by any legal process, and that the court could not take notice of him; but in a few days he was taken on a writ of *capias ad legatum*, and on the 8th of June he was again brought before lord Mansfield, who declared the outlawry void through a flaw in the indictment; but the original verdict against him was confirmed, and he was sentenced to two years' imprisonment, and two fines of five hundred pounds each—one for the "North Briton," and the other for the "Essay on Woman."

But these proceedings had not been effected without continual tumults. On the day that Wilkes was arrested by order of the king's bench, on the 27th of April, and, being refused bail, was sent to the king's bench prison, the mob stopped the hackney coach as it proceeded over Westminster Bridge, took out the horses, and, with shouts of "Wilkes and Liberty!" drew him, not to the prison, but into the city, and took him into a tavern in Cornhill, where they kept him till midnight, declaring that he should enjoy his freedom in spite of the law. But Wilkes knew his position better than his champions, and, stealing away, he went voluntarily to the king's bench, and surrendered himself. The next morning, when the mob knew that he was in prison, they assembled in furious throngs, and demanded, under the most terrible menaces, his liberation. This being taken no notice of, they began to tear down the railings, and to light a bonfire, as if they would burn in the door, as the Porteus mob did at Edinburgh. They were at length dispersed by a detachment of horse guards, but not until the

mob had abused and pelted the soldiers. These riots were kept up in different places from day to day; and, on the 10th of May, on which the parliament met, though only for a few days, vast crowds assembled in St. George's Field, in the firm persuasion that, as Wilkes was member for Middlesex, nothing could prevent him, by virtue of his privilege, coming out of prison and taking his place. As the gates continued closed, the demands were vehement for his appearance, and the crowd began to assail the prison gates with stones and brickbats. The uproar became so violent that the soldiers were called out; and the riot act being read by two magistrates, Messrs. Gillam and Ponton, the mob fell furiously on both soldiers and justices, pelting them with mud and stones. The soldiers, who were Scotch, a detach-

was alleged that the soldiers were ordered to pursue and seize the rioter, but this could only be done through the permission of their officer, Mr. Alexander Murray, and that, so far from having given such permission, he demanded who had fired the gun without his orders.

The death of the young man was only the prelude to further bloodshed. The mob became frantic, and assailed the troops with brickbats. Gillam, the magistrate, ordered them to fire; they fired, and killed six men, and wounded fifteen, including two women. The excitement against the soldiers and magistrates was intense. The people styled it the massacre of St. George's; the coroner's inquest brought in a verdict of wilful murder against Donald Maclean, and against his commander, ensign Murray, as an accessory.



GENERAL VIEW OF THE TOWN AND HARBOUR OF BOSTON, AMERICA.

ment of the third regiment of foot guards, hated Wilkes for his continual jibes on their nation, and were in no mood to show much forbearance towards his followers. A Highlander, named Donald Maclean, irritated by the pelting of the mob, broke from the ranks with two other Celts, and gave chase to a young man in a red waistcoat, who had been particularly active in throwing at them. The man escaped into a cowshed, and the soldiers following, found a young man in a red waistcoat in the shed, and shot him. It was alleged in evidence by the young man's father, that this young man whom they shot was not the man they had pursued, but a mere quiet spectator; that the actual rioter had passed through the shed and got away further. Again: it

Gillam, who had ordered them to fire, was also indicted for murder. Maclean, as he was conveyed to prison, was in danger of being torn to pieces by the populace; but, when the prisoners were brought to trial, they were not only acquitted, but the new parliament voted loyal addresses on the occasion; and the government, through lord Barrington, the secretary at war, and in the king's name, thanked publicly the officers and men for their signal service in protecting the public peace. This only added fresh fuel to the popular flame. To protect the public peace by shooting the people, and to assure the perpetrators of this outrage, as lord Barrington did, that they should have every assistance from government in defending them from all legal conse-

quences, was rightly deemed most un-English conduct. The riots spread on all sides. The lord mayor, Harley, was obliged to have soldiers to defend him in the Mansion House. The sailors, the very day before the riot, had, in a body, gone up to parliament to petition for an increase of wages. They now kept together, and forced the men from the merchant ships in the river to join them. They forcibly detained ships that were ready to sail, in order to increase their numbers. The coalheavers, thus prevented unloading ships, took the field against the sailors, and came to mortal combat at Stepney. Several of the sailors were killed; the coalheavers cleared the ground of them, and then proceeded through the city streets with drums beating and flags flying, and declaring that they would give five guineas for a sailor's head. The disorder soon spread to Newcastle and other ports. In London, the confusion grew every day more alarming. The tailors turned out, and surrounded the Mansion House; the glass-grinders and the artisans swelled the chaos. It was midsummer before quiet could be restored, and still the anxiety remained, when it was seen how easily a single, worthless demagogue could thus raise all the elements of anarchy.

Scarcely, indeed, was the tumult laid, when it was in danger of revival. Cooke, the colleague of Wilkes in the representation of Middlesex, died in August; and sergeant Glynn, Wilkes's daring and constant advocate, was nominated, and elected as Wilkes's colleague.

Aboard, things appeared as unsettled as at home. News of the most gloomy character came from the American colonies: the tidings of the new duties had excited the wildest indignation and menaces, especially in Massachusetts. On the continent of Europe, amongst others, the French design of making themselves masters of Corsica, excited the strongest feeling. Corsica had been held for centuries by Genoa, and with such oppressive rigour, that the people had rebelled and fought desperately for their independence. In 1756 they had chosen as their king Theodore Neuhoff, a German adventurer; but the Genoese called in the aid of the French, and were thus enabled to put down the resistance for a time, and to drive out Neuhoff, who, after many wanderings, arrived in London in the utmost poverty, and died there in 1756, after a long imprisonment for debt. The Corsicans, however, rebelled again, and put at their head general Pascal Paoli, a brave man and a superior statesman. Paoli made an appeal to the whole of Europe to enable him to maintain the independence of his country. So long as he had only the Genoese to contend against he set them at defiance, and confined them to the few fortified places of the island. But the Genoese, tired out by the struggle, made over all their assumed rights in the island to the French, and Choiseul sent out an armament to reduce it. Paoli solicited the assistance of England, as a free nation, to assist them in being so, too. Amongst those who most warmly sympathised with the struggling Corsicans, was Boswell, the biographer of Johnson. He had been in Corsica, and established a firm and a lasting friendship with Paoli. In the spring of this year appeared his "Tour in Corsica," in which he endeavoured to rouse the sympathies of England for the island, and represented Paoli as the Pericles of Corsica. He appealed to Englishmen through

the newspapers, and addressed a zealous letter to Chatham. He pointed out the advantages of having Corsica in friendly alliance with us, and implored Chatham to use his influence to obtain the recall of a proclamation issued by the British government, prohibiting the subjects of George III. from any intercourse with what it styled "the insurgents and malcontents of Corsica."

Chatham showed strong sympathy with the Corsicans, and blamed the indifference of the ministers. This indifference was, however, not partaken of by the duke of Grafton and Lord Shelburne. Shelburne addressed a spirited remonstrance to the duke de Choiseul, through the hands of lord Rochford, our ambassador at Paris. He went in it as far as he could without menacing a direct declaration of war. This conduct appeared to make a deep impression, but it was not lasting. The French, who dreaded Chatham, who would not have ventured on this aggression had he been in his full vigour of mind, knew that he was still completely helpless through his malady. They had also managed to discover that the bulk of the English cabinet were wholly regardless of the fate of Corsica. Lord Rochford informed Grafton that Lord Mansfield, who was in Paris, had completely ruined the whole negotiation with France, by saying one day, at the table of one of the ministers of France, that the English ministry were too weak, and the nation too wise, to enter into a war for the sake of Corsica. This instantly changed the whole tone of the French ministry, and they paid no more regard to the remonstrance of the English cabinet.

As it was not for England to endanger another European war by openly assuming the support of Corsica against France, Grafton endeavoured to aid it secretly. He dispatched captain Dumant to Paoli, a gentleman who had been in the Sardinian service. Dumant passed safely through France to Genoa, and thence, in an English ship of war, to Corsica. Paoli represented the importance of a good supply of arms and ammunition, in the absence of other assistance, and these were speedily sent as privately as possible. But the contest of this little island against France was hopeless. Paoli was overpowered, his forces and friends scattered, and he betook himself to London, where he was enthusiastically received—was honoured with a pension by the king, and was the friend of most of the distinguished artists, literati, and statesmen, Burke, Reynolds, Johnson, &c.

In October of this year Chatham at length resigned. He had refurnished Hayes, imagining that he should recover his health there, and in the autumn the gout, quitting in some degree its hold on his nerves, began to determine towards the extremities again. This released the mind to a certain extent, though not so much as to allow him to think of business. He was still invisible to his friends; but the duke of Grafton sought through lady Chatham to convey to him the information of certain changes in the cabinet and in government, which it was feared he might object to. The first was the proposed removal of lord Shelburne, betwixt whom and Grafton there was so much difference of opinion that they could not go on together. The public believed that the real cause of Shelburne's removal was his energetic remonstrances to France against the invasion of Corsica; but in this respect Grafton appears to have been

nearly as zealous. The grounds of difference were older and more general. The other change was the removal of sir Jeffrey Amherst from the government of Virginia. Sir Jeffrey had been one of Chatham's most able generals in America, and had received, in reward for his services, the nominal appointment, according to the bad custom of the time, of governor of Virginia, with the liberty of living in England, and performing his duties by a deputy! It was now pleaded, that in the critical state of the American colonies it was necessary to have an active governor on the spot, and Amherst was called upon to resign, and to accept a pension in lieu of the post. Sir Jeffrey stoutly refused, and the king was obliged formally to dismiss him. Ministers did not get much credit for their pretence of sending out a more active governor, by their choice of lord Bottetort; and it was said the change was made—not because Virginia wanted a governor, but because the court wanted a place for a favourite.

Chatham, when informed of these changes by his wife, strongly disapproved of them both. He wrote to Grafton on the 12th of October, only three days after the duke had had his interview with lady Chatham at Hayes, begging he would request the king graciously to permit him to resign the seals. He pleaded his weak and broken health as the necessary cause, but he did not omit to express his regret for the removal of lord Shelburne and Sir Jeffrey Amherst.

It might have been imagined, by the consternation which this announcement produced, that Chatham had been all this time most actively discharging the office of premier. The withdrawal of his name merely was regarded as a most detrimental thing to the government. Grafton wrote back instantly, stating how injurious his withdrawal would be to the king's affairs, and reminding him how he had himself remained in at his request, contrary to his own wishes. But Chatham the next day reiterated his proposal in more positive terms. Grafton was obliged to communicate the fact to the king, who was equally alarmed, and wrote with his own hand, pressing his retention of office. "I think," he said, "that I have a right to insist on your remaining in my service, since you entered office at my own requisition in 1766, for I with pleasure look forward to the time of your recovery, when I may have your assistance in resisting the torrent of factions this country so much labours under." He added that Grafton and the lord chancellor were both looking forward to that event with the same pleasure.

All persuasion was useless; Chatham wrote that his health would positively prevent his retaining the seals, and he commissioned lord chancellor Camden to deliver them into the king's hands. Camden, at the same time, proposed to resign also; but neither the king nor Grafton would listen to his retiring, and he remained.

Camden was desired to offer the privy seal to the earl of Bristol, a friend of Chatham's; but Bristol would not consent to accept it, till he had consulted Chatham. Chatham coolly replied that, having withdrawn from public business himself, he must be excused declining to advise what arrangements of office should be made; but recommended Bristol, if he accepted the seal, to accept with an

intention to retain it, not as holding it, according to his avowal, as the *locum tenens* of himself. Bristol took the seal, and lord Rochford was sent for from Paris, and took the place of Shelburne.

Parliament assembled on the 8th of November. The two great objects which engrossed the attention of government in these days were North America and John Wilkes. It is difficult to say to which it attached the most importance, and on which it showed the most want of sagacity. By their proud and arbitrary ignorance of the plainest principles of legislation, they raised Wilkes into the idol of the nation, and lost the noblest colonies of the kingdom. The speech from the throne alluded to the troubles in America in a spirit that boded only further mischief. It spoke of the rebellious character of the proceedings in America, and an address was carried through both houses of the most violent kind. Amongst other things, it was said, "We lament that the arts of wicked and designing men should have been able to rekindle that flame of sedition in some of your majesty's colonies in North America, which, at the close of the late parliament, your majesty saw reason to hope was well nigh extinguished. We shall be ever ready to hear and redress any real grievances of your majesty's American subjects; but we should betray the trust reposed in us if we did not withstand every attempt to infringe or weaken our just rights; and we shall always consider it one of our most important duties to maintain entire and inviolate the supreme authority of the legislature of Great Britain over every part of the British empire."

Here Chatham saw his grand flourish of supreme authority at once assumed for the very purpose of resisting by arms and bloodshed that sacred right, of no taxation without representation, which he had at the same time insisted on.

This preposterous address was carried by the lords unanimously: in the commons it encountered a proper though not a prevailing opposition. There Burke exclaimed in astonishment at the fresh violation of the rights of juries, "If your remedy is such as is not likely to appease the Americans, but rather to exasperate them, you fire a cannon upon your enemy which will recoil upon yourselves. And why take such a course? Because you say you cannot trust a jury of that country. Sir, that word must convey horror to every feeling mind. If you have not a party amongst two millions of people, you must either change your plan of government, or renounce your colonies for ever!"

Colonel Barré used language equally emphatic. Dowdeswell, Sir George Saville, Alderman Beckford, Sir Charles Saunders, George Onslow, and even George Grenville, now in opposition, resisted the address. But their voices availed nothing against such arguments as those of Mr. Stanley, who talked of the insolent, treasonable libels of the Americans; of their unwarrantable combinations to cut off all commerce with the mother country; of now rejecting all middle terms of accommodation. Or the language of lord Barrington, who called the Americans traitors, and worse than traitors, who must be put down by troops. Or of lord North, who described the Americans as lost to all feelings of duty or regard to the mother country, who gave on

proofs of any return of affection, and who gave you no credit for any good intentions towards them. He declared they must go through firmly with the resolve to put them down; and Stanley triumphantly asked what was to become of the insolent town of Boston, when they deprived the inhabitants of the power of sending out their rum and molasses to the coast of Africa? Adding that they must be treated as aliens, for they had treated us as such.

But even this language might have lost much of its irritating effects, had it not been backed by acts of a still more irritating character. Lord Hillsborough, the new colonial minister, moved votes of censure on the proceedings of the assembly of Massachusetts and the meetings at Boston; but he had done more—he had already sent troops into the colony to crush such expressions of opinion by martial force.

The news of the act imposing import duties had re-awakened all the indignation of the people of Massachusetts. Dr. Franklin had immediately a practical proof of the doctrine he had propounded before the English parliament, that it might levy import duties, but not internal duties. Lord Chatham, had he been in a condition of mind capable of it, might then see the fallacy of the very same opinions held by him. The Americans scattered all such specious cobwebs to the winds. They declared that *no taxes of any kind* should be levied, except through the medium of their own representatives in their own assemblies; and had our statesmen of that day only recognised this simple and conspicuous principle of Magna Charta, they would have spared England a bloody war against its own children, and North America might to-day have been an integral portion of the British empire.

The Bostonians took immediate steps to realise their doctrines. In October, 1767, the chief men there met, and entered into a bond to purchase or wear no English manufacture, but to encourage domestic manufacture till these obnoxious import duties were withdrawn. The Massachusetts' assembly passed strong resolutions to the same effect, and Mr. James Otis, who had been most active in contending for them, exerted himself, through the press, to circulate them all over America. Mr. John Dickinson wrote the celebrated "Letters of a Farmer in Pennsylvania," which were in England strongly attributed to Franklin, who had now seen that it was time to renounce publicly his ill-considered opinions on the subject of taxation; and he did this in a preface which he wrote for this work, and which he republished here. At the same time, Franklin still confessed his error with reluctance; and, in private conversation, would ask what the Bostonians meant? what subordination they acknowledged to parliament, if they disclaimed its power of making law? It is clear that Franklin, with all his shrewdness, did not yet comprehend all the meaning of that significant word—representation.

Causes were not long waiting for testing the resolution of the people of Massachusetts. The governor of that colony, Francis Bernard, was precisely the man to bring the matter to a crisis. He was able, determined, and of a hot temper. The people hated him, because they knew that he was writing home dispatches full of the most unfavourable

representations of their proceedings and designs. He refused to confirm the nomination of such members of the council as he knew were opposed to the new regulation; and Lord Shelburne supported him in his act. In consequence, the assembly addressed a circular letter to all the other colonies, calling on them to unite in defeating the new duties. Barnard in vain opposed the resolution authorising this circular letter; and, on his report, Lord Hillsborough instructed him to demand from the assembly the rescinding of the resolution. The assembly refused, declaring that if a British minister could control the votes of provincial assemblies, liberty was but a mere show. The effect of all this was so far to strengthen the spirit of opposition, that several of the members, who had voted against the circular letter, now voted against rescinding it. Lord Hillsborough had instructed Barnard to dissolve the assembly in case it refused to rescind the resolution. In the meantime, events took place which might have caused a more judicious man to pause ere he fulfilled these instructions.

On the 10th of June, 1768, a sloop called the *Liberty*, the property of Mr. John Hancock, of Boston, arrived in the harbour of that city laden with a cargo of Madeira wine. It had been the custom of late, on the arrival of vessels carrying goods chargeable with the new import duties, for the tide-waiter, on going on board, to sit and drink punch with the master in the cabin, whilst the sailors and others were landing the goods; after which the compliant tide-waiter proceeded to examine the ship, and, finding no chargeable cargo, reported accordingly. But now the new staff of commissioners had arrived, and they took their measures to prevent this winking at the truth. This had already led to direct violence. A daring smuggler, named Malcolm, had some time before, with his men, fought sword in hand the custom-house officers, and landed from his ship sixty pipes of Madeira in spite of them. From that time he had become one of the most determined supporters of the compact not to purchase anything manufactured in England, and threatened the persons and property of such as declined to subscribe to it.

On this occasion the commissioners prepared to secure the duties on the cargo. They sent on board an excise officer, duly instructed, who, being as usual invited to take punch with the captain in the cabin, declined, and other and more tempting proposals being made him, he declined them too. Whereupon, he was immediately seized, and locked up in the cabin whilst the wine was carried on shore. Next morning the skipper entered a few pipes of wine at the custom house as the whole of his cargo; but the commissioners, disregarding this false entry, immediately ordered the comptroller to seize the sloop in the king's name, and mark the broad arrow upon her. The comptroller signalled the *Romney* man-of-war, lying at anchor off Boston, to take the sloop in tow and carry her under her guns. Crowds, meantime, had gathered on the quay, and Malcolm, the smuggler, heading them, commenced measures for resistance. The captain of the *Romney* sent out his boat's crew to haul in the sloop, and the mob, instigated by Malcolm, attacked with stones. The man-of-war's men, notwithstanding, executed their task, and carried the *Liberty* under the guns of the *Romney*.

But the success of the capture only intensified the commotion on shore. Malcolm and his mob attacked the custom-house officers with all their fury. The tumult continued the next day; the mob broke the windows of the houses of the commissioners and the custom-house officers; they dragged the collector's boat on shore, and made a bonfire of it. These officers fled for their lives—first on board the *Romney*, and then to Castle William, a fortress at the mouth of the harbour. The third day was Sunday, and the Bostonians kept the day with the decorum customary with New Englanders; but on the Monday the riot was resumed with unabated vigour. Placards were carried round the town, calling on the Sons of Liberty to meet on Tuesday at ten o'clock. The Sons of Liberty were members of the non-importation associations, which had been established there, and in many parts of America. They had adopted that designation from a phrase in a speech of colonel Burré, delivered in parliament as early as 1765. Daughters of Liberty existed as well as Sons of Liberty, who mutually bound themselves to drink no tea, as well as to wear nothing imported after the passing of these duties.

The meeting sent a deputation to the governor to inquire why the sloop had been removed from the quay, which, they asserted, implied an unworthy suspicion of the people of Boston. The answer was easy. They who forced goods on shore, sword in hand, and locked up tide-waiters, were not very likely to respect the royal authority in regard to the ship. The magistrates, however, made a point of executing their duty. They issued a proclamation, offering a reward for the apprehension of the ringleaders of the riot, and a few of the lower orders were taken up; but on the grand jury sat the supreme ringleader, Malcolm, and his associates, who, of course, found no true bill against them. This was a proceeding which demonstrated beyond any doubt, that all civil control over the colonists was at an end, so long as the obnoxious act of parliament existed, and henceforth, in default of its repeal, martial law must prevail.

In the midst of this commotion, governor Barnard dissolved the assembly. The seizure of the sloop and the dissolution of the assembly raised the resentment of the people of Boston to the highest pitch. They were wound up to a spirit of silent desperation, and further causes were already in operation to drive the matter to a crisis. Two days before the seizure of the sloop, namely, the 8th of June, lord Hillsborough, in consequence of the dispatches of governor Barnard—that the laws could not be enforced without a more powerful body of troops—sate down, and was writing an order to general Gage, the commander-in-chief for North America, to dispatch, from Halifax to Boston, two regiments and four ships of war. The day after the seizure, lord Hillsborough was also in England, writing to governor Barnard to inform him of his order in his behalf.

Whilst these measures were in progress, the people of Boston were exerting themselves to arouse the people of the other colonies to unite in the resistance to the import duties, and to the mutiny act, which authorised the magistrates to break into any house, by day or night, in search of deserters. They sent out addresses to every quarter, concluding with the words:—"United, we conquer; divided, we die!"

They entered into a new anti-import duty league, to the effect that, after the 1st of January, they would not purchase any articles from England except salt, coals, fishing-tackle, hemp and duck, bar-lead and shot, wool-cards, and card-wire. The people of New York and the merchants of Salem to a great extent subscribed to this agreement, though both in these places and in Boston the more moderate men refused. The Bostonians insisted that, if the Americans ceased to import, the merchants in Britain would suffer so severely that they would grow desperate, and compel parliament to repeal the acts.

Early in September arrived the news that troops were coming from Halifax. On the 12th, the inhabitants appointed a deputation to request of governor Barnard that he would convene an assembly, but he replied that he could not do so without his majesty's commands and at the same time confirmed the news that troops were on the way. At this announcement a meeting of the inhabitants was immediately called, and a resolution was passed declaring that the people of Boston would take every means of defending the rights and privileges secured to them in their royal charter, at the peril of their lives and fortunes; and a second, asserting that as there was an apprehension in the minds of many of an approaching war with France, those inhabitants who were not provided be requested to provide themselves forthwith with arms. They also appointed a committee of management, and appointed a convention to be held in Faneuil Hall, in Boston, on the 22nd of September.

The plan for the convention was, that Barnard, on being requested to call an assembly, had declined; and that, although an assembly must meet in regular course in May next, the circumstances of the time would not allow of the delay. Accordingly, deputies were elected and sent from eight districts and ninety-six towns, who met on the day fixed in Faneuil Hall. Barnard addressed a letter to the convention, warning them of the illegal course they were pursuing; and the convention, after sitting five or six days, holding several communications with the governor, and drawing up a petition to the king, quietly dispersed. But the example had been set, and from this day we may date these conventions, which, becoming more and more common, exercised the most decided influence over the progress of events, and eventually assumed the whole political authority of the colonies.

Probably the arrival of the troops hastened the dissolution of the convention, for the very same day the ships of war were seen entering the harbour. These cast anchor near the *Romney* with their guns ready shotted in case of resistance. The next day, October 1st, colonel Dalrymple landed the two regiments, with their artillery trains, the whole not exceeding 700 men. The governor desired the town council to provide quarters for the troops, but they refused, alleging that they were not bound to do so by the Quartering Act, so long as there were barracks which could accommodate them, and that the barracks at the castle were amply sufficient. Barnard said these barracks he had reserved for the two other regiments coming from Ireland, and both he and colonel Dalrymple insisted on their being received into the town. Barnard requested them to order the preparation of what was called the "manufacturing house," occupied by a

number of poor families; they again declined, and Barnard himself endeavoured to clear out the families, but, encouraged by the townsmen, they stood firm, and refused to evacuate the house. Meantime, the troops were landing, and marched into the town with drums beating and flags flying. One of the regiments was permitted to take up its temporary quarters in Faneuil Hall; the other was compelled to encamp on the neighbouring common. Thence they removed to the town, or state house, which the governor ordered to be vacated for them, all but the council chamber, and there the soldiers made good their entrance. This was opposite to the principal meeting house; and the strict presbyterian frequenters of it were scandalised to see cannon

The obstinacy shown in Boston, with the accounts they disseminated all over the colonies, wonderfully encouraged others in the same temper. The same resistance to the demands of the governor and officials manifested itself, and governors and assemblies assumed a menacing attitude towards each other; and, unfortunately, the system by which governors and other officials had been supplied, which still is too much in practice, was ill calculated to stand the test of a crisis like this. Instead of men chosen for their abilities and respectability, they had been sent out because they were the relatives or dependents of great families. The idea was to find places for men who would not be tolerated at home—not suitable governors and magistrates for the colonies. General Huske



FANEUIL HALL, BOSTON.

planted in front of it, and to hear the sound of drum and fife whilst at their worship.

General Gage, commander-in-chief for the colonies, came himself to Boston, to enforce the finding of proper quarters for the troops, but the council and magistrates still refused, neither would they find any provisions according to the Mutiny Act; and Gage was obliged to hire houses and make the necessary supplies at the government cost. Nothing could be worse than the spirit existing between the Bostonians and the soldiers. They regarded the soldiers as the tools of despotism, and the soldiers had been taught to look on them as a smuggling, canting, and rebel population.

had, in 1758, spoken pretty plainly on this subject:—"As to the civil officers appointed for America, most of the places in the gift of the crown have been filled with broken members of parliament, of bad, if any, principles, valets-de-chambre, electioneering scoundrels, and even livery servants. In one word, America has been for many years made the hospital of England." Is it any wonder that the high-spirited colonies should yearn to be rid of this incubus?

Such, then, was the state of affairs at the meeting of parliament in November, 1768. These events in America claimed immediate attention. The petition of the conven-



BRITISH TROOPS ENTERING BOSTON.

tion of Massachusetts, on its arrival, was rejected indignantly. The opposition called for the production of the correspondence with the civil and military authorities there on the subject, but this demand was negatived.

In January, 1769, the house of lords took up the subject in a hasty tone. They complained of the seditious and treasonable proceedings of the people of Boston and of Massachusetts generally; and the duke of Bedford, affirming that it was clear that no such acts could be punished by the magistrates or tribunals of the colony, moved an address to the king recommending that the criminals guilty of the late outrages should be brought to this country and tried here, according to an act of the 35th of Henry VIII. It was certainly a strange proceeding for a descendant of the whigs of 1688 to take up an act of one of the greatest tyrants of our history, in order to punish men contending for the very same thing as was contended for in 1688—the maintenance of the liberty of the subject against unconstitutional proceedings on the part of the crown; yet this monstrous resolution was carried triumphantly through the lords. On the 20th of January it was introduced to the commons. There it excited a very spirited opposition from colonel Barré, alderman Backford, Messrs. Burke, Dowdeswell, Pownall, the member for Liverpool, governor Johnstone, governor Pownall, and Cornwall. George Grenville, forgetting his indignation at their resistance to his stamp act, expressed his astonishment at the lords naming this act of Henry VIII., which was entitled “an act concerning the trials of treasons committed out of his majesty’s dominions,” and therefore implying that the Americans were out of his majesty’s dominions.

Dowdeswell declared that this was a direct attack on the rights of juries: that they could not bring an American to be tried here, where he would be cut off from his native place, his friends, and witnesses. They could not send backward and forward three thousand miles for witnesses, and, without that, a man could not have a fair trial. It was a monstrous proposition. The lords had no brother peers in America; they might overlook the interests of the inhabitants of that country; but that it did not become the commons to put men on trial in a manner which could neither be justified at the bar of justice or of reason. Pownall, who had himself been governor of Massachusetts, and knew the Americans well, accused the lords of gross ignorance of the charters, usages, and character of the Americans; and governor Johnstone as strongly condemned the motion, which was carried by one hundred and fifty-five to eighty-nine.

On the 8th of February Mr. Rose Fuller moved to have the address recommitted, and that brought on a fresh debate on this important subject. He warned the house of the danger there was of our quarrel with our American subjects encouraging the French to renew the war in Europe, and what serious difficulties we might involve ourselves in if our forces and resources were engaged in contending with America. He believed that France would not have dared to seize Corsica had it not been for these unhappy quarrels; and now a general European war would, in all probability, arise. Alderman Trevellick denounced the attempt to tax the Americans as altogether likely to succeed, and as destructive

to the commerce of this country. It was not only taxing the Americans, but the merchants of England. He severely censured the conduct of the new commissioners, who had dismissed the old revenue officers of the crown—good men, approved of both there and here. He thought we had done mischief enough, and had now a better opportunity of relaying our measures than we might have again. Alderman Backford characterised the whole proceeding as having all the aspect of a plan for ruling by military force: declared that they had no right to tax the colonies, and that the attempt was as unprofitable as it was foolish; the whole endeavour had not produced a single shilling—the money was all eaten up by the number of officers employed to collect it.

Dunning, the new solicitor-general, who began as a patron of Wilkes, and professed himself a zealous whig, defended the measure as necessary; that it was applicable to Ireland, and therefore to America. Chatham was so struck with the reasoning and abilities of Dunning some time before, that he said “he was not a lawyer, but the law itself.” In this case, his office, which led him on to the title of lord Ashburton, blinded him to the greatest of our constitutional principles. Hannibal more represented “his manners as insufferable, coughing and spitting at every word; but his sense and expression finished to the last degree.” In this case, he spit in the face of the Americans to the last degree, and was followed by Mr. Vansittart and Mr. Dyson on the same side. But the bulk of the speakers energetically condemned this flagrant violation of the right of jury. Sir William Meredith, quoting lord Bacon, that “to ramble back into antiquity was the same as to innovate,” observed, what a monstrous idea it must give the Americans of the English parliament to see it raking up the acts of the most arbitrary times in order to punish her; and sir William Pownall quoted the charter of Massachusetts, and observed that it expressly prohibited the bringing over any man for treasonable acts out of the colony, to try him. He reminded them that these very people quitted this country to avoid tyrannical government, and he was certain that they would now rise to a man rather than submit to any kind of taxation which their own assemblies had not sanctioned. If they would not believe it, at least ministers were now warned.

Notwithstanding, Mr. Rose Fuller’s motion to re-commit the address was negatived by one hundred and sixty-nine to sixty-five votes. On the 14th of March a petition from New York, denying their right to tax America in any way, was rejected, on the motion of lord North; and, still later in the session, governor Pownall moved that the revenue acts affecting America should be repealed forthwith. By this time everybody seemed to have become convinced of the folly of the attempt; but ministers had not the magnanimity to act at once on the certainty that stared them in the face. Parliament was prorogued on the 9th of May, and did not meet again till the following January, as if there were nothing of moment demanding its attention. But during this interval the great events of the time were steadily rolling on, whilst the parliamentary power of England slept. Before tracing these events, we must, however, bring up the other leading topics of the session. The

greatest of these, next to that of America, was the case of Wilkes.

With the same want of sagacity which was driving ministers and parliament to the loss of America, they were still persecuting Wilkes into popularity. On the 14th of November, 1768, Sir Joseph Mawby, member for Southwark, presented a petition from Wilkes, reciting all the proceedings of government against him, and praying for his being heard at the bar of the house. The 2nd of December was fixed for this hearing; but, owing to inquiries into the massacre of St. George's Fields, it was postponed, and he still continued in the King's Bench prison unheard, when Mr. Martin, on the 23rd of January, 1769, moved that though he had been convicted of a seditious libel, he was still entitled to the privilege of parliament. Lord North, now chancellor of the exchequer, moved an amendment, in which he styled the libel not only seditious, but impious and blasphemous, and proposed only his discharge from prison. This was carried by a large majority. On the 27th of January, when the subject was again pressed, lord North moved that the petitioner's counsel should confine himself to two points. These two points were, that lord Mansfield had altered the record of his indictment the day before the trial in Westminster, which alteration amounted only to substituting the word "tenor" for "import," a mere technical variation; and the other that Wilkes's "Essay on Woman" had been surreptitiously obtained, by bribing the printer, Curry, to take it from his house, when it had never been published. All other points, lord North contended, were open in a court of law, and that Wilkes was now availing himself of them, and was prosecuting lord Halifax, the secretary of state, on such grounds, laying his damages at twenty thousand pounds. The motion of North was carried, though opposed strenuously by the opposition.

Wilkes appeared on the 31st at the bar of the house, where he took exception to the word "blasphemous" as applied to the "Essay on Woman." Thurlow, afterwards lord chancellor, a most swearing, blaspheming man, protested that, if the house did not declare it blasphemous, it would be a disgrace to it. However, the words "impious" and "obscene" were substituted. On the 1st of February the house determined that Wilkes had not made good the two points, and therefore his petition was frivolous. The next day the house went into another charge against Wilkes. In the preceding April lord Weymouth, previous to the riots in St. George's Fields, had issued a letter, as secretary of state, to the magistrates of Lambeth, warning them of the danger of these riots taking place in the endeavour to free Wilkes from prison, and offering them the aid of the military. Wilkes, while in the King's Bench, had obtained a copy of this letter, and sent it to the "St. James's Chronicle," with his own comments, styling it a "hellish project," and as the direct cause of that "horrid massacre." Weymouth complained to the house of lords that this was a breach of privilege. A conference was had with the commons; Wilkes was brought to the bar, where Baldwin, the printer, had acknowledged the letter to be his, and then, so far from denying it, claimed the thanks of the country for having exposed that "bloody scroll." The commons

decided that he was guilty of an insolent and seditious libel, and on the following day, February 3rd, on the motion of lord Barrington, expelled him the house, by a majority of two hundred and nineteen to one hundred and thirty-seven. The king had directly asked for such a verdict by a letter to lord North, declaring that Wilkes's expulsion was "highly expedient and must be effected."

But the decision was not accomplished without a most determined opposition. The debate lasted till two o'clock of the morning, and called forth all the eloquence of Burke, Beckford, Barré, and others. George Grenville, who commenced the prosecution of Wilkes, as well as the proceedings against America, was partly in favour of both. But his speech, so far from pleasing Wilkes, occasioned him to write a fierce letter to him on some parts of it, which so offended Grenville, that he never again spoke to Wilkes during his life. Burke declared the whole debate a tragi-comedy for the benefit of Wilkes, at the expense of the constitution. The fact that the government was blindly running their heads against the constitution, whilst aiming only at Wilkes, was so palpable, that Dunning, though solicitor-general, kept away, and Conway would not vote. Out of the house, Horace Walpole said, that, to render Wilkes insignificant, was not to keep him out of the house, but to let him in. Wilkes himself, who saw what the result of such proceedings must be, rejoiced in them. The expression of captain Phipps, that the house of commons was wasting the whole session in examining "horse-waterers and newspaper-jackals" was far from expressing the whole mischief. The government were actually stabbing the very vitals of the constitution, and adding, every day, power to the man they sought to put down. Even whilst these debates were proceeding, Wilkes was chosen an alderman of Farringdon ward, and thus became a magistrate of London, whilst declared unfit to sit in parliament, and kept prisoner by government as a criminal!

The direct consequence was that he was immediately nominated again by the freeholders of Middlesex. Sir Dingley, a mercantile speculator of London, offered himself as the government candidate, but withdrew in a fright, and Wilkes was returned, without opposition, on the 16th of February, only thirteen days after his expulsion. The next day lord Strange moved in the commons, that John Wilkes, after having been expelled, was incapable of serving again in the present parliament, and the case of Sir Robert Walpole was quoted in justification. The opposition once more resisted with the usual arguments, but Dowdeswell hit the weakest point of the expulsion most happily. He asked, if they expelled Wilkes on the grounds of morality, where were they to stop? "You have turned out one worst man in the house; well, is there not, then, another worst man left? And, if you turn him out too, there is another worst man yet left; where will you stop? Whose seat will be secure? You turn out one man of impiety and obscenity: when half-a-dozen members meet over their bottle, is their discourse entirely free from obscenity? Even in the cabinet—that pious, reforming society!—why, were Mr. Wilkes to be adjudged there, and the innocent man to throw the first stone, they would slink out, one by one, and leave the culprit uncondemned!"

This sally not only hit hard many members of the commons, but of the lords too; especially Sandwich and the duke of Grafton, who paraded the notorious Nancy Parsons at the head of his table, and, though first lord of the treasury to the pious king George, was frequently seen handing her from the opera house in presence of the queen. A ministry with such unclean hands, thus straining at a gnat and swallowing a camel, was damaging public morals far more than Wilkes could have done. Wilkes was a second time declared incapable of sitting, the election was declared void, and the public indignation rose higher than ever. The freeholders of Middlesex instantly met at the London Tavern, and subscribed on the spot two thousand pounds towards defraying the expenses of Wilkes's election. They then formed themselves into a "Society for Supporting the Bill of Rights," and a third time proposed Wilkes as their candidate. The Dingley party, on the other hand, met at the King's Arm Tavern, in Cornhill, to propose a loyal address to his majesty, but were ousted by the Wilkesites. Eventually, however, they managed to get up their address, and on the 22nd of March went in procession to present it. But the mob surrounded them, shouting "Wilkes and liberty!" and accompanied them by a hearse, with rude paintings upon it of the death of young Allen by the soldiers, and that of Clarke, a man killed by the chairmen of Sir William Beauchamp Procter, in the election contest with Wilkes's friend, serjeant Glynn. On reaching St. James's Palace, lord Talbot rushed out and seized two of the mob, and the soldiers seized fifteen more. The address was carried in amid groans and hisses.

Wilkes was immediately returned for Middlesex, Dingley not finding any one who dared to nominate him. The next day, the 17th of March, the commons again voted the election void. In this exasperated state of the public feeling, the chairmen of Sir William Procter, Balfe and Macquirk, were brought to trial, and a verdict of wilful murder returned against them. The government referred the point to the College of Surgeons, who declared that the blow received by Clarke was not necessarily the cause of his death; and government granted the condemned men a free pardon. This open contempt of the law in the case of murderers—so that they were murdering in support of the government—did not merely shock the populace, it roused the indignation of the most clear-sighted of the community.

With the commencement of this year, 1769, there commenced the most remarkable series of political letters, under the signature of "Junius," which ever appeared in our political literature. Time has not yet disclosed who this public censor was, though the most weighty reasons attach the belief to its having been Sir Philip Francis. Whoever he was, his terrible dissections of the conduct and characters of public men—the duke of Grafton, the duke of Bedford, lord Mansfield, and others, not excepting the king himself—caused the most awful consternation amongst the ranks of the ministry, and raised the highest enthusiasm in the public by the keen and caustic edge of his satire and his censure, by the clear tone of his reasonings, his obvious knowledge of secret government movements, and the brilliant lustre of his style. In a letter to the duke of

Grafton, dated March 18th, on this acquittal of the murderers, he showed that the surgeon who gave evidence on the trial, that Clarke did die of the wound, was on his oath, while the two applied to afterwards by government were not on their oaths; and he asked the duke of Grafton, "When this unhappy man, Macquirk, had been solemnly tried, convicted, and condemned, when it appeared *that he had been frequently employed in the same services*, and no excuse for him could be drawn, either from the innocence of his former life or the simplicity of his character, it was not hazarding too much to interpose the strength of the prerogative between this felon and the justice of his country?" Whether he could not be satisfied "without committing the honour of his sovereign, or hazarding the reputation of his government?"

At the same unfortunate juncture, the king insisted on lord North demanding from parliament half a million for the liquidation of his debts, though he possessed a civil list of eight hundred thousand a-year. Simple as were the habits of George and his queen, the most reckless disregard of economy was practised in his household. There were no means taken to check the rapacity of his tradesmen, and it was shown that even for the one item of the royal coach, in 1762, there had been charged seven thousand five hundred and sixty-two pounds! The commons voted the half million, the public grumbled, and the popularity of Wilkes, the great champion of reform, rose higher than ever. A fourth time the freeholders of Middlesex nominated him as their candidate; and on this occasion a fresh government nominee presented himself. This was colonel Henry Lawes Luttrell, the eldest son of lord Irnham, lately created an Irish peer, and afterwards made viscount and earl of Carhampton. Luttrell was already member for Bossiney, but resigned and run this risk at the request of government. These Luttrells, father and son, had a most odious name in Ireland, and Junius, in his sixty-seventh letter, one addressed to Grafton, has branded this opponent of Wilkes, this government protégé, to all posterity for his crimes. Two other candidates, encouraged by Luttrell's appearance, came forward; and on the 13th of April the list of the poll, which had gone off quietly, showed Wilkes, one thousand one hundred and forty-three; Luttrell, two hundred and ninety-six; Whitaker, five; and Roach, none.

On the 15th of April, notwithstanding Luttrell's signal defeat, the house of commons, on the motion of Onslow, son of the late speaker, voted, after a violent debate by a majority of fifty-four, that "Henry Lawes Luttrell, Esq., *ought to have been returned for Middlesex.*" The debate was very obstinate. The whole of the Grenville interest, including lord Temple, was employed against government, and the decision was not made till three o'clock on Sunday morning. Doctor, afterwards judge Blackstone, the author of the celebrated "Commentaries on the Laws of England," at this time solicitor-general, supported the government in destroying the very rights he had maintained in his book! Grenville retorted this upon him, but Junius humbled him more severely. He said, in his fourteenth letter, "We have now the good fortune to understand the doctor's principles as well as writings. For the defence of truth, of law, and reason, the doctor's book may be safely consulted; but who-

ever wishes to cheat a neighbour of his estate, or rob a country of its right, need make no scruple of consulting the doctor himself."

The government might justify this decision on the ground of Wilkes's incapacity to serve during that parliament, but the country saw with alarm that it was establishing a precedent for annulling the most precious defences of the constitution by a mere resolution of the commons. For this reason the words of Mr. Henry Cavendish, the ancestor of the present lord Waterpark, which he used in the debate, were received with enthusiasm out of doors as "Mr. Cavendish's Creed":—"I do, from my soul, detest and abjure, as unconstitutional and illegal, that damnable doctrine and position, that a resolution of the house of commons can make, alter, suspend, abrogate, or annihilate the law of the land."

To such a pitch of folly and despotism had the Grafton ministry been driven by the events of the session of 1769, by their conduct towards the Americans and Wilkes. The Rockinghams and Grenvilles were combined against the Grafton cabinet, and thus acquiring popularity at its expense. Lord Camden, though still retaining his place, utterly disapproved of their proceedings. The people everywhere held meetings to express their total loss of confidence in both the ministers and parliament, and to pray the king to dissolve the latter. In the autumn, the action of Wilkes against lord Halifax, for the seizure of his papers, was tried, and the jury gave him four thousand pounds damages.

But, gloomy as were the aspect of affairs at home, they were far more so in America. There, the insane conduct of the government had gone on exasperating and alienating the colonists. True, the cabinet, on the close of parliament, held a meeting to consider what should be done regarding America. Grafton proposed to repeal the obnoxious duties at the commencement of the next session, but he was overruled on the motion of lord North, and it was agreed to repeal all but the tea-duties. Within a few days after the close of the session, therefore, lord Hillsborough wrote this news in a circular to the governors of the American colonies. As was certain, the partial concession produced no effect, the principle being still retained in the continued tea-duty. Moreover, Hillsborough's circular was composed in such harsh and uncourteous terms, that it rather augmented than assuaged the excitement. In the month of May the new Virginian assembly passed strong resolutions against the right of taxation without representation, and sent copies of them to the other colonial assemblies. It also petitioned the king against the employment of the act of Henry VIII. against the colonists. Amongst the leaders on this occasion, we find first the name of Thomas Jefferson, combined with those of Peyton Randolph, Patrick Henry, George Washington, Richard Henry Lee, and others, who became the great actors in the revolution. Maryland and South Carolina followed the example. Georgia and Rhode Island were censured for not standing firm for the general rights, trade was prohibited with them, and they and North Carolina soon joined the association. Such merchants as continued to sell British goods were assailed by the mob, and their property and lives threatened. In the cause of

liberty the colonists did not hesitate to practise the most unmitigated compulsion.

In Massachusetts the colonists were more exasperated against governor Barnard, on account of his letters reflecting on the Bostonians in the matter of the late riots, these letters having been laid before parliament, and copies of them by some means procured and sent on by their agents. They declared that it was beneath their dignity to deliberate in the midst of an armed force, and requested Barnard to withdraw the troops, but he refused; and they, on their part, declined to vote supplies, on which he adjourned them to Cambridge. There, however, as Cambridge was only separated from Boston by an arm of the sea, they continued to protest against an armed force, as an invasion of the national rights of the colonists, and highly dangerous. Barnard soon announced to them his intention to sail for England, to lay the state of the colony before the king, and the house immediately voted a petition to his majesty, praying him to keep him from coming back again. Barnard then called upon them to refund the money expended for the quartering of the troops; but that they pronounced quite as unreasonable as the stamp act, and finding them utterly intractable, Barnard prorogued the assembly, and quitted the colony, leaving the administration in the hands of lieutenant-governor Hutchinson. Scarcely had he departed, when the grand jury of Suffolk county found indictments against him for libel, in slandering the representatives to the king's ministers. Before he was actually gone, a violent scuffle betwixt Robinson, one of the commissioners, and James Otis, the patriot, took place in a coffee-house; numbers of others rushed to take part in it, and nothing but the absence of soldiers from the scene could have prevented bloodshed. The Bostonians had commenced the practice of tarring and feathering informers, of any who attempted to assist government, and the condition of the colony was everything but actual warfare.

Yet, in that blind and defiant policy, which he continued to show till he had lost the colonies, George created Barnard a baronet on his reaching home, for having, in effect, brought Massachusetts to the verge of rebellion; and, to show his emphatic sense of these services, he paid himself all the expenses of the patent.

Before closing the session, a new bargain was made with the East India Company, on still more advantageous terms to the company. They were still to pay four hundred thousand pounds a-year to government, if their dividends continued more than six per cent.; but if they fell to that sum, the payment was to cease altogether—a premium, in fact, on bad management. The company was allowed to raise its dividends, if it saw fit, to twelve and a half per cent., but only at the rate of one per cent. per annum: and they were bound to take out a certain quantity of manufacturing goods. Scarcely was this bargain concluded, when news from India arrived which made the extinction of the annual payment very probable. The success of Hyder Ali threatened the very existence of our power in India: but as the narrative of our great American conflict will be for some time the all-engrossing topic, we shall defer the events of India till the termination of that period.

CHAPTER IV.

REIGN OF GEORGE III. (continued.)

Reconciliation of Chatham and the Grenvilles—Meeting of Parliament, 1770—Chatham reappears—Camden dismissed from Office—Sir Charles Yorke made Chancellor of the Exchequer—Commits Suicide—Duke of Grafton resigns—Lord North Prime Minister—Affairs of America—Affray at Boston—Trial of Captain Preston—"The Massacre"—Wilkes released from Prison—Death of Beckford—Death of Grenville—Affairs of Ireland—The Falkland Islands invaded by Spain—The French Court—Fall of Choiseul—Peace confirmed—Duel of Lord George Germaine—Disputes with the City of London—Crosby and Oliver committed to the Tower—Popular Tumults—Mr. Fox's Entry on Public Life—Decline of Wilkes's Influence—John Horne Tooke—Meeting of Parliament, 1772—Subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles—Marriage of Duke of Cumberland and Duke of Gloucester—Sorrowful History of George III.'s Sister, Caroline Matilda Queen of Denmark—The Conspiracy against Struensee—The Confinement and Death of Caroline Matilda—Death of the Princess Dowager—Royal Marriage Bill—Fox resigns Office—Accepts it again—Revolution in Sweden—Russian War in the Mediterranean—Troubles of Poland—First Treaty of Partition—Foreign Policy of England.

On the 9th of May, 1769, parliament was prorogued, and did not meet again till January, 1770. During the interval the chief subjects that engrossed the public attention were the agitations in the city, the discontents of the nation, and the unsettled state of Ireland. In the city, subscriptions were set on foot to pay the debts and furnish an income for Wilkes. It was found that his debts amounted to seventeen thousand pounds, of which seven thousand had been already compromised. There remained, therefore, against him ten thousand pounds. A subscription was entered into at a meeting at the London Tavern, and three thousand three hundred and forty pounds raised on the spot. A committee was formed to extend the subscription throughout England. "The Supporters of the Bill of Rights" sent him into the King's Bench prison three hundred pounds. In all, from first to last, Wilkes is said to have received for his patriotism upwards of thirty thousand pounds, besides considerable sums as private gifts.

The agitation was kept up in the city by dinners at the Thatched House Tavern, attended by most of the members of the opposition, and petitions were sent up by the city and the freeholders of Middlesex to the king, praying him to dismiss his ministers, as enemies to freedom, and traitors to their country. Westminster demanded the dissolution of parliament, and these examples were followed by the chief towns all over England, demonstrating the excessive unpopularity of the government. Chatham, who was recovering from his depression, and the Grenvilles were plotting against the administration, and Junius was launching his heaviest thunders at their heads.

The state of Ireland was, as usual, worse than that of England. For years that country had been overrun by White-boys, Cork-boys, Levellers, and Hearts of Steel. These associations appeared to have as their chief object the resistance to the levying of tithes, but they kept the whole country in terror and uneasiness. Lord Townshend, who was now viceroy, had obtained the king's promise that twelve thousand troops should be maintained in Ireland; that number was voted by the Irish parliament, after a strong opposition, in October, and, in November, a money bill was sent over from the English cabinet, as the custom was, under the provision of Poyning's Act, that it might receive the sanction of the Irish parliament. But, in

November, the Irish parliament rejected this money bill, claiming the right to pass their own money-bills, and thereupon they passed a bill of their own, more liberal than the English one. But the lord-lieutenant refused to receive it, and referred the matter to the English cabinet. The English cabinet had no resource but to order Townshend to prorogue the parliament, which delayed, but did not settle the question. Thus, both at home and abroad, in the metropolis, in the country, in Ireland, and in America, the English government found itself in embarrassing circumstances with the people—embarrassments which their headstrong incapacity had created, and which they did not appear capable of dealing with.

Parliament assembled on the 9th of January, 1770. People had been surprised at the unusual delay in calling it together, considering the critical state of America, but they were much more surprised when the subject put foremost in the king's speech was a lamentation over the murrain which had appeared amongst horned cattle during the recess, and which ministers had taken some measures to stop without calling together parliament. It was true that he afterwards alluded to the state of affairs in America, and trusted some means would be devised by parliament to appease the irritation. But, whilst war itself appeared imminent there, whilst the whole country at home was in a state of high discontent, and the Spitalfields weavers were at this moment in a state of open riot, the idea of giving the chief place in the royal speech to horned cattle caused a burst of universal ridicule. It was thenceforth called "The Horned Cattle Session." Junius launched one of his fierce missives at the duke of Grafton, observing, "Whilst the whole kingdom was agitated with anxious expectation on one great point, you meanly evaded the question, and, instead of the explicit firmness and decision of a king, gave us nothing but the misery of a ruined grazier." The public prints abounded with jests on this absurd topic of a king's speech, which, they remarked, belonged rather to George's formerly tastes, than to his more important cares as a monarch.

There was one present that day, in the house of peers, who was not likely to let such feebleness escape without castigation. Chatham, during the last summer, had been visited with his old enemy, but now especial friend, a good fit of the gout. With it was thrown from his nervous system its oppression; he revived to all his apparent vigour of mind, and amongst his first movements was to become reconciled to his brother-in-law, lord Temple, and George Grenville, so as to form a powerful political battery against the ministers and their mischievous policy.

Chatham had begun to ponder the proceedings of ministers towards America and towards Wilkes, or rather his constituents, as soon as the returning activity of his mind permitted him. The conduct of the duke of Grafton, who had taken the lead during his retirement, did not escape his censure. He had too easily fallen into the demand of the cabinet for severe measures in both those cases. No sooner, therefore, did Chatham appear than he launched the whole thunder of his indignation, and such was still his power that he shattered the cabinet to atoms. No sooner was the address to the king moved and seconded,



TUMULT IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS.

than he rose and passed, with some expressions of contempt, from the mention of the horned cattle to the more important topics. He drew a dismal picture both of the domestic condition and the foreign relations of the country. He glanced at the manner in which the treaty of Paris had been made, the abandonment of the king of Prussia, and the consequent isolated condition of the kingdom, without a friend or an ally. But bad as the external affairs of the nation were, he described the internal as far worse. There everything was at discount. The people were partly starving and wholly murmuring; the constituencies were alarmed at the invasion of their rights in the case of John Wilkes; and the colonies were on the very edge of rebellion. Such was the condition to which the government in a short time had reduced the commonweal.

More than all did he condemn the policy pursued towards America. He protested against the term "unwarrantable," as applied to the conduct of the colonists; proposed to substitute the word "dangerous." He owned that he was partial towards the Americans, and strongly advocated a system of mildness and indulgence in their case.

As for Wilkes, he counselled them earnestly to introduce a paragraph into their address to the king, stating their conviction that the chief discontents of the nation arose from the violation of the rights of representation in his expulsion from the commons; and he thus ably separated the merits or demerits of the man from the question of right: "My lords, I have been tender of misrepresenting the house of commons. I have consulted their journals, and have taken the very words of their resolution. Do they not tell us, in as many words, 'that Mr. Wilkes, having been expelled, was thereby rendered incapable of serving in parliament?' And is it not their resolution alone which refuses to the subject his common right? The amendment here says: that the electors of Middlesex are deprived of their free choice of a representative. Is this false, my lords, or have I given an unfair representation of it? Will any man presume to affirm that colonel Luttrell is the free choice of the electors of Middlesex? We all know the contrary! We all know that Mr. Wilkes—whom I mention without either praise or censure—was the favourite of the county, and chosen by a very great and acknowledged majority. My lords, the character and circumstances of Mr. Wilkes have been very improperly introduced into this question, not only here, but in the court of judicature, where his cause was tried: I mean the house of commons. With one party he was a patriot of the first magnitude; with the other, the vilest incendiary. For my own part, I consider him merely and indifferently as an English subject; possessed of certain rights, which the law has given him, and which the law alone can take from him. I am neither moved by his private vices nor by his public merits. In his person, though he were the worst of men, I contend for the safety and security of the best; and God forbid that there should be a power in this country of measuring the civil rights of the subject by his moral character, or by any other rule than the fixed laws of the land!"

This was going to the very heart of the question with that clear, searching sense for which Chatham was so distinguished. Lord Chancellor Camden, who had himself a

strong and honest intellect, but not the moral courage of Chatham, had retained the great seal, though disapproving of the measures of his colleagues. Emboldened by the words of his great friend, he now rose and expressed his regret for so long suppressing his feelings. But, he added, "I will do so no longer; I will openly and boldly speak my sentiments. I now proclaim to the world that I entirely coincide in the opinions expressed by my noble friend, whose presence again reanimates us, touching this unconstitutional and illegal vote of the house of commons. . . . By this violent and tyrannical conduct ministers have alienated the minds of the people from his majesty's government—I had almost said from his majesty's person!"

After these words, Camden could no longer remain lord chancellor. The rent in the ministry was every moment growing wider. Lord Mansfield endeavoured to defend the ministers, but it was a very lame defence. He disclaimed all obedience on the bench to mere declarations of law by either house of parliament; he condemned general warrants as illegal, and only endeavoured to get rid of the question by declaring, that all matters concerning house of commons elections belonged only to the house of commons—that they had no right whatever to discuss them there; and that lord Chatham's amendment was a breach of the privileges of the commons, which might lead to a serious quarrel between the two houses, or between the king and the commons.

This called up Chatham again, who spurned the timid counsels of lord Mansfield; declared that such was not the practice of the members of that house in the days of the barons. He exclaimed, "that a breach had been made in the constitution; the battlements," he said, "are dismantled; the citadel is open to the invaders; the walls totter; the constitution is not tenable—what remains, then, but for us to stand foremost in the breach to repair it, or to perish in it?"

The amendment of Chatham was negatived; but this did not prevent the more real consequences of the explosion. The ministry went to pieces. Lord Pomfret moved for an adjournment of some days; but lord Temple and lord Shelburne contended that this adjournment was only asked for to enable the ministers to collect their disordered wits, and to dismiss the virtuous and independent lord from the woolsack; that it was evident that the cabinet was falling to pieces, and that the seals would immediately go a-begging. Lord Shelburne added, that "he hoped there would not be found in the kingdom a wretch so base and mean-spirited as to accept of them on the conditions on which they must be offered."

In the other house there was a violent debate on the address. Chatham had sent lord Temple to George Greenville to muster all the strength of the opposition for the occasion. The chief discussion turned on the vote of the commons disqualifying Wilkes. Dowdeswell moved an amendment on the address on that point. The marquis of Granby declared that he should always lament his vote in favour of that disqualification as the greatest misfortune of his life; that he was ashamed of his error, and now would vote for the amendment. Amongst those defending ministers, singularly enough, was Charles James Fox, the second son of lord Holland, who thus began his political

career with endeavouring to bolster up such arbitrary and unconstitutional acts as he spent his after life so eloquently and vigorously in opposing. But Fox was already involved in heavy pecuniary difficulties from those habits of gambling and reckless expenditure, which were ever the foil to his otherwise fair fame, and he was now endeavouring to procure a place in the government, which he soon after obtained.

The marquis of Granby resigned his posts as paymaster-general of the ordnance, and commander-in-chief of the army, much to the annoyance and against the entreaties of the king and the duke of Grafton. Camden would have done the same, but as the ministers were anxious to be rid of him, Chatham and his friends counselled him to remain, and put the ministry to the odium of dismissing him. This was done, and thus two of the men most popular with the public—Granby and Camden—were lost to the administration. The seals, as lord Shelburne had predicted, went a-begging. Charles Yorke, second son of the former lord chancellor, Hardwicke, had all his life been hankering after this prize, but as he was closely pledged to the party of lord Rockingham, he most reluctantly declined it. Three days subsequently, however, the king, after the levee, suddenly called him into his closet, and so pressingly entreated him to accept the seals and rescue his sovereign from an embarrassment, that he gave way. This was on the 18th of January. He was to be raised to the peerage by the title of lord Morden, but, on encountering the keen reproaches of his party at lord Rockingham's, he went home and committed suicide.

The seals were then successively offered to Mr. de Grey, the attorney-general, to sir Eardley Wilmot, and lord Mansfield, who refused them, and they were obliged to be put in commission, lord Mansfield consenting to occupy the woolack, as speaker to the house of lords, till that was done. After some time, sir Sidney Stafford Smythe, one of the barons of the exchequer, the Honourable Henry Bathurst, one of the justices of the common pleas, and sir Richard Aston, one of the justices of the King's Bench, were named the commissioners.

In the house of commons, too, the speaker, Sir John Cust, was removed by death at the same moment, and Sir Fletcher Norton was elected in his place. So rapid were these events, that Yorke died on the 20th of January, and Sir Fletcher Norton was elected speaker of the commons on the 22nd. Norton was a man of high ability, but scarcely qualified for this post by his temper, which was rough and violent. Other changes came as quickly on their heels. "The ministry," wrote lord Temple to Chatham, "live upon moments; heaven and earth are in motion." On the 16th of January the earl of Coventry had quitted his post of lord of the bed-chamber; directly after, the duke of Beaufort quitted that of master of the horse to the queen. On Granby's resignation the ordnance was offered to Conway, who refused it, saying he would have none of lord Granby's spoils. The earl of Huntingdon then gave up the office of groom of the stole; the duke of Manchester, that of a lord of the bed-chamber; sir Francis Brett and sir George Younge, junior lords of the admiralty, retired, declaring that it was for lord Chatham's honour and the quiet of the country.

On the 22nd of January, the same day that sir Fletcher

Norton was made speaker of the house of commons, the marquis of Rockingham moved in the lords for an inquiry into the state of the nation. The duke of Grafton declared himself ready to join in such an inquiry; and Chatham, rising, delivered one of his most remarkable speeches, which we have carefully reported by sir Philip Francis. He said:—"The constitution has been most grossly violated! the constitution at this moment stands violated! Until that wound be healed—until the grievances be redressed, it is vain to recommend union to parliament; it is vain to promote concord amongst the people. If we mean seriously to unite the nation within itself, we must convince them that their complaints are regarded—that their injuries shall be redressed. On that foundation I would take the lead in recommending peace and harmony to the people; on any other, I would never wish to see them united again. If the breach in the constitution be effectually repaired, the people will of themselves return to a state of tranquillity; if not, may discord prevail for ever! I know to what point this doctrine and language will appear directed; but I feel the principles of an Englishman, and I utter them without apprehension or reserve. The crisis is indeed alarming—so much the more does it require a prudent relaxation on the part of government. If the king's servants will not permit a constitutional question to be decided on according to the forms and on the principles of the constitution, it must then be decided in some other manner; and, rather than it should be given up, rather than the nation should surrender their birthright to a despotic minister, I hope, my lords, old as I am, I shall see the question brought to issue, and fairly tried between the people and the government."

He complained of the corruption of the people through the candidates for parliament—a corruption which has grown to so monstrous a height in the present day. He declared that for some years the riches of Asia had been poured into this country, and had brought with them Asiatic principles of government. That men without connections, without any natural interest in the soil, had forced their way into parliament by such a torrent of private corruption, that no hereditary fortune could resist. That these adventurers had corrupted the people, and that parliamentary reform was absolutely necessary.

But, when he came to describe the reform he proposed, what a fall from the exalted ideas of his earlier days! The removal to the peerage, and into the very hot-bed of corrupt interest in boroughs, had, it was clear, corrupted even his powerful mind in that direction. He now no longer represented the rotten boroughs as gangrened members of the political system which must be amputated; but he asserted that these decayed boroughs, corrupt as they were, must be considered only as the natural infirmity of the constitution; and that, like the natural infirmities of the body, we must be content to carry them about with us. "The limb is mortified, but the amputation might be death!" Nay, he went further—he would add another member to every county. The landed aristocracy, who had hitherto been the most determined supporters of arbitrary measures, were thus to flood the house of commons, and thus game-laws, corn-laws, and all the interests of the aristocracy, as opposed

to the liberties of the people at large, were to receive fresh and, indeed, invincible strength. This was a momentary adumbration of the great political luminary; and he was not long in recanting his scheme, and confessing that the landed members were not the most enlightened or liberal portion of the commons. Chatham, in conclusion, announced, with much triumph, his union with lord Rockingham, as well as with the Grenvilles, and declared that they were united for ever; no open force, no secret artifices could ever sever them, and that they were capable of setting at defiance the profoundest policy of the ministry. Unfortunately, these eternal friendships of Chatham were too frequently very brief.

The crumbling down of the cabinet continued. James Grenville resigned; Dunning, the solicitor-general, and general Conway, followed; and on the very day of lord Rockingham's motion, the duke of Grafton himself laid down the seals. The whole of his administration had thus vanished, like a mere fog ministry, at the first reappearance of the Chatham luminary.

In this utter desertion, the king prevailed on lord North, who was already chancellor of the exchequer, to accept Grafton's post of first lord of the treasury, with the premiership. Lord North, eldest son of the earl of Guildford, was a man of a remarkably mild and pleasant temper, of sound sense, and highly honourable character. He was ungainly in his person and plain of countenance, but he was well versed in the business of parliament, and particularly dextrous in tagging to motions of the opposition some paragraph or other which neutralised the whole, or turned it even against them. He was exceedingly near-sighted, so much so, that he once carried off the wig of the old secretary of the navy, who sat near him in the house. Burke describes his action in delivery in a very burlesque style:—"The noble lord who spoke last, after extending his right leg a full yard before his left, rolling his flaming eyes, and moving his ponderous frame, has at length opened his mouth." He was said greatly to resemble the royal family, and to be a caricature likeness of the king, which people readily accounted for by the great intimacy betwixt Frederick prince of Wales and lady Guildford. For the rest, he was of so somnolent a nature that he was frequently seen nodding in the house when opposition members were pouring out all the vials of wrath on his head. He thought himself a whig, but if we are to class him by his principles and his acts of administration, we must pronounce him a tory. Nothing can be more decisive than his own words on this point.

"It so happens," he said, in a speech in the house of commons, in March, 1769, "that, for the last seven years, I have never given my vote for any one of the popular measures. In 1763 I supported the cider tax; and I afterwards opposed the repeal of that tax—a vote of which I never repented. In 1765 I was for the American stamp act; and when, in the following year, a bill was brought in for the repeal of that act, I directly opposed it, for I saw the danger of the repeal. And when, again, in 1767, it was thought necessary to relieve the people by reducing the land tax to the amount of half a million, I was against that measure also. Then appeared on the public stage that

strange phenomenon of popularity, Mr. Wilkes. I was the first to move his expulsion, in 1764. Every subsequent proceeding against that man I have supported; and I will again vote for his expulsion if he again attempts to take his seat in this house. In all my memory, therefore, I do not recollect a single popular measure I ever voted for—no, not even the Nullum Tempus Bill, nor the declaration of law in the case of general warrants."

Such was the minister chosen at this important crisis, when the fate of our colonies depended on the sagacity, and not the boastful obstinacy, of the premier in resisting all popular measures. What could come of such a choice but what did come of it? And who shall still give George III. credit for sense and ability after such a choice at such a time?

The ministry, as re-constructed, consisted of Lord North, first lord of the treasury: the great seal was in commission; Granby's places, the ordnance and commander of the forces, were still unsupplied; so was the duke of Manchester's post of ex-lord of the bed-chamber. The earl of Halifax became lord privy seal; the earl of Pembroke became a lord of the bed-chamber; the earl of Wakegrave, master of the horse to the queen; sir Gilbert Elliot, treasurer of the navy; Charles James Fox became a junior lord of the admiralty; admiral Holborne another; Mr. Welbore Ellis became one of the vice-treasurers of Ireland; and Thurlow solicitor-general, in place of Dunning.

Lord North soon found himself briskly assailed in both lords and commons. In the former, Chatham was not so happy in amalgamating the parties of Rockingham and Grenville as he hoped; but he had staunch friends and oppositionists in lords Camden, Shelburne, and Stanhope, and in the commons he was as warmly supported by Barré, Beckford, Calcraft, and Dunning.

Dowdeswell, in the commons, moved the case of Wilkes, in the form of a resolution that no person could be disqualified, except by an express act of parliament. It was negatived by two hundred and twenty-six to one hundred and eighty-one. In the lords the same topic was renewed by lord Rockingham's adjourned motion, on the 2nd of February, when a long and vehement debate took place, but to little purpose. On the 2nd of March a motion was also made in the lords for an address to the king, praying him to increase the number of seamen in the navy; and it was made to introduce strong censures on the dismissal of able officers for their votes in parliament. On this occasion Chatham loudly reiterated the old charge, of the royal councils being influenced by favourites. "A long train of these practices," he said, "has convinced me that there is something behind the throne greater than the throne itself." He referred to Mazarin, of France; and as Bute was just at this period gone to Turin, he added, "Mazarin abroad is Mazarin still!"

It is not to be supposed that Bute had any secret influence whatever at this period: but the people still believed that he had, and that two men especially were his agents with the king—Bradshaw, commonly called "the cream-coloured parasite," and Dyson, both placemen and members of the commons. Probably, Chatham had a secondary object—to punish these men, who, with Rigby, the parasite of the

duke of Bedford, were continually running about endeavouring to depreciate the efforts of the more competent, to whom they were pigmies, saying—"Only another mad motion by the mad earl of Chatham." Grafton, though now out of office, repelled the insinuation of secret influence with indignation.

This charge of Chatham's was followed up, four days after, by a most outspoken remonstrance from the corporation of London. It was carried up to St. James's on the 14th of March, by Beckford, the lord mayor, and two hundred and twenty common councilmen and other officers. Beckford read the address, which charged secret counsellors, and a corrupt majority of the house of commons, with depriving the people of their rights. That it was an act worse than the levying ship-money by Charles I., or the dispensing power of James II. It declared that the house of commons did not represent the people, and called upon him to dissolve it.

The king received the address with manifest signs of displeasure, and the courtiers, who stood round, with actual murmurs and gesticulations of anger. The address was laid before the commons on the motion of Sir Thomas Clavering, and it was contemplated to obtain a censure on the leaders of the city. The address was laid on the table, but then the court became alarmed, and did not venture to attempt getting Beckford and his colleagues committed to the Tower, which would have produced a perfect flame in the city and country. It was now known that similar addresses were preparing by Westminster and the freeholders of Middlesex, and that Chatham meant to support them. The court was in the greatest alarm, and contented itself with obtaining a vote of censure on the city address, which, however, they did not carry till three o'clock in the morning, and then with difficulty.

At this moment began to appear on the stage of public life the Rev. John Horne, afterwards known as John Horne Tooke, the toughest and smartest antagonist of Junius. Tooke, at political meetings at Mile End, roused the people greatly, and threatened to attack the Rockingham party. Alarmed at this prospect of division, Chatham employed his zealous friend and political agent, Calcraft, also an active member of parliament, to prevent this, and Tooke was persuaded to let it drop, and both at Mile End, on the 30th of March, and with the electors of Middlesex, to carry most outspoken petitions and remonstrances to the king against the censure on the city address. On the other hand, the court party was convinced that it was better to let the city alone, much to the disgust of the king, who exclaimed, "My ministers have no spirit! they pursue no measures with any spirit!"

At this crisis George Grenville brought in and carried through a measure, which showed how useful he might have been, had he never been raised out of his proper element, to rule and alienate colonies. He was now fast sinking into the grave, though but fifty-eight years of age. This measure was a bill to transfer the trial of controverted elections from the whole house of commons to a select committee of it. Ever since the famous Aylesbury case, the whole house had taken the charge of examining all petitions against the returns of candidates and deciding them. This was a great

obstruction of business; and Grenville now proposed to leave the inquiry and decision to the select committee, which was to be composed of fifteen members of the house, thirteen of whom were to be chosen by the contesting claimants for the seat, out of a list of forty-five, elected by ballot from the whole house. The other two were to be named, one each, by the contesting candidates. The committee was empowered to examine papers, call and swear witnesses, and, in fact, to exercise all the authority previously wielded by the whole house. It was opposed by Welbore Ellis, Rigby, Dyson, and Charles James Fox, not yet broken from his office shell into a full-fledged patriot. It was, however, carried, and being supported in the lords by lord Mansfield, who on this occasion manifested an unusual disregard of his party principles, it was passed there too. The bill, though strong enough to drag forth the corruption of Shoreham the next session, has required many alterations since then to enable it to deal with the malpractices of candidates for parliament, and the cupidity of constituents.

Grenville also called for a return of the civil list expenditure, the excess of which both Wilkes and others had attributed to the sums paid to bribe members of parliament. He referred to the singular fact, that though the king's mode of living was extraordinarily simple, yet, notwithstanding a civil list of eight hundred thousand a-year, he had already received half a million from parliament to pay his debts. Dowdeswell, who had introduced and lost a bill for disqualifying any excise and custom-house officers from voting at elections, not only supported this, but moved also for an account of the money left in the exchequer at the death of George II., a sore subject with the present king. This, of course, was rejected, and Dowdeswell then moved for an address to the king to retrench his expenses.

Chatham and his party gave the most energetic support to these questions in the house of lords. Never, in any part of his career, had he used stronger language. He declared that a minister who was bold enough to *spend the people's money before it was granted*, even though it were not for the purpose of corrupting their representatives, *deserved death!* What a slaughter would such a rigour have occasioned amongst ministers from that day to ours, before our present national debt had grown to what it is!

Here the great orator was reminded that he himself had granted pensions. "It is true!" he exclaimed, "and here's the list of them! You will find it consists of such names as general Amherst, Sir Edward Hawke, lord Camden—men who had earned their rewards in a different sort of campaign to those at Westminster—actions full of honour or of danger to themselves, of glory and benefit to the nation, not by corrupt votes of baseness and of destruction to their country. You will find no secret there!" he thundered.

At these stinging words there was a fierce cry of "To the bar! to the bar with him!" and lord Marchmont, who some time before had dared to talk of employing a foreign power to quell the people, demanded that his words should be taken down. "I second that motion!" cried Chatham. "My words shall not be retracted, they shall be reaffirmed. I will see whether I may presume to hold up my head as



TEA RIOTS AT BOSTON: DEATH OF THE BOY SNIDER.



LORD MAYOR BECKFORD PRESENTING AN ADDRESS TO GEORGE III.

high as the noble lord who moved to have my words taken down;" and then he burst into that celebrated passage in which he drew so luminous a line betwixt judicious and pernicious government expenditure:—"I will trust no sovereign in the world with the means of purchasing the liberties of the people. When I had the honour of being the confidential keeper of the king's intentions, he assured me that he never intended to exceed the allowance which was made by parliament; and therefore, my lords, at a time when there are no marks of personal dissipation in the king, at a time when there are no marks of any considerable sums having been expended to procure the secrets of our enemies, that a request of an inquiry into the expenditure of the civil list should be refused, is to me most extraordinary. Does the king of England want to build a palace equal to his rank and dignity? Does he want to encourage the polite and useful arts? Does he mean to reward the hardy veteran, who has defended his quarrel in many a rough campaign, whose salary does not equal that of some of your servants? Or does he mean, by obtaining the purse-strings of his subjects, to spread corruption through the people; to procure a parliament like a packed jury, ready to acquit his ministers at all adventures? I do not say, my lords, that corruption lies here, or that corruption lies there, but if any gentleman in England were to ask me whether I thought both houses of parliament were bribed, I should laugh in his face, and say, 'Sir, it is not so!'"

Whilst Chatham was thus heading the opposition in a most determined onslaught on the government, they were compelled themselves to face the awkward American question. Great hopes had been entertained that the people of Boston would be much calmer after the departure of governor Barnard. Hutchinson, the deputy-governor, was not only an American, but a man of a mild temper. But the temper of the Bostonians was now so much excited, that the leaders of the non-importation act were more vehement than ever. The English merchants presented a petition to parliament showing that, in consequence of the import duties and the combinations of the colonists to resist them, the exports from England to these colonies had fallen off in the year 1769 to the amount of seven hundred and forty thousand pounds; that the revenue received from duties paid in America had fallen off from one hundred and ten thousand pounds per annum to thirty thousand pounds.

It was under these circumstances that lord North, on the 5th of March, 1770, brought forward his bill, based on the terms of lord Hillsborough's letter to the American governors, to repeal all the import duties except that on tea. This was one of those *juste milieu* measures which never succeed; it abandoned the bulk of the duties, but retained the really obnoxious thing—the principle. Grenville very truly told them that they should retain the whole, or repeal the whole. Lord Barrington and Welbore Ellis, in their dogged toryism, protested against repealing a single item of them: and the opposition, Barré, Conway, Meredith, Pownall, &c., as earnestly entreated them to remove the duties altogether, and with them all cause of irritation. The motion for leave to bring in the bill was carried by two hundred and four votes to one hundred and forty-two.

Another attempt was made to get rid of the tea duty by a separate motion, but it was rejected on the plea that this duty was a mere bagatelle; that it did not, probably, amount to more than ten thousand pounds or twelve thousand pounds a-year to the whole of the colonies. Nay, it was represented to be a real gain to the Americans, for that, whilst the duty on tea thus imported was only threepence in the pound, a drawback was allowed on all East India teas exported from this country to the American colonies of five-and-twenty per cent. This being the case, it was wonderful that the government did not perceive how much better it would have been to have allowed a less drawback than have imposed a direct duty there. Instead of threepence per pound, they might thus have enjoyed a shilling a pound at home without any pretence for the Americans murmuring. But the mischief lay in the avowed determination of the cabinet to maintain the authority of parliament. During this debate, it was shown that, during the financial year, the American tea duties had produced—not the calculated ten or twelve thousand, but less than three hundred pounds! For such a sum did our legislators risk a civil war. As a last effort on this question at this time, the opposition, on the 1st of May, called for the correspondence with America; and, on the 9th, Burke moved nine resolutions on the general topic. They were not only negatived, but a similar motion, introduced into the peers by the duke of Richmond, met the same fate.

At the very time that these measures were occupying the English parliament, the Bostonians were driving affairs to a crisis. In nearly all the seaports committees were in active operation for examining all cargoes of ships, and reporting the result. These committees also kept a keen observation on each other, and visited publicly any that appeared lukewarm. Boston, as usual, distinguished itself most prominently in this business. Regular meetings were held in Faneuil Hall, and votes passed denouncing all who dared to import the prohibited goods. The names of offenders were paraded in the newspapers with branding appellatives of slaves and traitors. At the same time, it appears, by the admission of American writers, that this persecution was carried on in a most partial manner, and that the friends of the leaders of the mob were allowed to sell the prohibited articles in secret, and to put their own prices on them, because they were not to be obtained anywhere else. All informers, and all who would not go along with these measures, were in danger of tarring and feathering, and they had their houses pelted and daubed with tar and filth, so as to make them almost unendurable.

A Mr. Theophilus Lillie, a Boston shopkeeper, who persisted in selling what he pleased, had a sort of Guy Fawkes placed opposite his door, to mark his house for attack. When one of his shopmen, named Richardson, would have removed the guy, he was mobbed by a rabble of boys, who pelted him back into the shop, and broke the windows. Richardson, enraged at the persevering attack of the young rabble, snatched up a loaded gun, and, firing into the crowd, shot a lad named Christopher Snider. Though Richardson was an American, and defending an American shop, the lad Snider was proclaimed the first martyr of liberty, though, in fact, he was the martyr of resistance to free trade. If

was followed to the grave by a procession said to be a quarter of a mile long, and every circumstance was employed to represent the affair as one in which the English were concerned.

Lieutenant-governor Hutchinson exerted himself to form an association amongst the traders in opposition to these anti-importers, but he tried in vain. Upon the death of Snider, which took place in February, the compulsory proceedings of the mob paid for by the leaders became more stringent than ever. They insisted that the merchants who had imported goods in their shops and warehouses should be compelled to ship them back to those who had sent them. One merchant, more stubborn than the rest, was immediately waited on by a deputation, headed by an axeman and a carpenter, as if prepared to behead and bury him; and he was told that a thousand men awaited his decision, and they could not be answerable for his safety if he refused to comply.

Under this reign of mob tyranny there was nothing for it but compliance. Yet, amid all this, it was whispered that John Hancock, and others of the very firmest opponents to importation, were secretly importing themselves, or were allowing others to do it in their vessels. The people of New York, who would willingly have followed a gentler course, and had been sharply upbraided for it, and styled back-siders and no patriots, now retorted on the Bostonians reproaches as vehement, coupled with the name of "pedlars."

The animosity against the soldiers at Boston was actively kept up. The sentinel could not stand at his post without insult. Every day menaced a conflict. The fictitious account of an affray betwixt the soldiers and the people of New York was circulated at Boston, in which the soldiers were beaten. This gave immediate impetus to the aggressive temper of the Bostonians. On the 2nd of March, a soldier, insulted by the men at Gray's rope-walk, resented it; they came to blows, and the soldier was overpowered. He fetched up some of his comrades, who, in their turn, beat and chased the rope-makers through the town. The passions of the mob were inflamed, and they began to arm themselves for an attack on the soldiery. In a few days the crowd assembled and assaulted a party of them in Dock square. The officer prudently withdrew them to the barracks. As the evening advanced, the mob increased. They cried "Turn out, and do for the soldiers!" They attacked and insulted a sentinel at the Custom House. A party of soldiers was sent by Captain Preston to the officers on duty to protect the man. The mob pelted them with pieces of wood, lumps of ice, &c., and denounced them as cowards, red-lobe-star rascals, bloody-backs, and the like. The soldiers stood to defend the Custom House till they were fiercely attacked, and at length they fired in self-defence, killed three persons, and wounded several others—one mortally.

To prevent further carnage, a committee of the townsmen waited on the governor and council, and prevailed on them to remove the soldiers from the town to Castle William. The successful rioters carried the bodies of the killed in procession, denounced the soldiers as murderers, and spread the most exaggerated accounts of the affray through the newspapers, under the name of "the massacre." Captain Preston and his men were arrested and put upon their trials before a jury of the irate townsmen. Nobody, for a time, would act

as counsel for the defence; but at length John Adams, a young lawyer, undertook the office, and made the case so plain, that not only captain Preston, but all the soldiers were acquitted, except two, who had fired without orders, and these were convicted only of manslaughter. The five judges concurred so fully in the verdict, that judge Lynde, in their behalf, declared from the bench that he was happy to find the conduct of captain Preston so excellent, and, at the same time, "deeply concerned that the affair turned out so much to the disgrace of every person concerned against him, and so much to the shame of the town in general."

The arrival of the news of lord North's repeal of all the duties, except tea, produced little effect on the minds of the people of Boston. They declared that the unconstitutional principle was the real offence, and that it was still retained. The people of New York, however, had long inclined to gentler measures. They agreed to import all other articles except tea. Pennsylvania and other colonies followed their example; and they declared that they who wanted tea must smuggle it. The more fiery patriots declared against this lukewarmness; but the desire for the English goods was so great that, during the years 1770 and 1771, the importations were greater than they had ever been. Nevertheless, though the colonies appeared returning to order and obedience, the efforts of the republican party never relaxed, and, especially in Massachusetts, there was a tone of sullen discontent. "Liberty poles" were still erected; exciting harangues were delivered on the anniversary of "the massacre," and the assembly continued to manifest a stubborn resistance to the will of the lieutenant-governor.

On the 19th of May the parliament was prorogued; but, before the prorogation, alderman Beckford, now again lord mayor, heading the corporation of London, presented a strong petition to the king at St. James's. Wilkes, who was now out of prison, was soon an alderman of the city, and a new impulse was given to the popular tendencies of the metropolitan corporate body. The petition now presented prayed that parliament might be dissolved, and contained a protest against every vote of the commons as invalid since the rejection of Wilkes. It complained also of a secret and malign influence at court. The reply of the king, as prepared by the minister, was one of firmness and displeasure. The commons resented the language of the corporation to the throne, and passed a strong vote of censure on the proceeding. But this only roused the corporation to present a second address and remonstrance on the 23rd of May, when no parliament was sitting to comment on it. In this address they expressed themselves extremely loyal, and regretted that the king should feel displeasure towards them for the discharge of their duty. The king, in his prepared reply, answered that the sentiments he had uttered continued unchanged.

At the close of the royal reply, Beckford, contrary to all custom, and to the consternation of the courtiers, stepped forward and addressed the king in an extempore speech. The king was taken by surprise; and Beckford went on expressing, on the part of the city, the most profound loyalty and affection; and adding that, should "any man dare to insinuate to the contrary, or attempt to alienate his

majesty's affections from them, that man is an enemy to your person and family, a violator of the public peace, and a betrayer of our happy constitution, as it was established at the glorious revolution."

The king, who had no written answer to this abnormal address, remained silent, but offered the corporation the usual civility of kissing hands on their retirement. No sooner were they gone, however, than an order was issued through the medium of the lord chamberlain, that lord mayors in future would confine themselves to their written addresses. The court complained in high language of the loud and insolent tone in which Beckford had pronounced his startling speech, whilst Beckford himself protested to his friend, lord Chatham, who was supposed to have written the first outspoken address, that he had expressed himself with all duty and humility. Chatham warmly applauded Beckford's bold and unusual conduct, and his speech was wonderfully admired in the city. The corporation, offended at the king's language to them, were much inclined to omit the usual compliment of an address on the birth of the princess Elizabeth, which occurred on the 22nd of May; but Chatham strongly urged them to comply, both from loyalty and good policy, with the custom. The presentation of this address, however, was immediately followed by one to Chatham, for his patriotic conduct in parliament, which took place on the 1st of June.

This was the last public act of alderman Beckford. The agitation of his feelings at his daring breach of etiquette on the 23rd of May, is said to have hastened the breaking up of his health. On the 15th of June, Calcraft informed Chatham that he was dangerously ill, and on the 21st he died. Beckford's enormous wealth passed to his son, then a boy, and the god-son of Chatham, who lived to distinguish himself in a very different way to that of his father. He was the builder of the fantastic but princely Fonthill, the decorator of Ramalhao, and the writer of the strange eastern story, "Vathek," and other works; equally noted for his eccentricity and luxury.

Alderman Trecothick was appointed to supply Beckford's place during the remainder of the mayoralty—a man of nearly as democratic a character as Beckford himself, and, what was equally significant at this juncture, an American merchant. The corporation ordered the statue of Beckford to be placed in the Guildhall, and his words, addressed to the king on the 23rd of May, to be inscribed on the pedestal, which was done.

Beckford was soon followed to the grave by the marquis of Granby and George Grenville, who died in the autumn of this year. The latter did not live to see the result of that policy of taxation on the Americans which was begun with his stamp act, and, if we are to believe his last speech on that subject, the pernicious nature of which he was fast gathering a consciousness of. In the month of March previous to his death, he said, "Nothing could ever induce me to tax America again but the united consent of king, lords, and commons; and, supported by the united voice of the people of England, I will never lend my hand towards forging chains for America, lest, in so doing, I should forge them for myself."

During the recess of parliament, a dispute occurred with

Spain regarding the Falkland Islands, which led to the very verge of war. These islands, situated in the South Atlantic, to the east of the Straits of Magellan, consist of two larger ones, called East and West Falkland, and eighty-eight smaller ones. The Western Falkland is much the largest, being nearly one hundred miles long by fifty wide. The two larger isles are divided by a channel called Falkland Sound. They were probably seen by Magellan, but Davis is deemed the discoverer of them in 1592, and they were further examined by sir Richard Hawkins in 1694. The French paid them a visit in 1710, and called them after their native port, St. Malo, "Isles Maloianes." In 1764 the French, under Bougainville, made a settlement on them on Falkland Sound; but Spain putting in a claim that these isles were part of her South American territory, Choiseul, the French minister, abandoned the settlement, and the Spaniards changed its name from Port Louis to Port Soledad. The very next year, 1765, commodore Byron was sent to form a settlement on another of the islands, which he named Port Egmont, in honour of lord Egmont, first lord of the admiralty. The islands are cold and miserable, and as we had no Australian settlements at that time for them to serve as a place of resort in distress to our traders returning by the Pacific, they appeared as useless a possession as could possibly be imagined, and were maintained at what appeared a most unprofitable charge.

Such were the distant islets to which, in 1769, Spain began to assert her claim, probably to provoke England to a war with the whole house of Bourbon again, which they imagined, from our quarrel with our North American colonies, and the assertions of the opposition regarding the inefficient condition of our navy, that we were not much disposed to enter upon. The governor of Port Soledad sent repeated messages to Captain Hunt, of the Tamar, stationed at Port Egmont, requiring the abandonment of the place. Captain Hunt replied by asserting the right of his Britannic majesty to the islands. When the notices were succeeded by threats, Captain Hunt sailed home to lay the matter before his government. He landed at Portsmouth in June, 1770, and made known the Spanish interference to the cabinet. Meantime, the Spaniards, taking advantage of Hunt's absence, had, about the time that he arrived in England, dispatched to the Falklands Buccarelli, the governor of Buenos Ayres, with five frigates and one thousand six hundred men. Having entered the port on pretence of wanting water, and finding the Tamar absent, and only two armed sloops there, and a mere handful of soldiers, Buccarelli landed his force, and, after the firing of a few shots for form's sake, the English surrendered, and were permitted to depart with all the honours of war. This departure, however, was delayed till Spain had time to convey the news to London in their own way. This was, that the Spanish court had taken no concern in this little affair, but that the governor of Buenos Ayres had thought proper to insist on the English quitting an island which rightfully belonged to Spain. This was the mode in which prince Masserano, the Spanish ambassador in London, communicated the matter to the English court. In the month of October captain Maltby, of the Favourite, sloop of war, arrived with the real account of the matter and the little garrison.

The excitement, both at court and in the country, was far beyond the then apparent value of the islands; but there had been an insult to the English flag, and both government and opposition demanded expiation. Lord North displayed a bold and determined tone on the occasion. Orders were sent over to the British ambassador, at Madrid, to demand an instant disavowal of Buocarelli's act, and instant measures were taken for war, in case of refusal. Ships were refitted, their commanders named; stores were put on board, and orders for pressing men, according to the custom of the time, were issued. But in London these preparations met with resistance from the opposition spirit of the corporation. Wilkes and his confederates then declared that press warrants were as gross an invasion of the liberty of the people as general warrants. Alderman Freethick was not of the opinion of Wilkes, but his term of office just now expired, and Brass Crosby, who became lord mayor, joined the Wilkes party. The corporation, which had generally found Chatham ready to support them in their opposition to the court, now applied to him for his advice. But Chatham, in all cases where the honour of the country was at stake, forgot his opposition, and returned them an answer which startled them. "The city," he said, "respectable as it is, deems of itself as I do not, if they imagine themselves exempt from question." And no sooner did parliament meet, on the 13th of November, than he advised in his speech in the peers, that the refractory aldermen should be called to the bar of the house and reprimanded. That had an instant effect: the corporation submitted, and signed the warrants. The warrants, indeed, would never have been required, but the sailors remembered too well how shamefully they had been cheated of their prize-money at the taking of Havanna.

Chatham, at the same time, managed to maintain his popularity in the city, and to strengthen the opposition in matters where the war was not concerned, by recommending sergeant Glynn, Wilkes's friend, to the recordership, instead of Sir James Eyre, who had greatly offended the city by declining to go up with alderman Beckford with the address to the king. Chatham also recommended that the freedom of the city should be given to Dunning, who, when solicitor-general, had defended the right to petition and remonstrate, and through Calcraft, alderman Sawbridge, and sheriff Townshend, he still commanded a paramount influence in the city.

In opening parliament, the king made the Falkland Islands the prominent topic of his speech, and called upon parliament for their advice and assistance. The opposition complained of remissness in the ministers in not having prepared ships earlier to avenge the insult. On the 20th of November the duke of Richmond moved for the production of all papers regarding this transaction, and Chatham supported the motion in a vehement speech. The debate became extremely hot, but the motion was rejected, and a similar one in the commons on the same day.

So loud were the voices of the opposition on the neglect of the ministry of all the naval and military conditions of offence and defence, of the neglected state of our foreign outposts, Gibraltar, Minorca, Jamaica, &c., that lord Gower moved that all strangers be removed from the house of lords.

Chatham hotly opposed this: the utmost noise and confusion ensued, amid which the motion was carried. The same day a similar motion was made in the commons, to clear it of peers and all, but was negatived, as was a motion by Dunning to search the journals of the lords, to see what was done on the days that they sat with closed doors. The people were excessively indignant at the attempt to deprive them of the publication of the debates in parliament, and Chatham and the opposition fomented this feeling as much as possible. On the 15th of December lord George Sackville, now lord George Germaine, moved for a conference with the lords on this head, but without effect, though supported by Dunning, Burke, Barré, lord George Cavendish, &c. He then moved that all sons of peers, king's sergeants, masters in chancery, &c., who were members, should be summoned to attend their places every day at two o'clock, to assist in carrying bills to the lords. Lord George declared that this was for the honour of the nation, whereupon governor Johnstone said, he wondered why lord George should trouble himself so much about the honour of the nation, when he had been so remarkably negligent of his own—alluding to lord George's dismissal from the army, for his conduct at the battle of Minden. This led to a duel, in which nobody was hurt. At this very time, lord George, as well as Wedderburn and others of the opposition, were in treaty with lord North to go over to him. On the 19th lord Sandwich came into the ministry in place of lord Weymouth, who resigned the seals of secretary of state. Lord North, in issuing his budget, announced that we should require nine thousand additional seamen; three millions of money if we remained at peace, and nine millions if we went to war, so that the land-tax must still remain at two shillings in the pound.

Things, however, seemed tending strongly towards war. Our *chargé d'affaires* at Madrid, in absence of the ambassador, was Mr. Harris, the son of the author of "Hermes." He was but a youth of four-and-twenty, but already displayed much of the talent which raised him to the title of Malmesbury. He wrote home that the king of Spain and some of his ministers were averse to the idea of war, and unprepared for it; but that others were influenced by Choiseul, the French premier, and demanded a vigorous attack on England. Under the circumstances Harris was recalled.

But the king of France did not partake the feeling of Choiseul. He wrote to the king of Spain about this time, "My minister wishes for war, but I do not!" In fact, changes had taken place in the court of France which were about to precipitate Choiseul from his long-enjoyed favour. Madame de Pompadour was dead, and the king had become deeply enamoured of madame du Barry, now called, from her extreme beauty, madame L'Ange, but who, in her old age, so miserably perished on the scaffold, in the Place de la Concorde. Choiseul was impolitic enough to despise her influence, and treated her with undisguised hauteur. He soon felt the consequence in an order from the king to resign his office and retire to his estate at Chanteloupe, in Touraine. The shock to the insolent minister, who had so long ruled absolutely in the French court, was the more unlooked for, because he thought himself now all the more

safe from having secured the marriage of the king's heir, his eldest grandson, with the Austrian archduchess, Marie Antoinette, now in the blaze of beauty, but also doomed to fall by the guillotine. Choiseul was succeeded by the triumvirate d'Aiguillon, as foreign minister; Terray, as minister of finance; and Maupeou, as minister of jurisprudence; but all subject to the supreme influence of madame du Barry. Louis XV. thenceforth became a cipher.

The spirit of Choiseul having departed from the French administration, and the king having so unequivocally expressed his intention not to go to war, the Spanish court hastened to lower its tone and offer conciliatory terms. In December they had proposed, through prince de Masserano, to disavow the expedition of Buccarelli, if the English court would disown the menaces of captain Hunt. This was promptly refused, and orders were sent to Mr. Harris to quit the capital of Spain. He set out in January, 1771, but was speedily recalled: the expedition of Buccarelli was disavowed; the settlement of Port Egmont was conceded, whilst the main question as to the right of either party to the Falklands at large was left to future discussion. So little value, however, did this country attach to the Falkland Isles, that it abandoned them voluntarily two years afterwards. For many years they were forsaken by both nations; but in 1826 the republic of Buenos Ayres adopted them as a penal colony, and in 1833 the English finally took possession of them.

Whilst these events had been progressing, the ministry had entered into a combat with the great unknown political essayist, Junius. Junius had advanced from sir William Draper to the duke of Grafton, and from the duke of Grafton to the king in his sweeping philippics. In his letter of April 3rd, 1770, though addressed ostensibly to the printer of the "Public Advertiser," he directly apostrophised the king, and in that letter, and the following, of May 28th, he was extremely severe on the conduct of the king in sanctioning the prosecution of Wilkes—for sacrificing the affections of his people merely to surround himself with such creatures as "North, Barrington, Weymouth, Gower, Ellis, Onslow, Rigby, Jerry Dyson, and Sandwich," whose names he declared to be a satire upon all government. In the letter of May 28th he drew the following daring portrait of the king and a picture of the unconstitutional use made of such a character by the ministry:—"A faultless, insipid equality in his character, is neither capable of virtue nor vice in the extreme; but it secures his submission to those persons whom he has been accustomed to respect, and makes him a dangerous instrument of their ambition. Secluded from the world, attached from his infancy to one set of persons and one set of ideas, he can neither open his heart to new connections nor his mind to better information. A character of this sort is the fittest soil to produce that obstinate bigotry in politics and religion which begins with meritorious sacrifice of understanding, and finally conducts the monarch and the martyr to the block. At any other period, I doubt not, the scandalous disorders which have been introduced into the government of all the dependencies of the empire would have roused the attention of the public. The odious abuse and prostitution of the prerogative at home; the unconstitutional employment of the military;

the arbitrary fines and commitments of the house of lords and court of King's Bench; the mercy of a chaste and pious prince extended cheerfully to a willing murderer, because that murderer is the brother of a common prostitute" (Miss Kennedy), "would, I think, at any other time have excited universal indignation. But the daring attack upon the constitution, in the case of the Middlesex election, makes us callous and indifferent to inferior grievances."

For these daring censures, Woodfall, the printer of the "Public Advertiser," was tried, and also Almon, the publisher of the "London Museum," a monthly periodical, for reprinting the libel there. Almon was convicted of publishing, and sentenced to pay a fine of ten marks, and give security for his good behaviour for two years, himself in four hundred pounds, and two sureties in two hundred pounds each. He moved in vain for a new trial. Woodfall was convicted of "printing and publishing only;" but he obtained an order for a new trial, on the ground of the phrase "only" being ambiguous. But the circumstance which excited the attention and turned the resentment of both liberal statesmen and the people was, that lord Mansfield on these trials had instructed the juries to confine themselves to the facts alone, and to leave the question of legality to the judges. This was properly declared a dangerous infringement of the rights of juries, and calculated to make their verdicts merely the servile echoes of the dicta of the judges. Lord Chatham, on the 28th of November, denounced in the peers this dictation of the judge to the juries. Serjeant Glynn, at the same time, moved in the commons for an inquiry into the administration of justice in Westminster Hall, where such unconstitutional instructions could be given. This occasioned a warm debate, in which Burke, Dunning, and others, ably defended the public rights. The motion was negatived. The power of the attorney-general to file *ex-officio* information in cases like that of Almon was strongly called in question by Burke, who, in the course of a very eloquent speech, drew the following striking character of Junius:—"The myrmidons of the court," he said, "have long been pursuing this Junius in vain. They will not spend their time upon me, or upon you, when the mighty boar of the forest, that has broke through all their toils, is before them. But what will all their efforts avail? No sooner has he wounded one, than he strikes down another dead at his feet. For my own part, when I saw his attack upon the king, I own my blood ran cold; I thought he had ventured too far, and that there was an end of his triumphs. Not that he had not asserted many bold truths. Yes, sir, there are in that composition many bold truths by which a wise prince might profit. It was the rancour and venom with which I was struck. But while I expected, from this daring flight, his final ruin and fall, behold him rising still higher, and coming down souse upon both houses of parliament. Not content with carrying away our eagle in his pounces, and dashing him against a rock, he has laid you prostrate, and king, lords, and commons thus become but the sport of his fury." Junius, in his murderous concealment, was never destined to be hunted out by all the incensed orders of the state.

The year closed by various changes in the ministry. Wedderburn abandoned the opposition, and became solicitor-

general; the swearing and blaspheming Thurlow was made attorney-general in the place of Mr. De Grey, who was made chief-justice of common pleas. The great seal was taken from the temporary grasp of Mansfield, and given to the honourable Henry Bathurst, who was created baron Aspley. Lord Sandwich was placed at the head of the board of admiralty, sir Edward Hawke resigning; lord Halifax succeeded Sandwich as secretary of state, and the earl of Suffolk succeeded Halifax as privy seal. Some of

consequently the stimulus of both fame and real usefulness was at an end. Chatham says, in a letter:—"The house being kept clear of hearers, we are reduced to a snug party of unhearing and unfeeling lords, and the tapestry hung up." In the commons, the desire of the ministry to reduce that popular arena to the same condition of insignificance produced a contest with the city as foolish and mischievous in its degree as the contests then going on with Wilkes and America. George Onslow, nephew of the late speaker, and



CHARLES JAMES FOX. FROM AN AUTHENTIC PORTRAIT.

these changes gave great disgust, but no astonishment to the opposition, who were but too well accustomed to the ambition of lawyers, and their consequent easy abandonment of friends and principles, in the act of climbing.

The year 1771 opened under circumstances which greatly diminished the interest in parliamentary proceedings. As all reporting was excluded from the house of lords, the chief speakers there felt that they were no longer addressing the nation, but merely a little knot of persons in a corner, and

member for Guildford, moved that several printers, who had dared to report the debates of the house of commons, should be summoned to the bar to answer for their conduct. Accordingly, these mediums of communication betwixt the people and their representatives were summoned and reprimanded on their knees. One of their number, named Miller, however, declared that he was a liveryman of London, and that any attempt to arrest him would be a breach of the privileges of the city. The sergeant-at-arms dispatched a

messenger to apprehend this sturdy citizen, and bring him before the house; but, instead of succeeding, the parliamentary messenger was taken by a city constable, and carried before Brass Crosby, the lord mayor. With the lord mayor sat alderman Wilkes and alderman Oliver. It was delightful work to Wilkes thus to set at defiance the house of commons, which had made such fierce war on him. The lord mayor, accordingly, was fully confirmed in his view—that the messenger of the commons had committed a flagrant violation of the city charter, in endeavouring to lay hands on one of its liverymen within its own precincts, and they held the messenger accordingly to bail.

The house of commons was fired with indignation at this contemptuous disregard of their dignity. They passed a resolution, by a large majority, ordering the lord mayor and the two aldermen to appear at their bar. Wilkes bluntly refused to attend the house in any shape but as a recognised member of it. Crosby pleaded, in Chatham's style, a severe fit of the gout; and Oliver, though he appeared in his place, refused to make any submission whatever, but told them he defied them. The house, in its blind anger, resolved that Oliver should be committed to the Tower, and Crosby to the custody of the serjeant-at-arms. But Crosby declared that he would not accept this indulgence at the hands of the house, but would share the incarceration of his honourable friend; and he was accordingly sent also to the Tower. As for Wilkes, the king declared that he would have nothing more to do with that devil, and he was let alone.

The consequence of this stretch of tyranny—for the commons has shown on many occasions that it has been only restrained by the popular spirit out of doors from the commission of acts as despotic as any of those of the crown—was a vehement outburst of indignation in the opposition, Chatham urging them on, and Burke, and Barré, and others, making the intensest protests against the proceeding.

The people out of doors were in the highest state of fury. They greeted the city members on their way to and from the house, but they hooted and pelted the ministerial supporters. Charles James Fox, still a government man, as all his house had been, was very roughly handled; lord North's carriage was dashed in, and himself wounded; and had he not been rescued by a popular member, Sir William Meredith, he would probably have lost his life. It was thought that he would resign; but, strong in his mistaken sense of duty, North, with tears in his eyes, that evening declared that he was determined to maintain the cause of his country and king. That if he followed his own inclination, he should already have resigned a hundred times; but nothing but his majesty's wishes should compel him to such a step. So completely were these infatuated ministers incapable of seeing that the whole course of the policy, since the coming of George III. to the throne, was one long attempt to destroy the constitution—and an attempt scarcely less infamous, or less persevering, than those which had ruined the Stuarts.

The city defended the cause of their officers strenuously. The three other members of the house of commons, Trecothick, Sawbridge, and Townshend, made common cause with their imprisoned colleagues. Thanks were voted in full

council at Guildhall to the imprisoned lord mayor, also to Wilkes and Oliver, for their manful resistance to the tyranny of the commons. It was ordered that all the expenses of the lord mayor and Oliver should be defrayed by the corporation. The opposition members of both lords and commons visited the captives in the Tower; amongst them the dukes of Manchester and Portland, the earls Fitzwilliam and Tankerville, lord King, admiral Keppel, Sir Charles Saunders, Burke, Dowdeswell, and many others. The populace outside, at the same time, amused themselves by cutting off the heads of the effigies of North, Bute—against whom and the princess dowager their resentment still burned—and other ministers and their supporters.

On the 5th of March writs of *habeas corpus* were issued at the cost of the city, and the lord mayor and Oliver were brought to the chamber of the lord chief-justice, De Grey, attended by a host of their friends, and defended by serjeant Glynn and Mr. Lee. De Grey said that he could neither bail nor discharge them; whereupon they were carried before lord Mansfield, who pronounced it a new case, and that he could not discharge them during the sitting of parliament.

Meantime, a committee of the commons had been sitting to consider what should be done regarding these circumstances; and they came to the conclusion that Millar, the printer, should still be taken into custody by the serjeant-at-arms. The opposition burst into wild laughter at the absurd conclusion, for their serjeant-at-arms had already attempted it in vain; his messengers, Carpenter and William, in defiance of the house, had two bills presented against them at the quarter sessions at Guildhall. The commons had engaged in a strife with the city, in which they were signally beaten, and no further notice being taken of the printers, from this time forward the practice of reporting the debates of parliament became recognised as an established privilege of the people, though formally at the option of the house; and so far now from members or ministers fearing any evil from it, the most conservative of them would be deeply mortified by the omission of their speeches in the reports.

In the course of a speech on the existing condition of things, on the 1st of May, lord Chatham took a sweeping review of the conduct of ministers for some time past, and moved an address to the king, praying him to dissolve parliament and call a new one. He referred to the time when we were victorious abroad and tranquil at home, and then exclaimed, "But now how is the prospect darkened? How are the mighty fallen? On public days the royal ears are saluted with hisses and groans; and he sees libels against his person and government written with impunity; juries solemnly acquitting the publishers. What greater mortification can befall a monarch? Yet this sacrifice he makes to his ministers; to their false steps he owes his disgrace." He ran over the treaty of Fontenoy; the affair of the Falkland Islands; the proceedings against Wilkes; the "Massacre of St. George's Fields;" the iniquity of ministers in refusing to inquire into these attacks on the rights and the lives of the people; and the consequent unpopularity of parliament, which, to avoid the searching observation of the public, endeavoured to shut up

the proceedings of the legislature from view; the prosecution of the printers and reporters, and of the dignitaries of the city for standing by the rights of the subjects; and their imprisonment of the chief magistrate because he would not violate his oath.

The review certainly presented a most melancholy and long persistence in a course of most imbecile and arbitrary government, which, combined with the alienation of the loyalty of the American colonies, was enough to excite the alarm of any people. He declared that the government had become odious and contemptible, the commons more than suspected of a design to destroy the bulwark of the constitution, and that these things had convinced him that it was absolutely necessary to repeal the septennial act, and had converted him into an advocate of *triennial parliaments*.

This speech produced a vast sensation in the country. It was vigorously echoed by the pen of Junius, who added, that he had long been convinced that it was the only possible resource left us for the preservation of the constitution. Out of the unwise and unpopular administration of the early part of George III.'s reign, thus loomed the great question of reform of parliament, which has continued to advance in strength and importance to the present hour.

On the 8th of May the session came to an end. The poor king, who saw in the ominous proceedings, which Chatham had enumerated, nothing but the groundless discontent of the people, and no want of sense or liberality in his ministers, congratulated parliament on the blessings of peace, and bade them, by avoiding animosities amongst themselves, to perpetuate this happy state of things. The termination of the session also opened the doors of the Tower, and liberated the lord mayor and alderman Oliver. They were attended from the Tower to the Mansion House by the corporation in their robes, where a banquet celebrated their restoration to freedom, and the populace displayed their sympathy by bonfires and illuminations.

During the recess considerable changes took place in the cabinet. Lord Halifax died on the 8th of June, and the earl of Suffolk succeeded him as secretary of state. Suffolk introduced his friend, lord Hyde, afterwards earl of Clarendon, to the post of chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, with an augmented salary. The administration of lord North was considerably strengthened, too, by the abilities of Thurlow, as attorney-general, and of Wedderburn, as solicitor-general. Thurlow was famous for his knowledge of Greek and Latin, but still more famous for cursing, swearing, and ill temper. His morals were not more refined than his tongue, though he was the son of a clergyman, and his principles were high church. His intellect was vigorous and acute, and no man could discharge the duties of a judge with more credit, when his political prejudices did not come in the way. Office was his great ambition; but the indulgence of his surly temper his great failing. Under his rude and crabbed exterior, he nevertheless concealed some virtues and some generosity. His head and countenance are said to have resembled in massy majesty the busts of the Olympian Jupiter, and Fox said no man was ever yet so wise as Thurlow looked. It must not be forgotten, either, amid his many interested promotions, when he became lord chancellor, that he was

the friend of the admirable but unfortunate poet Cowper, and the patron of bishop Horsley.

Wedderburn, who was the son of a small landowner in Scotland, was an eloquent pleader, both in court and parliament, with all the ambition of Thurlow without his grasp of mind. He was rather specious than deep or comprehensive, but, with the sagacity of his country, he kept his own interest steadily in view, and did not hesitate to sacrifice his party to his hope of rising on any occasion. He set up as a violent oppositionist with Burke, Chatham, Barré, and the rest; but he suddenly quitted them for the solicitor-generalship under lord North, giving, according to lord Campbell, the most flagrant example of *ratting* upon record, nor did he stop till he reached the woolsack and the title of lord Loughborough, and finally of earl of Roselyn. But the addition to the cabinet of lord North which occasioned the greatest surprise, was that of the duke of Grafton. He received the privy seal.

The duke of Grafton had grown more dissolute and more indolent as he advanced in life. That patriotism which appeared to animate him under the noble guidance of Chatham, seemed now to have died out. He was a confirmed gambler and libertine, and was open to the perpetration of mean and paltry jobs. His conduct had brought down upon him some of the most flaying sarcasms and terrible diatribes of Junius, who did not hesitate now to couple his return to office with the coming back of Bute to England. That Bute returned with a mind still busy with schemes of influencing English affairs, is clear from his employing Capability Brown, as he was styled, the celebrated landscape gardener, to sound Chatham as to a coalition. Brown was employed by Chatham's friend, Calcraft, on his grounds at Leeds Abbey, in Kent, and he seized the opportunity to propound through Calcraft the overtures of Bute to Chatham. Nothing came of it, and nothing but what was derogatory to Chatham, who had so unsparingly denounced Bute as the curse of his country, could have come of it. Probably Chatham treated the proposal with due contempt.

But, if we are to believe Junius, Grafton's return to office, and Bute's return to England, had more connection. "Your grace's appointment to a seat in the cabinet," he says, "was announced to the public by the return of lord Bute to this country. When that noxious planet approaches England, he never fails to bring plague and pestilence along with him." Junius sketches the leading ministers of this cabinet with a free hand. He intimates that it needed nothing but Grafton's accession to complete it. "In vain would the sovereign have looked round him for another character so consummate as yours. Lord Mansfield shrinks from his principles; his ideas of government, perhaps, go further than your own, but his heart disgraces the theory of his understanding. Charles Fox is yet in blossom; and as for Mr. Wedderburn, there is something about him which even treachery cannot trust. For the present, therefore, the best of princes must have contented himself with lord Sandwich. There is something singularly benevolent in the character of our sovereign. From the moment that he ascended the throne there is no crime of which human nature is capable, and I call upon the recorder to witness it,

that has not appeared venial in his sight. With any other prince, your shameful desertion of him in the midst of that distress which you alone had created, in the very crisis of danger, when he fancied he saw the throne already surrounded by men of virtues and abilities, would have outweighed the memory of your former services."

Such an administration boded little change for the better in the policy of the court, and the appointments now made for the prince of Wales's education. Lord Holderness was appointed governor; lord Mansfield's friend, doctor Markham, bishop of Chester, and, five years after, archbishop of York, preceptor; and doctor Cyril Jackson, sub-preceptor—the last by far the best appointment, for he was a fine scholar.

During the recess a violent quarrel had been going on in the city. John Wilkes, who invariably sank to insignificance when not stirring the muddy waters of political agitation, was equally stimulated to action by his necessities and his ambition. Though the Society of the Bill of Rights had raised no less than seventeen thousand pounds to discharge Wilkes's debts, this by no means sufficed for him. He had spent that and wanted more. Disputes arose in the society betwixt those who supported the incessant claims of Wilkes, and those who had grown disgusted with them and him. The society went to pieces; and amongst those who had been the warmest of Wilkes's friends, the Rev. John Horne became one of his most determined enemies. Horne, who was a thorough-going demagogue, as that term was then understood, namely, a determined friend of the people, without being an enemy to constitutional monarchy, seems to have had sufficient cause for his distrust of Wilkes. He had been too long and intimately acquainted with that patriot not to know all his meanness. Wilkes was now offering himself as sheriff; but alderman Oliver, who had lately been in prison for his bold conduct in the affair of Miller, the printer, had refused to support the claim of Wilkes. In fact, not only he, but the lord mayor, alderman Townshend, and Sawbridge, were beginning to see through Wilkes. Oliver went further—he refused to serve as the other sheriff with Wilkes.

Government availed itself of these divisions to defeat the election of Wilkes. Alderman Bull became the second candidate with Wilkes, and government induced their party in the city to nominate aldermen Plumbe and Kirkman in opposition to them. Wilkes would probably have been defeated, especially as Oliver finally came forward, supported by all the eloquence and exertions of John Horne. But, fortunately for Wilkes and his fellow-candidate, Bull, a letter, sent by the government agent to a Mr. Smith in the city was misdelivered to another Mr. Smith, a supporter of Wilkes and Bull, announcing the exertions that government would make in support of their men, Plumbe and Kirkman. This letter was immediately published, and, alarming all the enemies of government, made them rally round Wilkes and Bull, who were accordingly elected. Oliver, who was a man of integrity, and had well deserved of the city, was left lowest on the poll, because he had slighted and then opposed Wilkes, and John Horne, for his share in the business, fell under the iron scourge of Junius, who, in one of his scathing letters to the duke of Grafton, stigmatised Horne as a supporter of the ministerial candi-

date, which was clearly false, for Oliver was not a ministerial candidate. He accused him of the solitary, vindictive malice of a monk, and taunted him with the failure of his candidate as the evidence of his own estimation with the people. This brought out Horne with his vigorous and sarcastic letter of July 13th, commencing, "Farce, Comedy, and Tragedy—Wilkes, Foote, and Junius, united at the same time against one poor parson." Horne showed that he had a pen equal in keenness and stinging satire, and superior in the statement of solid facts, to Junius—the only man who had measured lances successfully with him. He heaped unmeasured odium on Junius as a secret assassin, stabbing every man's character, and especially that of the king. And, in fact, the language which Junius applied to the monarch never, before or since, was applied with impunity by a subject to his sovereign. In his very reply to Horne, he says, "You cannot but know, nay, you dare not pretend to be ignorant, that the highest gratification of which the most detestable * * * in this nation is capable, would have been the defeat of Wilkes. I know that man much better than any of you. Nature intended him only for a good-humoured fool. A systematic education, with long practice, has made him a consummate hypocrite. Yet this man, to say nothing of his worthy ministers, you have assiduously laboured to gratify."

But if Horne, afterwards Horne Tooke, convinced many that Junius had at length found his match, the more direct consequences of his exposure as a writer of history were his unmasking the meannesses and unprincipled conduct of the popular idol, Wilkes. He showed that he had been ready to be the servile tool of government, if they would have paid at his own extravagant rate for his services; that he had assiduously besieged the ministers for pay and pension, and had robbed every man whom he called a friend, when he got the opportunity. He showed that Wilkes had solicited a pension of one thousand pounds a-year in the Irish establishment; had accepted a clandestine pension for the Rockingham administration. He showed that the seventeen thousand pounds subscribed by the Society of the Bill of Rights, Wilkes had wasted in his private extravagance, instead of appropriating it to the discharge of his debts, as was intended. He revived the remembrance of his having run through his wife's fortune, and deserted her. That in his official position in the City, he had sold the posts in his appointment, amongst others, to his brother, his solicitor, &c. That whilst in the King's Bench, supported by his constituents, he had lived most extravagantly, drinking large quantities of claret; that he still retained six servants in his establishment, three of them French; that he had cheated his brother-in-law, Mr. Wildmer, out of a Welsh pony, and had pawned several rich suits of clothes which had been left in his charge at Paris.

To counteract these damning charges, Wilkes was obliged to assume more public pretence of virtue than ever. He and his colleague, Bull, declared that, during their term of office, no military should attend the executions at Newgate, that being a most unconstitutional innovation. They threw open the doors and galleries of the Old Bailey during sessions gratis, and even denounced the use of French wines by the lord mayor at his banquets as unpatriotic.

On the 21st of January, 1772, the king opened parliament. Amongst the most important motions brought forward, was one by alderman Sawbridge, on the 23rd of January, for shortening the duration of parliaments, which, of course, produced no result. On the 24th, sir William Meredith made another, of equal or greater importance, namely, that no bill, or clause of any bill, decreeing capital punishments, should pass the house without having first been submitted to a committee of the whole house. The statute book of the reign of the moral George III. was a perfectly Draconian one. The punishment of death was affixed to the most surprisingly trivial offences—the stealing of a sheep, or of a yard of calico, was death by the law. Sir William observed that, so common was the penalty of death, that scarcely a bill passed the house on the most commonplace matter that did not include menaces against human life. That a member, once hearing the word “death,” asked what it meant, and was told that it was only part of a new inclosure bill!

The king’s speech on the opening of the session was extremely pacific, and the addresses abounded with praises of the king’s wisdom in saving us from a war on account of the Falkland Islands; but these peaceful expressions were soon followed by demands for an addition to our navy, on account of a Russian fleet having appeared in the Levant; of the French having again felt disposed to attempt the recovery of their East India possessions; and as a better safeguard of our West India Islands. This took the house by surprise. Admirals Saunders and Keppel, instead of encouraging the vote for twenty-five thousand men, including six thousand six hundred and sixty-four marines, both strongly opposed it. They declared that our last peace establishment was only nine thousand seven hundred and twenty men altogether, whilst we now demanded upwards of six thousand marines alone; that we were in a time of peace really asking for a war establishment. They declared that we had better be at war at once; and that the keeping of so many ill-conditioned ships in our ports was only to enable the first lords of the treasury to manage and corrupt maritime boroughs.

Captain Phipps, afterwards lord Mulgrave, said that he knew that ten guard ships had been sinecured; and colonel Barré spoke in his usual unsparing style; exposed the inconsistency of our first introducing the Russian fleet into the Mediterranean, and then demanding fresh ships and sailors to prevent them doing mischief there. “We have done something,” he said, “of very great moment. There is an event which has astonished the world! We have seen the frigates of Russia in the centre of the Archipelago. The assistance of England, the supplies of our dockyards, helped to carry them thither, and to effect their mighty purpose. Have you well weighed the nature of this good office? Have you considered it to the bottom?”

Barré said that, in gaining the friendship of the Czarina, they had made mortal enemies of the Ottoman Porte. In fact, the English government had been doing the work of weakening the Turkish empire for the advantage of Russia, for which we, in our day, have paid the penalty of the Crimean war. Barré also more than hinted at the conduct of Russia and Prussia—asserting that they were brooding over some

mischievous design, which, in truth, was the dismemberment of Poland.

The feeble statesmen of these days did not perceive the tendency of events towards Russian and Prussian aggrandisement, and their destruction of the balance of power, for which we had spent so much life and money; they were helping on that catastrophe to the best of their abilities. They had been taken with a wonderful fancy for the friendship of Russia, and for security in the Baltic at her hands were ready to surrender security everywhere else. Russia was at war with Turkey—at war for the very purpose of seizing as much of her territory as possible; and we were ready to help her in the conquest of this very Crimea, which has been so fatal to our fellow-countrymen, and so costly to our treasury of late.

Catherine II. pursuing her war with the Turks, a scheme was laid before her paramour and great counsellor, Gregory Orloff, by one Papaz Ogli, from Larissa, formerly a companion in arms of his brother, Alexis Orloff, to excite an insurrection in Greece against Turkey. A fleet was fitted out, and put under the command of Alexis Orloff, to assist, by sea, the revolted Greeks on land. This fleet, which was, in reality, commanded by English officers—Elphinstone, Greig, Dugdale, and others—wintered in Port Mahon, and, in the spring of 1770, made for the Grecian coast. But the insurrection excited by Russia in Greece had failed. They had marched much too feeble an army thither to support it. The peasants of the neighbourhood of Mistra, the ancient Sparta, who were enrolled in two regiments, broke forth and committed great atrocities, avenging themselves of the long-endured barbarities of the Turks; but the Albanians marched down from their mountains in great numbers, overran the Peloponnesus, and cut down and massacred the Greeks in all their towns and villages. Patras and Tripolizza were especially the scenes of havoc and slaughter. In Tripolizza alone three thousand Greeks, of all ages and both sexes, were destroyed. The united host of Russians, Mainotes, and Montenegrins, were incapable of resisting them. The Albanians glutted their lust of murder and plunder on the unhappy Greeks without restraint. Whole districts of the Peloponnesus were reduced to deserts and strewn with corpses. The inhabitants who had not fallen had fled into the mountains; such was the condition of horror to which Russia had reduced Greece by her lawless ambition.

Her fleet, now conducted by our countrymen, kindly endeavouring to promote this ambition, which was to become their own scourge, on the 5th of July, 1770, came to action with that of the Turks off Scio. In the action, the ships of the two admirals, Capudan Pacha, and Spiritow, the Russian, blew up. The English admirals, Elphinstone and Greig, continued the fight. The Turks fled into the Bay of Tschémé, when Elphinstone blockaded it; and captains Dugdale and Mackenzie, in the darkness of the night, sailed up to the Turkish fleet with fire-ships, which spread their flames in spite of all attempts to extinguish them, and reduced the whole fleet to ashes. The spectacle was terrible; the successive explosions of their powder magazines were heard in Athens. The earth at Smyrna shook as with an earthquake. The Russian ships were

tossed and dashed against each other as by a storm. The Turkish sailors escaped many of them by swimming to land, and by boats, and, in their rage, murdered all the Greeks they could meet with, and set their towns and villages on fire. Smyrna and Constantinople itself were in a fearful panic. Elphinstone had promised the czarina to break through the Dardanelles and attack the Turkish capital; but Alexis Orloff, who had shown the utmost imbecility in the war both on land and on sea, dared not attempt it. The English insisted, and led the way to the mouth of the Dardanelles, but the cowardly Russian would not follow, and the English officers quitted the fleet in disgust, and without receiving any reward for their signal services. When they were gone, Orloff ordered four pictures to be painted of the different phases of the destruction of the Turkish fleet, by

tence of acknowledging its independence. This was the last event of any importance in the war which was terminated in 1774, by the peace of Cainardgi, when the Crimea was pronounced an independent state.

Such were the lawless aggressions and sanguinary deeds of the Russian demi-savages, which the English government, stoneblind to the future, had been aiding to the best of their ability; and now they saw enough of their mistake in bringing the Muscovites into the Mediterranean to make it necessary to increase their own fleet. The mischief, however, was not to end here. Europe expected to see Turkey at this time absorbed into Russia; but the jealousy of Austria and Prussia saved it; but they, at the same time, turned the greedy eye of the czarina on another prey—Poland, and the three powers becoming joint robbers of



THE CASTLE OF CRONBORG.

Hackert, and then returned to St. Petersburg, where he was received with the highest honours, and named by the empress thenceforward, Orloff Tscheméhoff.

In order to divide and reduce Turkey, the Russians made an alliance with Ali Bey, the viceroy of Egypt, and engaged, in return for his refusal of all assistance to the Porte, to aid him in his designs on Syria. They besieged, in conjunction with him, Jaffa and Damietta, but with little effect. They then invested Lemnos, but were driven thence by the bold enterprise of Gazi Hassan, who was born in Persia, and sold as a slave to a Turk in Rodosto. For his successful assault on the Russians, and their utter route, he was made lord high admiral. From that time the Russians could effect little against the Turks, except that they, in 1771, had managed to rend the Crimea from Turkey under pre-

nations, soon after consummated their crime of the first partition of that country.

The domestic business of the session commencing with this year, was chiefly of an ecclesiastical character. Sir William Meredith presented a petition from two hundred and fifty of the established clergy, including many professors of civil law and physic, who prayed relief from subscription to the thirty-nine articles of the church of England, without which no degree could be obtained at either of our great universities, and no student even could be admitted at Oxford. The subject had been warmly discussed in the newspapers and pamphlets, and in public meetings. Sir William contended that enforcement of these articles only propagated perjury; and the petition itself stood upon the right of all Englishmen to enjoy the benefits of these insti-



ARREST OF QUEEN CAROLINE MATILDA OF DENMARK.

tutions, founded, many of them, by grants of kings and queens for these subjects. It prayed for an acknowledgment of the scriptures as sufficient ground for admission and for the attainment of honours. Sir Roger Newdegate, owner of a name down to our time expressive of the strictest conservatism, opposed the petition, and was followed by Mr. Stanley, Mr. Fitzmorris, and Mr. Jenkinson, who contended that no attention should be paid to any such petitions, considering all the mischief which had been done to the church by fifth-monarchy men and other fanatics. Charles Fox was amongst these narrow spirits, and had, says Gibbon, "prepared himself for this holy war by passing twenty-two hours in the pious exercise of hazard, his elevation costing him only about five hundred pounds an hour—in all, eleven thousand pounds!"

But far more remarkable was it to see Burke ranged on this side, for Fox had not found sufficient reasons for turning patriot. Burke, in reply to the prayer, that acknowledgment of the sacred scriptures should be sufficient, asked "what were the scriptures to which they were content to subscribe? They do not think that a book becomes of divine authority because it is bound in blue morocco, and is printed by John Baskett and his assigns? The Bible is a vast collection of different treatises; a man who holds the divine authority of one, may consider the other as merely human. What is his canon? The Jewish; St. James's; or that of the thirty-nine articles? There are some who reject the Canticles; others, six of the epistles; the Apocalypse has been suspected even as heretical, and was doubted for many ages, and by many great men. As these narrow the canon, others have enlarged it by admitting St. Barnabas's, the apostolic constitutions, to say nothing of many other gospels. Therefore, to ascertain scripture, you must have one argument more, to define what that scripture is which you design to teach."

All this sounded very plausible, but was just as much sophistry, for the words "the authorised version" would have settled the whole matter as it regarded the universities, and the church might have been left to impose what doctrines it pleased on its clergy before admitting them to its pulpits. But the day was far off when such advantages as those of studying at the national universities on equal terms for all subjects could be obtained; when those who dared to dissent from the state church should be dignified with the same honours as those who held with it. The motion was rejected by two hundred and seventeen votes against seventy-one.

Mr. Henry Seymour, a few weeks after, moved for leave to bring in a bill, called afterwards the Church Nullum Tempus Bill, to secure the estates originally derived from the church for the exercise of any dormant claims of that body, which was also rejected.

In the midst of these debates, Dr. Nowell, chaplain to the house of commons, preached before it on the 30th of January, the anniversary of the execution of Charles I. As usual, his audience was very small, consisting only of the speaker and four members. Whether these five were awake or not would seem doubtful, for they carried a vote of thanks for the sermon, and another for printing it; and when the sermon came to be put into the hands of the members at large, the consternation was

tremendous. It was found to contain the most unmitigated doctrines of the Filmer and Sacheverel stamp, namely, of passive obedience, and the divine right of kings. Mr. Thomas Townshend, afterwards lord Sydney, rose in his place, and moved that the sermon should be burnt by the common hangman: but the house luckily remembered that thanks had been voted for it in its name, and got rid of the motion by moving the order of the day. This was carried, and another motion to expunge the vote of thanks from the journals of the house.

These debates called forth many remarks on the blessed martyr, Charles Stuart. Lord Rollstone said that part of the liturgy was composed by father Petre, the Jesuit confessor of James II., and alderman Sawbridge asked whether Dr. Nowell meant to recommend Charles I. as a model to the present king. Frederick Montagu moved the repeal of the act for the observance of the anniversary of king Charles's death; but this motion was zealously opposed by Sir Roger Newdegate, and rejected by a hundred and twenty-five votes to ninety-seven.

The dissenters, encouraged by expressions let fall by different members during the debates, and especially from those of the ministerial party, who were desirous of uniting them with the church, so far as to act in a body on any occasion against the Roman Catholics, now procured the introduction of a motion for the abolition of the test and corporation acts. On the 3rd of April, Sir Henry Houghton, a member for the county of Lancaster, moved this, and Sir George Saville seconded it. The churchmen opposed it on the ground that these acts were perfectly inert; that since the accession of the prince of Hanover no one had been interfered with on account of his religious views, and therefore there was no need to repeal these acts. Had this been true, the same argument made the repeal a matter of indifference to the church; but it was far from being true. Dissenters could have shown abundant proofs of their unjust and invidious operation, and the animus of the bishops, when the bill went into the upper house, was a convincing proof that they knew it. The bill passed the commons by an overwhelming majority, but was thrown out of the lords by an almost equal preponderance. Lords Camden, Shelburne, Chatham, and even Mansfield, supported it; but the archbishop of York, the bishops of London, Oxford, Peterborough, and Llandaff, and the lords Bruce and Gower, opposed it. On this occasion lord Chatham introduced the phrase, "the college of fishermen," for the apostles, in contradistinction to the college of cardinals, and gave that strikingly analytical description of the church of England, as popish in her liturgy, calvinistic in her creed, and arminian in her clergy.

In the month of March, before these religious debates were at an end, in consequence of remarks of lord North, Mr. Sullivan, the deputy-chairman of the India House, brought in a bill to regulate the affairs of the company, which was daily rising into greater importance. During the discussion, many disgraceful revelations were made of the tyrannies, extortions, and peculations of the company's servants, who were continually coming home loaded with wealth, and finding their way into the house of commons. A committee was appointed to inquire into the administra-

tion of the company; and it appeared, from a communication of lord George Germaine to colonel Barré, that ministers entertained an idea of buying up the violent opposition of that gentleman, by offering him the presidency of the board of control; but it came to nothing.

The only other proceeding of this session was one of a very remarkable character. The boasted morals of George III. and of his queen had not defended his family from the crimes and corruptions which are inherent in courts. Amongst both his brothers, as afterwards amongst his sons, the vices of luxury and libertinism had flourished freely. As we have related, his brother, the duke of York, had died in Italy, from a fever induced by his excesses. But far more notorious was the life of his brother, the duke of Cumberland. Amongst his licentious intrigues was one with Henrietta Vernon, lady Grosvenor, a young and beautiful woman, whom he seduced, following her into Cheshire, when her husband took her from town, and meeting her in various disguises. In 1770 lord Grosvenor brought an action against him for criminal conversation, and obtained a verdict of ten thousand pounds. This was the first time that a prince of the blood had stood defendant in such a trial. In the course of the trial the royal duke's love letters were produced, and exhibited the defective education which he had received from the princess dowager, in common with the king and the rest of his brothers. He could not spell, much less punctuate his writing. It was a scandalous exhibition altogether.

Immediately after the royal libertine abandoned the beautiful woman whom he had thus made an outcast from her family and virtuous society, and was seen publicly parading an actress of Covent Garden Theatre. With a rapidity of fickleness almost unexampled, he was immediately afterwards paying suit to Mrs. Horton, the widow of Christopher Horton, Esq., of Cotton Hall, in the county of Derby, and daughter of that notorious Luttrell, lord Ingham, and sister to the colonel Luttrell who had been forced by government into the seat of Wilkes for Middlesex.

So long as the royal dukes only prowled amongst the fair sex, and degraded and ruined them at pleasure, the moral George and Charlotte remained passive; but the gay widow Horton, not consenting to Cumberland's suit, except through wedlock, the offence to royalty became intolerable. Cumberland went over to Calais with Mrs. Horton, and there married her according to the rites of the church of England. The consternation at court on the realisation of this fact was unexampled. That the princes should habitually dishonour private families was little; but that they should contract a marriage with any one but of blood royal was unpardonable. The offence to queen Charlotte was more mortal than to the king. She prided herself on the unsullied antiquity of the blood of the house of Brunswick, and on her common descent from the Guelphs and Hapsburgs. She looked down on her husband as of far inferior lineage to her own—one of his ancestors having married a woman of plebeian blood, named mademoiselle D'Olbreuse. On one occasion, when she gave a dinner to the royal family at Frogmore, some one remarked that every guest at table was descended from the electress Sophia; but queen Charlotte indignantly exclaimed, "No, madame,

there is nothing of D'Olbreuse here!" pointing to herself.

To crown the calamity of pollution, the duke of Gloucester now confessed to a secret marriage with the countess-dowager Waldegrave, who to being merely a countess added the misfortune of being the illegitimate daughter of Sir Edward Walpole, brother of the great minister. Both royal dukes were instantly forbidden the court; and so deep was the offence given by these acts—really amongst the most decent of their lives—to the king and queen, that for two years neither of the dukes were received there again. But it was not enough to denounce so vehemently this crime of marriage with a commoner, though once committed by George himself—a preventive to the like acts for the future must be found, and a bill was immediately brought into parliament, since well known as the Royal Marriage Act, by which every prince or princess, the descendants of George II., except only the issue of princes married abroad, was prohibited from marrying until the age of twenty-five without the king's consent. After that age they might apply to the privy council, and if within a year of such announcement both houses of parliament should not express disapprobation of the intended marriage, it might then be lawfully solemnised. The bill did not pass without violent opposition. Both within doors and out there was much bitter comment on the bill which our princes for eight hundred years had done without, and it was styled "a bill to encourage fornication and adultery in the descendants of George II." It has ever since remained in force.

One of the most remarkable circumstances connected with the passing of this act, was that it induced Charles Fox to resign his post of chief commissioner of the admiralty. Like lord Holland, he was opposed to the marriage act of lord Hardwicke, and he considered this royal marriage act as an extension of it. He therefore resigned, on the plea that he would then be at liberty to oppose both. Gibbon wittily observed that "Charles Fox had commenced patriot, and was attempting to pronounce the words, COUNTRY, LIBERTY, CORRUPTION, and so forth; with what success time will discover." As yet, however, he did not succeed completely; his necessities were too great; his passion for gambling was intense; he swallowed the royal marriage act, and re-entered the ministry as one of the lords of the treasury.

Junius did not forget to exult over the royal kinship to the Luttrells through Mrs. Horton. He reminded the people that this marriage of his sister was one of the rewards of colonel Luttrell for pushing Wilkes from his seat. "The forced, unnatural union of Luttrell and Middlesex was an omen of another unnatural union. If one of these acts was virtuous and honourable, 'the best of princes,' I thank God, is happily rewarded for it by the other."

But these were by no means the total of the royal troubles at this period. The youngest and most beloved of George III.'s sisters, Caroline Matilda, had, as already stated, been married to Christian VII. of Denmark. This young man, who was the son of Louisa, a sister of George II., a queen beloved by the Danes, was, nevertheless, little better than an idiot, and the poor princess was married to him at the age of sixteen. Such monstrous things are often royal marriages, and no one need wonder

at their frequently terrible results. Caroline Matilda is described as remarkably handsome—indeed, the handsomest woman of the Danish court; naturally lively, amiable, and affectionate. The marriage of this young couple, and their ascent to the throne, were nearly simultaneous; and, contrary to the usual custom of a monarch, it was deemed advisable that he should travel. In his tour he fell in with the celebrated Struensee, a young physician of Altona. Christian VII., like all weak monarchs, must have favourites. Struensee speedily became the perfect master of Christian's mind and actions, and on their return to Copenhagen he was raised to the rank of count, and soon after was made prime minister. The venerable Bernstorff was dismissed; Holk, the former favourite, removed from court; Ranzau, a former minister, recalled at the instigation of Struensee, who had been joint editor of a paper with him at Altona. Brandt, a disgraced gentleman of the bed-chamber, was recalled and ennobled. The brother of Struensee was made a counsellor of justice.

No sooner was Struensee installed in ministerial power, than he began a most sweeping and extraordinary series of reforms. He was a disciple of the new French school, and he attacked the ancient feudal institutions of the country with a vigour which would have delighted Rousseau or D'Alembert. He exhibited in his own person a whole board of administrative reform. He attacked ruthlessly the corruptions and assumptions of the nobles. He abolished not only sinecures and unmerited pensions, but numerous offices that were useless, and placed the necessary ones in the hands of active men of business. He dissolved the privy council, which had gradually usurped all the royal prerogative; took measures for sending the aristocracy from the capital, where they spent their time in dissipation and schemes of self-promotion, to live upon their estates. He abolished serfdom; the torture; reduced the state expenditure; encouraged the arts and literature; gave free toleration to all religions; and, in order to promote and support his reforms, established the freedom of the press.

The execution of such wholesale reforms would have insured the destruction of the most powerful native nobleman that ever lived. The more just, the more necessary, the more admirable the reforms, the more inevitable the destruction of the reformer. But to a stranger, of plebeian origin, they foretold a speedy and annihilating ruin. That which destroyed the Gracchi in Rome, agrarian reform, was certain to do the same for Struensee in Denmark. The landed aristocracy was sure to prove too powerful for him. But, in enfranchising the press, he committed the error of Joseph II. of Austria. It was immediately bought up by his enemies, and turned against him. It denounced him on every side with all the fury of the most diabolical malice.

Meantime, a lowering and lynx-eyed foe was watching his career with secret exultation. Juliana Maria, the queen dowager, stepmother of Christian VII., bent on raising her own son to the throne, and burning with hate to the young queen, who won all hearts from her, entered into conspiracy with the incensed nobles, the disbanded privy councillors, and the military, who were enraged at the dismissal of the royal guards. The gay and unsuspecting conduct of the young queen, who was scarcely more than a

child, though she had now two children of her own, a son, and a little daughter still at the breast, gave only too much opportunity to the merciless enmity of this female demon.

Caroline Matilda, who found her husband a hopeless imbecile, had been treated by his favourite, Holk, with great insolence, and the king had been instigated by him to behave in like manner. Struensee not only showed her all the deference which was due to his queen, and was natural towards a young and intellectual lady, but prevailed on the king to manifest equal respect. But it was impossible to make anything but a fool of Christian. In England he had excited the wonder of the courtiers by his ridiculous figure and eccentric manners. But now his mind had sunk under his early excesses, and his delight was to romp and scuffle, and play all kinds of practical jokes, like a great schoolboy, with his ministers and favourites. He insisted that they should not think of him at all as a king. Brandt and his physician, Buger, were constantly with him. They kept him as much as possible in the country, and never, if they could help it, let him go out of their sight. He would insist, amongst other follies, on the young queen riding out in a man's clothes with himself and Struensee. A negro and a little girl of ten years old were his constant play-fellows; and not a statue in the gardens, a window in the castle, or a chair in the rooms, was safe from their riotous and boisterous play.

All this especially favoured the plans of the base queen dowager, who, in league with the hostile nobles, feigned a plot against the queen; obtained from him, in his bed at midnight, an order for the arrest of the queen, Struensee, Brandt, and others. The queen was seized on half dressed. She endeavoured to fly to the king, and was carried off by Ranzau, who had deserted his benefactor, to Cronborg Castle. The vilest calumnies were propagated by the queen dowager and her party against her. She was accused of adultery with Struensee; and Juliana Maria urged not only her divorce, which took place, but that she should be tried for her life, with the purpose of setting aside her children in favour of her own son. In this purpose, which lay at the root of the whole proceeding, the queen dowager was disappointed. Struensee and Brandt were executed with especial barbarities; but the king of England interfered to save his sister, and to procure the succession to her son. The unhappy young queen, however, was separated for ever from her two children, and conveyed to Zell, in Hanover—the same castle or prison where the unhappy wife of George I. had pined away her life. She was not allowed to carry with her her little daughter at her breast. As the English ship of war bore her away from Cronborg, she remained on deck, with her streaming eyes still fixed on that castle, till its topmost towers sunk beneath the horizon.

At Zell, a little court was found her; but George III., who knew that no real proof of her criminality had been brought forward, and who must have had a denser brain than even his enemies gave him credit for, not to see the palpable motives for her accusation, should have brought her home in proof of his assurance of her innocence, and shamed the miserable court which had thus treated her. As it was, the poor young queen preserved portraits of her children, and fixed them on her chamber walls, and was

frequently heard addressing them as present. Her only other consolation was music; but these could not supply the loss of honour and affection, and in three years after her removal from Cronborg she sunk of a broken heart, dying on the 10th of May, 1775, only twenty-four years of age.

In her last illness she was attended by Dr. Zimmermann, the celebrated author of the work on "Solitude," and by M. Roques, pastor of the French protestant church at Zell. "Just before she died," says M. Roques, "after I had recited her the prayer for the dying, she said, in a voice which seemed to acquire strength in the effort, 'I am going to appear before God. I now protest that I am innocent of the guilt imputed to me; and that I never was unfaithful to my husband.'" The nobility and states unanimously voted an address to George III., as elector of Hanover, to obtain permission to erect at Zell a monument to the unfortunate queen, who had won all hearts there by her amiability and intelligence. In Denmark, it is only just to say, there was a strong party who never for a moment doubted the innocence of Caroline Matilda, or ceased to lament her fate; and it is some satisfaction to know that her son succeeded to the throne, and that the queen dowager and her accomplices lived to see themselves held in unfeigned abhorrence by the whole nation. As for the feeling regarding Caroline Matilda in England, it showed itself when sir Hyde Parker and Nelson bombarded Copenhagen, sixteen years after her death. Though her own son, the crown prince, defended the town, yet the English sailors did not forget the treatment of Denmark to the English princess when they stormed its capital, and fought all the more determinedly. This fatal occurrence has, no doubt, had a disastrous effect on the subsequent relations of the two countries. Though we are of a kindred stock of language, still closely allied, from maritime position and character apparently destined to league together for mutual strength and benefit, we have never since shown a cordial regard for each other, and no matrimonial connections have been again attempted between the royal houses of England and Denmark.

Within ten days after the arrival of the news of the arrest of Caroline Matilda, her mother, and the king's, the princess dowager of Wales died of a cancer, in her fifty-third year. Whatever may have been her private virtues, her public conduct had exerted a mischievous influence on this country. Her connection with the marquis of Bute was maintained to the last, in utter defiance of public opinion. By her influence he was enabled to acquire his pernicious power over the king, and to seize the reins of government to the great misfortune and dishonour of the country. By the neglect of the education of her children, though most ample provision was made for it by the country, she contributed most materially to the national losses and misfortunes of George III.'s reign, and to stigmatise royalty in the person of her illiterate and debauched son, the Duke of Cumberland.

At the same time with the events just recorded in Denmark, a revolution took place in Sweden. The senate, on the death of Charles II., had instantly usurped, and still retained, the greater part of the royal prerogatives. But now Gustavus III., a young and ambitious king, determined to recover this ancient power and the crown. Ever since the

usurpation of the senate, the country had been divided into two factions, under the names of the Hats and the Caps. Gustavus availed himself of these divisions. He courted the caps—that is, the citizens and the people—and thus received the services of the burgher guard of the capital. The caps were only too ready to assist in pulling down the haughty and oppressive aristocracy. A dearth of corn worked them up to the proper pitch. Gustavus was assisted with money from France. Suddenly he surrounded the senate, and took the members all prisoners. The revolution was complete. The army, the officers, both civil and military, and the citizens at large, took the oath to the ancient form of the constitution, and Sweden was no longer an oligarchy but a regal despotism. Gustavus summoned a diet, which, surrounded by troops and with artillery pointed at the hall in which they assembled, took the oaths dictated by the king.

Catherine of Russia professed great indignation at this arbitrary overthrow of the institutions of Sweden, and threatened to take the field for the restoration of the powers of the nobles, whom she had been able to bribe so as to keep Sweden subservient to her own views. But the czarina was too much occupied with maintaining her own seat at home to carry out her measure against Gustavus III. Her married throne, from the hour of her murder of her husband, Peter III., had been continually in danger from rivals or impostors. We have seen that she seized and imprisoned again Ivan, the nephew of the czarina Anne, who had been left her heir, but had been dethroned by the czarina Elizabeth, and whom Peter had compassionated and set at large.

Catherine confined the unhappy youth in the doleful castle of Schlussemburg, on an island in the Neva, and it was given out that he was dead. Rumours of his being still alive, nevertheless, continued to circulate, and his place of captivity became known to one who hated the czarina, and determined to liberate him. This was Vassili Mirovitch, the grandson of the Mirovitch who lost his estates by engaging in the rebellion of Mazeppa with Charles XII. of Sweden in the Ukraine. Mirovitch, now a lieutenant of the regiment of Smolensko serving in Schlussemburg, had petitioned the czarina in vain for the restoration of his estates, and now resolved in revenge to liberate Ivan, and proclaim him the true emperor. Inducing one or two brother officers to engage in the scheme, on the 4th of July, 1764, they marched at midnight up to the door of the cell where Ivan was confined, and demanded admittance in the name of the emperor. Ivan's guards, however, refused to admit them, when they fired on the door and endeavoured to force it in. Suddenly it was flung open, and the body of the murdered Ivan was presented to their view. The officers in charge had had standing orders, that on any attempt to rescue the prisoner they should instantly dispatch him. They had executed their order, and said, pointing to the bloody corpse, "Here is your emperor!"

Mirovitch was beheaded, the soldiers who had acted ignorantly were barbarously punished, and, to prevent any mistake as to the actual death of Ivan now, his body was publicly exhibited in only a shirt and pair of drawers. But though the murderous Catherine had freed herself of Ivan, she was beset by a whole tribe of impostors, in one part or other, who pretended to be Peter III., who, they said, had

escaped. The chief of these was Pugatchef, a Cossack of the Don, who, from 1771 to 1774, continued to harass her: He completely convinced the Cossacks of his identity; at one time he was at the head of seventy thousand men, took town after town, and even menaced Moscow.

But, before Catherine had freed herself from her pretenders, she became involved in war with the Turks, on account of Poland, and her successes against them awoke in her mind the most extensive ideas of aggrandising Russia at the expense of both Poland and Turkey. Peter, called the Great, is said to have sketched in his will a most stupendous scheme of enlargement of Russia by conquest, which was only to terminate when the seat of empire was transferred to Constantinople, and the Russian fleets commanded the Mediterranean; and he laid it as a sacred duty on all his successors to do their utmost towards the advance of this great plan. Whether the will be genuine or not, every Russian ruler since has steadily exerted himself by arms and the most unprincipled diplomacy to such an end. Catherine, equally celebrated for her ability and her numerous lovers, led the way in this direction with wonderful success.

Poland, lying contiguous to Russia, had for ages been in a condition calculated to attract the cupidity of ambitious neighbours. Its nobles usurped all authority. They kept the whole mass of the people in hopeless serfdom; they usurped the whole of the land; they elected their own king, and were too fond of power themselves to leave him more than a puppet in their hands. To make the condition of the country worse, it was violently divided on the subject of religion. One part of the nobles consisted of Roman catholics, another of what were called dissidents, made up of members of the Greek church, and protestants, Lutherans, Calvinists, and Arians. Although by what was called the *Pacta Conventa* the dissidents had been admitted to an equality of rights, this was totally disregarded by the overbearing catholics; and in 1736 the *Pacta Conventa* was formally abolished. Every dissident was, by this measure, for ever excluded from government, and from all interest in it. The dissidents were shut out from all affairs of state; from all courts of judicature; and might be vexed and oppressed, without any chance of redress. The catholic church was declared to be the religion of the state; any one who voted for the election of a prince, not a catholic, was declared an enemy of the country, and condemned to death. Whoever quitted the church was branded as an apostate, and was condemned to perpetual exile.

Thus the whole country was torn by violent religious animosity; the nobles were insolent to the crown, and the people were nothing. Such was the condition of Poland, which led to its dismemberment. All nobility of mind was destroyed; pride and oppression were the inseparable consequences of such a system. There was no middle class, no popular class; it was a country of lords and slaves—of one class domineering over the other. The catholics were the dissidents, and the dissidents, seeking aid from Russia—which was also Greek in religion—and, to insure this aid, condescending to the lowest arts of solicitation,—to the practice of fawning, stooping, and cringing to the great barbarous power of Russia on one side, and to the equally barbarous power of Turkey on the other. The nobles could

bring large bodies of cavalry into the field, as many, at times, as a hundred thousand; but as they had no free people, and dreaded to arm their slaves, they had little or no infantry, except such as they hired, and even this was in no condition to withstand the heavy masses of Russian infantry, much less such armies as Prussia or Austria might be tempted to bring against them.

The contending religionists formed themselves into two hostile confederations: the confederation at Radom was that of the dissidents; the confederation at Bar was that of the catholics. Russia, glad to have a pretence for getting a footing in Poland, supported the confederation of Radom; France supported the confederation of Bar; and it was at the instigation of France that Turkey, in 1768, was induced to declare war on Russia, and to support the catholic confederates of Bar.

From the moment that Russia was called in, she became, or aimed to become, the dominant power there. She pressed on the whole line of the Polish frontier with her armies, inundated the kingdom with her troops, and levied contributions for their support as if she had been in a conquered country. The fierce warfare that raged betwixt the dissidents and catholics was more fiercely embittered by the catholics claiming the character of patriots, and branding the dissidents as traitors, for bringing in a foreign power. From that hour, too, the kings were elected rather by foreign armies than by the Poles themselves. Stanislaus Poniatowski, the present king, was the nominee of Catherine of Russia, whose lover he had been till superseded by Orloff. She had placed him on the throne by force of arms, and he was incapable of doing anything except through her power.

This modern Messalina incited the Zaporavians—a savage race of Cossacks, inhabiting a wild region east of Poland—to pour down in legions on that devoted country. They were told that the catholic Poles, urged on by France, were intending to massacre all the Poles of the Greek church, to which these marauders belonged. They poured in fierce fanaticism into the country, laying it waste with fire and sword. The Russians armed the Polish peasants to guide and assist the flaming zealots from the Borysthene, and, amid the most terrible barbarities, they are said to have destroyed fifty thousand of the wretched inhabitants.

The inroad of Russians, Cossacks, Calmucks, and Zaporavians induced the catholic Poles to call in the Turks. "To bring in the Turks to drive out the Russians," said one of the Polish catholic bishops, "is like setting fire to a house to drive away vermin." The Turks were at first loth to engage in such a struggle, but, encouraged by France, they committed that fatal error. The Russians defeated them, and, pursuing them to Bar, thence followed them into Turkey. They defeated the grand vizier and the khan of Tartary; took the towns of Balta, Chocim, and Bender, opening their way into Moldavia and Bulgaria. The Russians were now triumphant over the confederate Poles, and their generals, counts Repnin and Valkonski, were now masters of the greater part of the country.

Some faint endeavours were made to shake off the yoke. Encouraged by France, the confederates again rushed down from the Carpathian mountains, to which they had fled, and cut to pieces several detachments of the Russians. They



BURNING OF THE GASPEE SCHOONER.

proclaimed Poniatowski deposed, and called on the people to aid them to drive out the invaders. But the people, long used to oppression from their own lords, did not answer to the call. In France, Choiseul had been hurled from power, and France left the Poles to their fate. It was now that Frederick of Prussia proposed to Austria to combine with Russia and share Poland between them. At this robber proposition, so in character with Frederick, who had all his life been creating a kingdom by the plunder of his neighbours, Maria Theresa at first exclaimed in horror. She wrote to her celebrated minister, Kaunitz, who urged her to accede. "When all my lands were invaded, and when I did not even know where I could in quiet give birth to my child, then I firmly relied on my own good right and on the help of God. But in this present affair, when public right cries even to heaven against us, and when against us, also, are justice and sound reason, never in my whole life before did I feel so anxious, or was ashamed to let myself be seen. Consider what an example we shall be giving to the whole world, if, for a wretched piece of Poland or Wallachia, we give up our honour and fair fame."

But Maria Theresa was now old and failing, and she gave way, declaring that, long after she was dead and gone, people would see what would happen from their having broken through everything which had, till then, been deemed just and holy. Frederick of Prussia took the surest way to compel the Austrians to come in for a share of the spoils of Poland. He marched a body of soldiers out of Silesia—the territory which he had rent from Austria—into Posen, and Austria, not to be behind, had marched another army into the province of Starosty, or Zips, in the Carpathian mountains.

In vain did Poniatowski remonstrate; he had no means of resistance. The Turks could no longer defend themselves from Russian invasion, much less assist Poland. They applied to Frederick to intercede with Catherine for peace for them. Nothing could so entirely suit Frederick's plans. He sent Prince Henry of Prussia to negotiate with Catherine, who took the opportunity to represent to her the advantages to the three great powers, Russia, Prussia, and Austria, to strengthen themselves by appropriating portions of Poland. Whilst he was discussing this infamous plan, the Prussian emissaries were busy in Poland persuading the dissentients that as the Prussians, like them, were protestants, or opposed to Rome, they had better make common cause with them. At the same time, the catholic confederates, blind to their greater enemies through their hatred to their protestant countrymen, made a failing attempt, in November, 1771, to carry off the king Poniatowski.

In the spring of the present year, 1772, the confederates, under general Zarembo, now aided by two French officers—Viomenil and Choisi—made a fresh attempt and became masters of Cracow. Frederick advanced against them and defeated them. At this time arrived the news of the confederacy of Austria, Russia, and Prussia; fresh Austrian troops were on the march from Hungary through the Carpathian mountains, and the confederation broke up in consternation and despair. The Russians, relieved from contention with the Poles, now pushed on their victories against the Turks;

drove them over the Danube, and seized some of their most fertile provinces. To complete their ruin, they, aided by England, attacked and destroyed their fleet in the Mediterranean.

When Louis XV. heard of the union to divide Poland, he exclaimed, "This would not have been, had Choiseul still been here." But England, with a blindness inconceivable, had not only not seen the effect of allowing Russia and her greedy allies to break up Poland, and thus expose Turkey, and, through it, the Mediterranean, but committed the same error as she did in our day at Navarino: she had enabled Russia to annihilate the Turkish fleet. By English aid, the very last that should have contributed to such an end, the Russian flag floated in the Mediterranean; and, under its auspices, all the robber tribes of Greece and her islands—Maniotes, Candiotes, Samiotes, Ragusans, Montenegrins, Dalmatians, and all the pirates of Italian as well as Grecian ports—swarmed forth in their brigantines and misticos, attacking and plundering every merchant vessel that appeared. The commerce of every maritime country of Europe in the Mediterranean was at an end, of England as well as the rest; and it was to enable our fleet to reduce the elements of mischief which we had raised, by promoting the lawless schemes of Russia on Poland and Turkey, that our imbecile ministers had to call for fresh taxes and fresh ships.

The treaty betwixt Russia, Prussia, and Austria for the first division of Poland was signed at Petersburg on the 5th August, 1772. The three robber powers now promised to rest satisfied with all their booty; to respect the rights and remaining territories of Poland—words hollow and worthless as they who used them. The invaders divided at this time about one-third of Poland betwixt them. Prussia appropriated the whole of Pomerelia, part of Great Poland, the bishopric of Warmia, and the palatinates of Marienburg and Culm; with complete command of the lower part of the Vistula. The whole of this territory did not exceed eight hundred square miles, but it was a territory of vast importance to Prussia, as it united Pomerania with the rest of that kingdom. Russia and Austria acquired immensely more in extent. Russia took nearly the whole of Lithuania, with the vast country betwixt the rivers Dwina and Dniester. Austria secured the country along the left bank of the Vistula from Vielicza to the confluence of the Vistula and the Viroz. But Russia had Galicia, the palatinate of Belz, and a part of Volhynia.

Thus began the absorption by these three powers of that vast country, which, had it been maintained in its integrity, would have curbed the gigantic ambition of Russia, and nipped in the bud those aggressions on Turkey which threaten the peace, and have demanded torrents of the blood of Western Europe already. But no one, not even Chatham, then seemed to have the least idea of the vast importance of this violation of the laws of nations. From that moment the three allied powers dictated, by their armies, to Poland; compelled its diet to subscribe to this infamous amputation of the limbs of their country; and dispersed the patriots, as exiles, into all countries, some of whom, by a remarkable Nemesis, became the ardent assailants of our claims in the American colonies under general Washington.



IMPERIAL THRONE OF RUSSIA, IN THE KREMLIN, MOSCOW.

To complete this subject, we may pursue the aggressive progress of Russia a little beyond the present moment. Russia, at the intercession of Prussia and Austria, listened to the proposals of Turkey for peace. A congress was agreed to be held at Foczani, in Wallachia, in July; there came Gregory Orloff, as the representative of Catherine, attended by a retinue of one hundred and sixty domestics in splendid liveries, and by troops of hussars in equally splendid uniforms; his own costume was one blaze of jewels and orders, and on his breast he wore a portrait of his royal mistress set in diamonds; but his demands were so extravagant, and his demeanour so haughty and dictatorial, that the Turks, anxious as they were for peace, indignantly rejected his propositions, and the congress broke up. Orloff, on his return to St. Petersburg, found himself supplanted in the royal favour by the still more showy Potemkin; and a new attempt at negotiation was made betwixt general Romanzoff and the grand vizier at Bucharest, in March, 1773. This was equally in vain; the Russians had meantime agreed with the Tartars for the virtual sovereignty of the Crimea, and they again crossed the Danube and renewed hostilities. The Russians, however, were thoroughly beaten by the Turks, and glad to retreat across the Danube in July, with the loss of ten thousand men. This severe check induced them to listen to fresh terms of peace, and the treaty of Kainardji took place in July, 1774. By this, notwithstanding their late defeats, the Russians obtained most advantageous terms; they obtained the Crimea, under pretence of its being considered an independent state under its khans; Kilburn, Kerche, Jenickala, and the whole region betwixt the Bug and Dnieper were ceded to them. Russia kept Taganrok and Asoph, the two best ports on the Black Sea; and her merchant vessels had free passage of the Dardanelles, with all the privileges of the most favoured nations. Besides these, Russia had established connections with the Greeks in Jassy and Bucharest, which opened the future way for her into Wallachia and Moldavia.

CHAPTER V.

REIGN OF GEORGE III. (continued.)

New East India Bill—Lord North's Tea Bill—Case of the "Gaspee"—Schooner—Andrew and Peter Oliver—The Caucus—Franklin's Betrich's Tracts—Whately's Letters purloined and carried to America—Their Effect—Franklin dismissed from Office—Proceedings against Horne Tooke—The Tea Riot at Boston—Recall of Governor Hutchinson—The Yankees—Death of Louis XV.—Proceedings in Virginia—Solemn League and Covenant—Proceedings in various parts of America—Declaration of Rights—Address to the People of Canada—Dissolution of Parliament in England—Wilkes Lord Mayor—Interview betwixt Chatham and Franklin—Chatham's Conciliatory Bill rejected—Franklin and Lord Howe—First Blood shed at Lexington—Yankee Doodle—Blockade of Boston—Surprise of Ticonderoga Fort—The Meeting of Congress at Philadelphia—Arrival of Franklin—Mustering an Army in America—Washington appointed Commander-in-Chief—Battle of Bunker's Hill—Proceedings in Congress—Accession of Georgia—Washington's Camp—State of Feeling in England—Mission of Richard Penn III received—Duke of Grafton retires from Office—Proceedings in America—Burning of Falmouth—Americans invade Canada—Attack on Quebec—Defeat and Death of the American General, Montgomery.

THE year 1773 opened with an inquiry in parliament into the abuses of the administration of affairs in India. There were great complaints of the wholesale rapacity and oppression perpetrated on the natives by the company's

servants. Before the close of the preceding year, a secret committee had been appointed to inquire into these abuses, and to take the matter out of the hands of government, the company proposed to appoint a number of supervisors to go out to India, and settle the causes of complaint. The secret committee proposed a bill to prevent this, as a scheme for merely evading a thorough inquiry and continuing the atrocities. Burke, who was a holder of India stock, defended the company, and declared that such a bill would annihilate the company, and make the house of commons the company itself and the speaker its chairman. He reminded them that the company paid to government four hundred thousand pounds a-year, and that government had connived at the mal-administration which had been carried on. This certainly was, so far from a reason against the bill, a reason why they should connive no longer; and the bill was carried by a large majority.

The company was then compelled to reduce its dividends to six per cent. and apply to parliament for a loan of a million and a half to meet its pecuniary difficulties. This ministers and parliament complied with, and proceeding to relieve the company of its embarrassments, lord North proposed and carried a measure, by which the company, which had no less than seventeen millions pounds of tea in its warehouses, should, without limit of time, be authorised to export its teas to the British colonies of America duty free. This was thought a great and conciliatory boon to the Americans, but it proved otherwise. The import duty of threepence in the pound was still stubbornly retained, and the Americans, looking at the principle of taxation, and not at a mere temptation of a cheapened article, saw through the snare, and indignantly rejected it. The principal tea merchants declared that this would be the case, and that the whole government scheme was wild and visionary.

Before there was time, however, for the teas, under the new regulation, to reach America, several minor matters occupied parliament. There were loud complaints made to the commons by Alderman Trecothick, of terrible cruelties practised by our troops and the planters on the Caribs, in the island of St. Vincent, and colonel Barré and Thomas Townshend complained as strongly, that our troops there had been subjected to even worse sufferings than they had inflicted on the natives. It appeared that generals Wooten and Trapaud, who should have been commanding the troops there, were, much after the fashion of the times, enjoying themselves in England, whilst their soldiers had been perishing from sickness and neglect. On examining into the circumstances, it appeared that the French, to whom we had restored at the peace of Fontainebleau most of their West India islands, had repaid us by exciting insurrections in St. Vincent's among the Caribs. To put them down, the campaign had cost us four hundred men, but news now came that the natives had laid down their arms and submitted to our rule.

Lord Howe, in February, 1773, brought forward a motion for a trifling increase of the half-pay of the naval officers during peace. The whole amount of it reached only six thousand pounds per annum, and his lordship showed that there had been no advance of pay since 1715, whilst the value

of all articles of life was much increased. Reasonable as the demand was, lord North bluntly opposed it, but it was carried by a large majority against him, and he then assented to the motion.

At the same time colonel Barré was most invidiously passed over in brevet promotion; he had been formally dismissed from the service for his parliamentary conduct, but had been permitted to retain his half-pay and nominal rank, and had been assured by lord Barrington that he should receive brevet promotion in due course. On some young officers now being put over his head, by the advice of Pitt he tendered his entire resignation, which was laconically accepted by the king. As Barré had served with distinction in three quarters of the globe, this conduct of the government gave great disgust to all liberal men, as it showed that the ministry calculated on the implicit support of military or naval officers in parliament, or would punish them for any independence.

The question of the thirty-nine articles was again discussed, and the public was now astonished to find the body of methodists take part with the rigid section of the church, and petition in favour of the maintenance of the articles against the dissenters. The public was not prepared for that display of conservatism which the ministers of the Wesleyan Methodists have always since manifested, and which they have firmly, as an ecclesiastical body, maintained over their own people.

In the city, John Wilkes continued his agitation. He endeavoured to incite the corporation to present an address of congratulation to the king on the birth of a princess, the princess in question being a daughter born to the duke of Gloucester by his wife, whom George and the queen had ignored. Failing in this, he succeeded, however, in procuring an address to be presented complaining of the old grievances of the imprisonment of the lord mayor, the Middlesex elections, and praying for a dissolution of parliament and the dismissal of ministers. The king received the address with unconcealed resentment, and did not allow the city dignitaries the luxury of kissing hands.

Meantime, the storm was rising in the American colonies again, with symptoms of wrath more ominous than ever. Whilst the ministers fondly fancied they had been conciliating, they had been putting the last touch to the work of alienation.

Though there had appeared a lull in American affairs for some time, any one who was observant might have seen that all the old enmities were still working in the colonial mind, and that it would require little irritation to call them forth in even an aggravated form. Lord Hillsborough was no longer governor, but William Legge, lord Dartmouth. He was a man of a high character for upright and candid mind; Richardson said that he would be the perfect ideal of his Sir Charles Grandison, if he were not a methodist; and the poet Cowper, not objecting to his methodism, described him as "one who wears a coronet and prays." But lord Dartmouth, with all his superiority of temper and his piety, could not prevent the then stone-blind cabinet and infatuated king accomplishing the independence of America.

Another favourable circumstance would have been found in the fact—that in Hutchinson, Massachusetts had a native

governor, a man of courteous manners and moderate counsels. But even out of Hutchinson's position arose offence. His brothers-in-law, Andrew and Peter Oliver, were appointed lieutenant-governor and chief justice of the province. Lord North thought that the payment of these officers should be in the hands of government, to render them independent of the colonists; but this the colonists resented as an attempt to destroy the charter and establish arbitrary power. The Massachusetts' house of assembly declared on this occasion, in their address to the crown: "We know of no commissioners of his majesty's customs, nor of any revenue that his majesty has a right to establish in North America." They denounced the declaratory act passed at the suggestion of Chatham, and the attempt to make the governors and judges independent of the people, and the arbitrary instruments of the crown. In Virginia the same spirit was conspicuous.

Whilst these things were fermenting in America, their faithful agent in England—Benjamin Franklin—was labouring in the same spirit. He published two articles in the "Public Advertiser"—the vehicle of Junius. One was styled "An Edict of the King of Prussia," calling on the English, as a Teutonic colony, to contribute to the Prussian revenue. The other was entitled "Rules for reducing a great Empire to a small one." It compared a great empire to a great cake, which was most easily diminished at the edges; and it recommended England to get rid of her remotest provinces, to make way for the rest following. But these were innocent squibs compared with the bomb-shell which Franklin now threw into the excited state of Massachusetts.

During the years 1767, 1768, and 1769, Mr. Thomas Whately—at one time private secretary to Grenville, and several years under-secretary of state to lord Suffolk, but during these years out of office, and simply member of parliament—had maintained a private correspondence with governor Hutchinson, and his brother-in-law, Andrew Oliver, the lieutenant-governor. In these letters Hutchinson and Oliver had freely expressed to their old friend their views of the state of things in the colony; and, of course, said many things never intended to come to the public eye, or to operate officially. On the death of Whately, in 1772, some villain purloined these letters and conveyed them to Franklin. Who this dishonest firebrand was, was never discovered. Franklin pledged himself to secrecy, both as to the letters and as to the name of the person who so basely obtained them. The name of this person he faithfully kept; but the contents of the letters were too well calculated to create an irreconcilable rancour in the minds of the Americans, for him to resist the pleasure of communicating them to the Massachusetts assembly. He accordingly forwarded them to Mr. Curling, the speaker of the assembly.

The whole mode of coming into possession of these papers has something in it revolting to all honourable minds. Franklin, aware of this, insisted that they should not be printed nor made public, but only circulated amongst a select few. But the same motives which had induced Franklin to break his pledged secrecy, operated on the assembly. They determined to make them public, and

therefore pretended that other copies of them had reached them from England, and that they were thus absolved from all conditions of secrecy. This was totally false. The story was invented for the occasion, and the letters, without the name of Whately, to whom they had been addressed, were published by the assembly. It was left to be inferred by the public, that they had been sent officially to England by the governor and lieutenant-governor, and the assembly voted the writing of them ample evidence of a fixed design on the part of the English government to destroy the constitution and establish arbitrary power. A petition was dispatched to be presented by Franklin to the king, calling for the removal of Hutchinson and Oliver from their posts.

When these letters were read under these false impressions, sentiments were found in them which assumed

Oliver, in one, remarked—"If I have written with freedom, I consider I am writing to a friend, and that I am perfectly safe in opening myself to you."

The whole of this transaction right-minded Americans would wish to blot from their annals, but they answered the purpose of Franklin, which, it is clear, was now to sever the union betwixt the mother country and colonies at any cost, even of those of honour and upright principle.

When these letters were published in America, their real character concealed, and every means taken to represent them as official dispatches to the officers of government in England, the public rage was uncontrollable. A committee was formed to wait on governor Hutchinson, and demand whether he owned the handwriting. Hutchinson freely owned to that, but contended very justly that the letters



THE "BOSTON BOYS" THROWING THE TAXED TEA INTO BOSTON HARBOUR.

a wholly exaggerated character, and the flame produced was, as Franklin and the assembly intended, of the most furious kind. In one of them, Hutchinson said, "I doubt whether it is possible to project a system of government, in which a colony, three thousand miles from the parent state, shall enjoy all the liberty of the parent state. I wish the good of the colony when I wish to see some further restraint on liberty, rather than that the connection with the parent state should be broken." Such sentiments, addressed in strict confidence to a private friend, were innocent enough, but read as addressed by their governor to the English cabinet, they appeared most mischievous. Yet there were plenty of evidences in them to have convinced any calm readers—which the people of Massachusetts were not—that they were only private confidential observations.

were of a thoroughly private character, and to an unofficial person. Notwithstanding, the House of Assembly drew up a strong remonstrance to the English government, charging the governor and lieutenant-governor with giving false and malicious information respecting the colony, and demanding their dismissal.

This remonstrance, accompanied by copies of the letters themselves, was immediately dispatched over all the colonies, and everywhere produced, as was intended, the most violent inflammation of the public mind against England. The Bostonians had for some time established what was called a corresponding committee, whose business it was to prepare and circulate through the whole of the colonies papers calculated to keep alive the indignation against the English government. This committee quickly was re-

sponded to by other committees in different places, and soon the plan became an organisation extending to every part of the colonies, even the most remote, by which intelligence and arguments were circulated through all America with wonderful celerity. From this sprang one general tone of feeling, and that tone, it is not be denied, was essentially revolutionary. Not a man who adhered to the mother country could travel anywhere but his presence was announced from these committees; he was marked, and he was often insulted.

Dudington fired a shot across her bows, and, on her paying no regard to that, gave chase. The packet, however, ran close in shore, and the Gaspee following too eagerly, ran aground. It was on a sandy bottom, and the return of the tide would have lifted her off undamaged; but the smuggling population of Providence put off to her in the night, whilst she lay in a position so as to be incapable of using her guns, surprised, boarded, and set fire to her, carrying the lieutenant and crew triumphantly on shore.



JOHN ADAMS. FROM AN AUTHENTIC PORTRAIT.

That the spirit of the Bostonians had ripened into actual rebellion, was unequivocally shown in the course of the last year. The Gaspee government schooner, commanded by Lieutenant Dudington, had been singularly active in putting down smuggling about Rhode Island. The Rhode Island packet coming in one evening from Newport to Providence, instigated by the general anger against the Gaspee—for the Rhode Islanders were great smugglers—refused to pay the usual compliment of lowering the flag to the schooner.

Government offered a reward of five hundred pounds for the discovery of the perpetrators of this daring outrage; but though it was well known who the perpetrators were, including a merchant, named John Brown, and a captain Whipple, no one would give any information. On the contrary, the most violent threats were uttered against any one who should. It was clear that things had come to such a pass, that an able government would have attempted no further legislation in these colo-

nies till it had well reinforced its military strength there. This, the most important of all measures, under the circumstances, never appeared to occur to the English king or ministry; and this country, which had forced such hundreds of thousands of men into the Netherland and German wars, neglected most insanely to transport to this scene of insubordination a military power amply capable of supporting its authority.

When such acts as the burning of the *Gaspee* had been done with impunity, and whilst the American mind was rankling with all the Franklin poison of the purloined letters, three vessels arrived at Boston, laden with tea, under the conditions of lord North's bill. These ships had been for some time expected; and tumultuous meetings had been held, and mobs had assembled menacing the houses of the consignees with destruction. On their not assenting to send back the tea, their windows had been broken, their doors forced in, and themselves compelled to flee to Castle William for safety.

On the arrival of the ships the commotion was intense. Another meeting was held, to which the people of the neighbouring towns flocked in; and a resolution which had been passed at Philadelphia, that the tea ships were sent to enslave and poison the free men of America, was unanimously adopted: and it was agreed that the tea should not be landed, but be sent back again.

The consignees proposed that the tea should be allowed to come on shore, and be stowed in locked-up warehouses till further instructions should arrive, as had been done at Charleston; but this proposal was rejected with indignation. The Bostonians filled the streets in riotous mobs, menacing in the most deadly manner not only the captains of the tea ships, but all who should give them any assistance. The mob was armed with muskets, rifles, swords, and cutlasses, and kept guard on the port day and night to prevent the landing of the teas. The captains themselves would gladly have sailed away with their obnoxious cargoes in safety, but the governor very foolishly gave orders that they should not pass the ports without a permit from himself, and he sent admiral Montague to guard the passages out of the harbour with two ships of war. Whatever the pretences of the Bostonians might be—and they still protested that they desired to remain a dependence of England—their acts now were revolutionary. The home government was set at defiance by arms: and it would have been sufficient for the tea ships to have returned and reported their inability to remain in the port of Boston without certain destruction of cargo, to have called forth the executive powers of the nation.

A meeting was held in Boston on the 16th of December, at which Josiah Quincy, junior, told the people that the contest must end in bullets and cannon balls; that they who imagined that shouts and hosannas could terminate the trials of the day, deceived themselves. A message was sent from the meeting demanding of the governor that the ships should be sent home again, and, on the governor refusing, a man, disguised as an Indian, gave a wild war-whoop in the meeting, and the meeting hastened to separate.

But it separated only to reassemble again in a different shape. As the evening grew dark, those who had quitted the meeting were met by whole mobs arrayed as will

Indians, who hurried down to Griffin's Wharf, where the tea ships lay, and rushing tumultuously on board, and hoisting out the tea chests, emptied them into the sea amid much triumph and noise. Having thus destroyed teas to the amount of eighteen thousand pounds, the mob retreated to their houses; but, says John Adams, in his private diary, "many persons wished that as many dead carcasses were floating in the harbour as there were chests of tea." The rancour of the Bostonians had reached the blood heat. Governor Hutchinson hastened to inform his government of what had taken place, and to assure it that it had not been in his power to prevent the destruction of the tea, unless he had yielded the authority reposed in him by the crown of England. It never seems to have occurred to Hutchinson to call out the troops and land the goods under their protection. In the whole of this contest with the American colonies it will be seen that nothing could exceed the weakness of the governors there, the miserable mediocrity of the commanders, or the headstrong fatuity of the government at home, which was continually passing irritating acts, or sending out irritating orders, without taking the necessary precautions of having force in the colonies capable of supporting the executive in its functions.

The parliament opened its session on the 13th of January, 1774. There were the usual questions mooted as to the amount of the navy, the motion of alderman Sawbridge for the shortening of parliaments, and for inquiring into the acts of government regarding the Middlesex election. But the chief measure passed was the bill for rendering perpetual the act of Grenville for referring questions regarding controverted elections to committee, which was passed by two hundred and fifty votes to one hundred and twenty-two against government. Lord North, with his usual impolicy, was decided against rendering this useful act necessary, and found himself deserted by a whole host of the usual supporters of ministers. Such a blind and unpopular act would have broken up North's cabinet, had not the news arrived from Boston and engaged the passions of the nation on the same side with him.

On the 7th of March the king sent a message to both houses, announcing the proceedings at Boston, the destruction of the teas: and a mass of papers was sent down to the house of commons, including the dispatches of governor Hutchinson, of admiral Montague, letters from the consignees of the teas, and other communications from governors and officers of the other colonies, with copies of the numerous inflammatory handbills, pamphlets, manifestoes, &c., which had been circulated in America. The sensation was intense. A warm debate ensued as to the course of action necessary, and an address to the king was agreed to, strongly condemning the conduct of the Rhode Islanders and the Bostonians. At this juncture, Mr. Bollen, the agent for the Massachusetts council, begged to lay before the house of commons the charters of queen Elizabeth and her successors, securing the liberties of that colony. The charters were received and laid on the table.

The news from Boston could not have arrived at a moment when the public mind was more ill-disposed towards the Americans. The affair of the abstraction of Mr. Whately's private letters from his house or office, and

their publication, contrary to all custom and to its own engagement, by the Massachusetts assembly, had produced a deep conviction in all classes in England of the utter disregard of honour both in the American colonists and of their agent, Franklin. This disgraceful violation of the sacred security of private papers roused the indignation of Mr. William Whately, banker, in Lombard-street, and brother to the late Mr. Thomas Whately. He conceived strong suspicions of John Temple, afterwards Sir John Temple, lieutenant-governor of New Hampshire, and, though one of the commissioners of customs at Boston, really hostile to the commission, and a strong partisan of Franklin. Whately challenged Temple, and was severely wounded in the rencontre. At this, Franklin came forward with an avowal that neither the late Mr. Whately nor Mr. Temple had anything to do with the carrying off of the letters; that he alone was responsible for this act. Franklin then proceeded to state what was perfectly untrue—that these were not private letters between friends, but by public officers on public affairs, and intended to procure public measures. This was contrary to the whole of the facts which we have stated; and Franklin proceeded to assert what was equally untrue—that the only secrecy attached to the letters was, that they should not be put into the hands of any colonial agent, who might send them, or copies of them, to America. If even the smallest part of this were true—for Franklin was such an agent—he had acted contrary to his own pledge to keep the secret, being the very man to send them to the public assembly of Massachusetts.

In consequence of these circumstances, occasion was taken, on the presentation of the petition of the people of Boston, for the removal of the governor and lieutenant of Massachusetts, to the privy council, to animadvert severely on Franklin's conduct. This took place on the 29th of January, when Dunning and Lee were retained on the part of the petition, and Wedderburn, the solicitor-general, appeared for the crown. There were no less than thirty-five privy councillors present, amongst them lord North, and lord Gower at their head, as lord president. There was an intense excitement on the occasion, and a severe crush to obtain entrance; and, amongst the persons struggling in, were Burke and Dr. Priestley.

Neither Dunning nor Lee spoke effectively, but as if they by no means relished the cause in which they were engaged; while Wedderburn seemed animated by extraordinary life and bitterness. He was the friend of Whately, who was now lying in a dangerous state from his wound. After speaking of the charter and the insubordinate temper of the people of Massachusetts, he fell with withering sarcasm on Franklin, who was present. "Hitherto," he said, "private correspondence had been held sacred, even in times of the most rancorous party fury. But here was a gentleman who had a high rank amongst philosophers, and should be the last to sanction such infamous breaches of honour, openly avowing his concern in them. He asked where, henceforth, Dr. Franklin could show his face; that henceforth he must deem it a libel to be termed 'a man of letters.' Amidst tranquil events, here is a man who, with the utmost insensibility of remorse, starts up and avows

himself the author of all. I can compare him only to Zanga, in Dr. Young's 'Revenge:'—

Know, then, 'twas I;
I forged the letter—I disposed the picture—
I hated—I despised—and I destroy!

I ask, my lords, whether the revengeful temper attributed to the bloody African is not surpassed by the coolness and apathy of the wily American?"

Priestley, in a letter, describes the effect of Wedderburn's address as received with what must seem a mad merriment by the council. "Mr. Wedderburn had a complete triumph. At the sallies of his sarcastic wit, all the members of the council, the president himself, lord Gower, not excepted, frequently laughed outright; and no person belonging to the council behaved himself with decent gravity, except lord North, who came in late."

Franklin is said to have felt so keenly the invectives of Wedderburn and the laughter of the council, that from that day he resolved to himself to do his utmost to effect the separation of the colonies. That the not undeserved castigation which he received did deepen the feeling, is most probable, but the feeling had evidently been long in his bosom, and all his actions showed it. It is added, that from that hour he carefully laid by the dress of figured Manchester velvet, which he wore on that occasion, until the day on which he signed the treaty which acknowledged the independence of the United States. Yet, both Franklin and the other leaders of the colonists still kept on the mask of moderation, and of a pretended desire to retain the union with the mother country, though we have it, on the authority of Adam Smith, that Franklin said, with much triumph, in the presence of a particular friend of his, that, "whatever measures Great Britain might choose to pursue, whether mild or rigorous, they would equally tend to bring about that great and desirable event—the entire independence of America."

The privy council decided that the petition from Massachusetts was framed on false and exaggerated allegations, and was groundless, vexatious, and scandalous. Two days afterwards, the king dismissed Franklin from the office, which he had till now held, of deputy-postmaster of America—a circumstance calculated to deepen his animosity, for, from all that we can gather from Franklin's writings, he had a much deeper and more lively idea of the value of money than of the value of high principles in matters of diplomacy.

And what were the measures which the British government resorted to in order to reduce the rebellious colonies to obedience? The obvious measure was to send out fresh troops, and to maintain such a garrison in all the great seaports as should back the civil authorities in just and prudent acts. But it has been well observed by a modern historian, that however the separation of America must have occurred at some later period, its severance then was the work "of the most marvellous and incredulous combination of accident, craft, imbecility, and madness," that ever arose. Instead of strengthening its power, the government hastened to pass a series of bills, each more calculated to enrage the Bostonians than another, without thinking of a single means of enforcing these bills. So far from this enforce-

ment, they were obviously not capable of maintaining the laws already in existence.

On the 14th of March lord North moved to bring in a bill to take away from Boston the customs, the courts of justice, and government offices, and give them to New Salem. This bill was carried through both houses with little opposition. Bollen, the agent of the council of Massachusetts, desired to be heard against the bill, but was refused. It received the royal assent on the 31st of March, and the trade of Boston was annihilated.

On the 19th of April Mr. Rose Fuller moved that the house, in committee, should consider the propriety of repealing the obnoxious tea duty. The ministers replied that certainly this was not the moment to argue that question; that every act of concession so far had only produced augmented insolence on the part of the colonists; and as to the right of taxing the Americans through customs, port duties, &c., the weight of legal and philosophical authority was in favour of it. To say nothing of Grenville, Townshend, and Rockingham, Chatham, Gibbon, Burke, Hume, Dr. Johnson, Adam Smith, Soame Jenyns, and others, had always held that right as unquestionable.

Whilst this bill was passing the lords, on the 28th of March lord Gower brought a fresh one into the commons, which had no less object than the repeal of the charter of Massachusetts. It was entitled, "A bill for the better regulating government in the province of Massachusetts Bay." It went to remove the nomination of the members of the council, of the judges and magistrates, &c., from the popular constituencies to the crown. Lord North observed that the charter of William III. had conferred these privileges on Massachusetts as exceptional to all other colonies, and that the consequence was that the governor had no power whatever. Strong opposition was made to this proposed bill by Dowdeswell, Sir George Saville, Burke, Barré, governor Pownall, and general Conway. Conway asked of what crimes and errors the New Englanders had been really guilty, and prophesied only just exasperation, misfortune, and ruin. Lord North, in reply, said, "Do you ask what the people of Boston have done? I will tell you, then. They have tarred and feathered your subjects, plundered your merchants and your ships, denied all obedience to your laws and authority. Our conduct has been clement and long-forbearing; but now it is incumbent to take a different course. Whatever may be the consequence, we must risk something, or all is lost."

Amongst the most powerful opponents to the bill appeared Charles James Fox. Fox had displayed no particular talent so long as he was in the ministerial ranks. He appeared quite satisfied to receive his salary, and to squander that and a great deal more in gambling; but no sooner did his father, lord Holland, set him at ease by paying off his debts, the amount of which was one hundred and forty thousand pounds, and he not yet twenty-five, than he showed himself considerably restive. On the opening of parliament he made speeches greatly to the astonishment and indignation of the king and his ministers. Remonstrance producing no effect, on the 24th of February a letter from lord North was put into his hands, in these laconic terms:—"Sir, his majesty has

thought proper to order a new commission of the treasury to be made out, in which I do not perceive your name."

Thus summarily dismissed, Fox started forth a full-length reformer; opposed the Boston Port Bill in a style which startled his old colleagues, who had not suspected the volcano of talent and of freedom slumbering there. He again attacked the charter bill, contending that, before such a bill was passed, compensation should be demanded from the Bostonians for the teas destroyed, and that, till such compensation was refused, such a bill was premature. Pownall foretold that the corresponding committees, which were in full activity, would recommend a congress, and that it was easier to foresee the consequences than to prevent them; and Barré also prognosticated the application to France, and her ready assistance to the colonies, in revenge of the loss of Canada. Probably these suggestions of the opposition were the first hints to the colonies for the adoption of these very measures. The bill passed the commons by a majority of two hundred and thirty-nine against sixty-four; and it passed the lords by a majority of ninety-two against twenty.

Nor had government done with its bills. A bill was brought into the lords for the better quartering and regulating the troops in the colonies; and on the 27th of May Chatham attended, and spoke in strong condemnation of the conduct of the people of Boston, but in still stronger of the irritating acts of the ministers towards them. He recommended milder measures, and that then, should these not succeed, he was ready to join in more stringent ones, such as should make them feel what it was to offend a fond and forgiving parent.

But even now another bill passed the house of commons—a bill for removing to another colony for trial any inhabitant of Massachusetts Bay, who was indicted for any murder or other capital offence which the governor might deem to be perpetrated in the attempt to put down tumults and riots. This measure was still more vehemently opposed than the rest. Colonel Barré referred to the trial and acquittal of captain Preston, as a proof that the juries of Boston were to be trusted. But, in the midst of these debates, news arrived of a fresh ship, named the *Fortune*, which had been emptied of its teas at Boston, and the whole destroyed. On this, lord North exclaimed, "Gentlemen talk of the people of Boston seeing their error! Is this, sir, seeing their error? Is this, sir, reforming? this making restitution to the East India Company? Surely, after this, no person will urge anything in their defence?"

Before the debate closed, Mr. Rose Fuller uttered these prophetic words:—"I will now take leave of your whole plan; you will commence your ruin from this day. I am sorry to say, that not only the house has fallen into this error, but the people; and, if ever there was a nation running headlong into ruin, it is this." In the lords it encountered an equally strenuous opposition, but it passed both houses by large majorities. Still, there was one more bill; but this related to the province of Canada. The French catholic inhabitants amounted to one hundred and fifty thousand, whilst the protestants were said to amount only to about four hundred. The French people had repeatedly petitioned for the recognition of their faith by law; and this bill, whilst it defined the boundaries of the colony,

including in it all lands in the back settlements, not named in any previous charter, consented to the prayer of the majority of the inhabitants in favour of their religion. This gave extreme offence to the rigid puritan population of New England, but was undoubtedly the most judicious of all this batch of acts, for it rendered the natives of Canada loyal, and perfectly insensible to all the after attempts of the American insurgents to win them over to their party. Besides leaving the catholics in full enjoyment of their religion, but only within their own community, it made provision for the protestant faith, and it left the Canadians in possession of their ancient laws, except that in criminal cases the trial by jury was introduced. A provincial assembly was established, which was to be appointed and dismissed by the crown, and to take cognisance of all colonial matters, except taxation.

To commence a course of more rigour in Massachusetts, governor Hutchinson was recalled, and general Gage, a man who had seen service, and had the reputation of firmness and promptitude, was appointed in his stead. He set out for his new government with high expectations of what he should be able to effect, declaring that the Americans would only prove lions so long as the English continued lambs. Governor Hutchinson, on his arrival, confirmed the ministry in these ideas. Indeed, one of the great mistakes of the English altogether, had been always to entertain a contempt for the colonists. That they were nothing short of cowards, had been openly asserted by lord Sandwich in the peers, and colonel Grant in the commons. The name of "Yankee" was become an epithet of ridicule, being originally merely the corruption of the word *Anglois* by the Indians. These remarks excited the deepest resentment in America.

But the mischief of the new acts became rapidly apparent, and all the prophecies of congresses and resistance were soon realised. Had the Boston Port Bill alone been passed, perhaps not much harm might have been done. There were numbers of people all over America who were of opinion that Boston had gone too far in destroying the tea, and might have remained passive if the Bostonians had been compelled to make compensation. But the fatal act was that which abolished the Massachusetts charter. That made the cause common; that excited one universal alarm. If the English government were thus permitted to strike out the colonial charters at pleasure, all security had perished. All the colonies determined to support their own cause in supporting that of Massachusetts. Those who adhered to the English government were henceforth known only as "tories;" and men like colonel Washington, who had hitherto belonged to the moderate party, now assumed a more hostile tone. The language of the opposition in England added to the encouragement of the most determined; and the death of Louis XV. of France kindled a hope that his more moral and well-disposed successor might be induced to sympathise with a people struggling for independence against the power which had driven France from the North American States.

The Virginians were the first to move to lead the movement. Patrick Henry and Thomas Jefferson took the initiative in a measure which would have better suited the character of the religious New Englanders. They rum-

magel, according to Jefferson's own memoirs, the old records of the parliamentary proceedings against Charles I. The school in which these new revolutionists studied is thus indicated:—"With the help of Rushton," says Jefferson, "whom we rummaged for revolutionary precedents, and from the puritans of that day, we cooked up a resolution, somewhat modernising their phrases, for appointing the 6th of June, on which the Port Bill was to commence, for a day of fasting, humiliation, and prayer, to implore Heaven to avert from us the evil of civil war; to inspire us with firmness in support of our rights, and to turn the hearts of king and parliament to moderation and justice." Conscious, however, that neither of these concoctors of the resolutions had much venerability of character to add weight to such a motion, they applied to a solemn elder, Robert Carter Nicholas, to move it, which he did, and it passed without opposition.

The next day, however, being the 25th of May, lord Dunmore, the governor of the province, dissolved the assembly, expressing much displeasure at the resolution. The members, nothing daunted, retired to the Raleigh Tavern, and, in their favourite retreat, the Apollo Chamber, passed a series of resolutions. The chief of these were to purchase nothing of the East India Company, except saltpetre and spices, until their injuries were redressed; to request the members of all corresponding committees to take measures for the appointment of members to a general congress, thus immediately adopting the idea of governor Pownall; that the new members of the assembly (the writs for which were already issuing) should meet at Williamsburg, to elect delegates from that colony to the congress. This done, the members all separated to their own homes, having agreed to solicit the clergy to recommend from their pulpits the general keeping of the fast-day of the 1st of June. This recommendation was adopted by the clergy, and Jefferson says that its effect throughout the colony was electrical.

In the meantime, general Gage landed at Boston on the 13th of May. The Port Bill had preceded him a few days, and the tone of the other colonies rendered the Bostonians firmer in their temper than ever. Gage had married an American lady, and he was received with every show of cordiality and respect by the council, the magistrates, and principal gentlemen. He was invited to a public dinner, and the same evening Hutchinson was burnt in effigy. The next day a meeting was called, which showed what sort of stuff Gage would have to deal with. The resolve of the meeting was to stop all importation and exportation from Great Britain and the West Indies until the Port Act was repealed. The copy of the Port Act was printed with a broad black border, and the document was circulated all over the colonies, with fierce comments, and the denunciation of the act as "a barbarous, cruel, bloody, and inhuman murder." In many places it was burned publicly. At New York, where parties were more equally balanced, threats were used to compel the inhabitants to sympathise with the people of Boston. At Philadelphia, except the Quakers, who chiefly adhered to the government, there was a general agreement to keep the fast, and, under the name of "the Solemn League and Covenant," an association to



NORTH AMERICAN FOREST SCENE.

refrain from consumption of English goods was formed, and a subscription was set on foot, and recommended generally through the corresponding societies, for the assistance of those Bostonians who should be sufferers from the loss of their trade.

On the 25th of May general Gage announced to the assembly at Boston the unpleasant fact, that he was bound

to remove, on the 1st of June, the assembly, the courts of justice, and all the public offices, to Salem, in conformity with the late act. As they petitioned him to set apart a day for fasting, he declined that, and, to prevent further trouble, adjourned them to the 7th of June, to meet at Salem. The first thing on their meeting was to appoint a committee to inquire into the state of the province; whilst

this was sitting, Mr. Samuel Adams, acting in concert with Mr. Warren, employed himself in working up the members of the assembly by what was called a CAUCUS, a word of mighty influence to the present day in America, meaning a private meeting to carry out certain cut-and-dried measures. Samuel Adams was a man who had lost character by having embezzled and applied to his own purposes a large amount of taxes, when collector; but, since these uneasy agitations commenced, he had shown so much talent for managing political movements, that his countrymen were willing to forget the past, and he had been rapidly growing into influence. Adams was so successful, that he had got more than thirty members ready to adopt his plans for raising the

the members of the caucus had accomplished their object, and they dispersed in high glee at the carrying through of this not very creditable trick. The five hundred pounds had to be collected; but they found no difficulty in this, the people regarding the resolution as a valid act of assembly.

The citizens of New York favourable to the revolutionary movement entered into active correspondence with the other colonies for the summoning of the congress, and John Jay, one of the earliest and most zealous fathers of the revolution, has had the credit of being the first to suggest a congress, but we have seen that the people of Virginia had already done this, and that governor Pownall, still earlier, had thrown out the idea.



THE COLONISTS UNDER LIBERTY TREE.

spirit of the colony against the act, the whole of this being kept unknown to the friends of government. The scheme was to vote the appointment of a committee, consisting of Samuel and John Adams, and three others, to meet the other provincial committees at Philadelphia on the 1st of September. On the 17th of June the assembly, therefore, suddenly closed their doors, and proceeded to vote this scheme, and five hundred pounds for the expenses of their delegates. A hint of the proceedings, however, being carried to general Gage, he instantly sent his secretary to dissolve them. He found the doors closed, and was refused entrance, whereupon he read the proclamation upon the stairs in the hearing of a number of members who were shut out. But

On the 1st of June, according to the arrangements of general Gage, as the clock struck twelve, all the public offices were closed, and the whole official business was transferred to Salem. But the wide discontent of the people met him there as much as at Boston. When the assembly met, which was in the following week, such was its spirit that general Gage felt that he must dissolve it again. Instead of the people of Salem rejoicing in the good fortune intended for them, by the transfer of the trade and the expenditure of government money there, they sent up an address, declaring that they should be dead to every idea of justice and feeling of humanity, if they thought of improving their fortunes at the expense of their Boston neighbours.

There were, however, a great many exceptions to the fiery and revolutionary spirit still. An address, signed by one hundred and twenty gentlemen and merchants of Boston, expressed their regret at the lawless violence of their countrymen and townsmen. The justices of the county of Plymouth, met in sessions, declared their deep concern at seeing committees of correspondence, and clergymen, whose office was to preach peace, entering into a league calculated to exasperate the mother country, and to destroy the order of society. There were others amongst the wealthy people of Boston who offered to raise money and pay the East India Company for their teas which had been destroyed; but the multitude were far beyond ideas so honourable, and these attempts at justice and moderation only, like oil flung upon fire, made the conflagration the more furious.

General Gage, seeing the lowering aspect of affairs, took the precaution to throw more troops into the neighbourhood, so that he had some six regiments, with a train of artillery, when he encamped on the common near Boston. Active emissaries were immediately sent amongst these troops, who, by presents of ardent spirits and fine promises, seduced a considerable number from their duty. To prevent this, he stationed a strong guard at Boston Neck, a narrow isthmus connecting the town with the common and open country. On this a vehement cry was raised, that he was going to cut off all communication with the country, blockade the town, and reduce it to submission by famine. The inhabitants of the county of Worcester sent a deputation to inquire Gage's intentions, and they did not omit to hint that, if necessary, they would drive in the guard with arms; and, in fact, besides the arms which most Americans then had, others had been supplied to such as were too poor to purchase them. Gordon, their historian, tells us that the people were preparing to defend their rights by the sword; that they were supplying themselves from Boston with guns, knapsacks, &c. According to the militia law, most men were well furnished with muskets and powder, and were now busily employed in exercising themselves; that all was bustle, casting balls, and making ready for a struggle.

Gage, seeing all this, removed the gunpowder and the military stores from Charleston, Cambridge, and other localities, to his own quarters. This, again, excited a deep rage in the people, who threatened to attack his troops. To prevent this, he went on briskly with his defences on the Neck; but what he did by day the mob endeavoured to undo by night. They set fire to his supplies of straw; they sunk the boats that were bringing bricks, and overturned his wagons conveying timber. Nothing but the greatest patience and forbearance prevented an instant collision.

A meeting of delegates from the towns of the county of Suffolk—of which Boston was the chief—was held in September, which, in spite of the governor's proclamation of its illegality, went on to declare that the acts of the late parliament were not to be obeyed—they were the proceedings of a wicked administration; that no taxes should be paid to government; that all public monies should be retained in the hands of the collectors till congress should direct their appropriation; that the persons who had accepted seats in the assembly by a mandamus from the king had acted in direct violation of the duty they owed to

their country, and that all who did not resign before the 20th of that month should be pronounced incorrigible enemies of their country; that the late act, establishing the Roman catholic religion in Canada, was highly dangerous to the protestant religion, and to the rights and liberties of all America; that all persons were to perfect themselves in the use of arms, to elect only such militia officers as were staunch friends to the rights of the people, and whenever it was rumoured that the governor intended to apprehend sundry persons, it was required that, on such arrests, the people should seize every servant of the government, and only release them on the release of their friends uninjured. They also sent an address to general Gage, protesting against his fortifications, as evidently meant to be employed to the injury of the public; to which the governor replied, that, on the contrary, they were meant for the simple defence of his troops and the preservation of peace, and would not be used at all, except to repel any hostile attempt on their part.

Meantime, the members of the council of Massachusetts had been named, according to the late act of parliament, to the number of thirty-six; but of these only twenty-four would take the oaths, and even half of these, terrified by the most deadly menaces, soon resigned. It was the same with the courts of justice; the juries summoned, to a man, refused to serve. Sheriffs, magistrates, clerks, and other officers, were equally deterred from acting; and those who did not coalesce with the people fled into Boston. Such was the state of things in this province; the soldiers were entrenched in their camp; the whole of the judicial and executive life of the colony was suspended, and only a single spark of popular offence needed at any hour to burst into the explosion of civil war.

But the commotion was by no means local. The Virginians, with Jefferson, and Henry, and Randolph at their head, were as busy brewing the tempest. On the 1st of August they held their convention to prepare the instructions for their delegates to the congress. Jefferson drew up a fiery article, denying the right of a hundred and sixty thousand electors in England to make laws for four millions of people in America. The number of Americans was grossly exaggerated by this statement; but the document went on to deny that the king had any right to a yard of land within the province, or to send a single armed man to those shores; that he had no right to lay any tax, or interfere in any manner with their trade. This was, in fact, a full declaration of independence. But Jefferson, in his zeal, was without the prudence of his more politic contemporaries. Though they thought much as he did, they did not yet want to alienate the opposition in England by avowing their real sentiments. A new set of instructions was therefore drawn up, professing their undiminished loyalty to the crown of England, and their determination to support the king in all his just rights with their lives and fortunes; admitting how deeply indebted the planters were to the merchants of Great Britain, and their desire to maintain the old connection; at the same time declaring that they were bound to sympathise with and support the people of Massachusetts; and protesting that, if general Gage's proclamation against the Solemn League and Covenant was attempted to be carried out, it would justify

resistance and reprisals. They instructed their delegates to subscribe for the sufferers in Boston as the congress should see fit, and to declare their determination to export no tobacco after the 10th of August till they obtained redress. The delegates elected were, Peyton Randolph, George Washington, Patrick Henry, Richard Henry Lee, Richard Bland, Edmund Pendleton, and Benjamin Harrison.

This important congress met at Philadelphia on the 4th of September, when all the delegates, except those of North Carolina, who did not arrive till the 14th, were found to represent twelve states, namely: the four New England States, Virginia, Pennsylvania, Maryland, New York, New Jersey, Delaware, and the two Carolinas. The number of delegates was fifty-five, including nearly all those afterwards honoured with the title of *patres patriæ*, except Franklin, who was yet in England. These delegates had been elected in various modes, and the numbers from different states were very various, some sending eight, some only two. It was settled, however, that, whatever the number of delegates, each colony should have one vote. The instructions from different colonies were also found to be as various, some being extremely violent, some moderate, and others verging on vagueness and indifference.

The next day they assembled in Carpenters' Hall for business, and elected Peyton Randolph, late speaker of the Virginian house of burgesses, president. The debates were opened by Patrick Henry, the popular and democratic orator of Virginia. It was soon found that so much diversity of opinion prevailed, that it was deemed prudent, in order to preserve the air of unanimity, to deliberate with closed doors. It was clear that Massachusetts and Virginia were ready for war; but it became equally clear that other states yet clung with all the attachment of blood and old connection to the fatherland. Nothing can express this more strongly than the extract of a letter from Mr. Reed, afterwards adjutant-general to Washington, addressed at this moment from the seat of congress to lord Dartmouth:—"Believe me, my lord, no king ever had more loyal subjects, or any country more affectionate colonists, than the Americans were. I, who am but a young man, well remember when the king was always mentioned with respect approaching to adoration; and to be an Englishman was alone a sufficient recommendation for an office of friendship or civility. But I confess, with the greatest concern, that the happy days seem passing swiftly away, and, unless some scheme of accommodation can be speedily formed, the affections of the colonists will be irrevocably lost."

Even at this late period, it would appear that if we had had a king, or a great minister, capable of discovering the, to us, palpable fact, that there ought to be no taxation without representation, the storm might have blown over. Strong and long-continued, according to Mr. Joseph Galloway, one of their own members, were the debates; and though they finally, and, from their system of secrecy, with an air of unanimity, drew up strong resolutions, they were more moderately expressed than the instructions of many of the delegates. They concluded on a Declaration of Rights, in which they asserted that they had neither lost the rights of nature, nor the privileges of Englishmen, by emigration; consequently, that the late acts of parliament had been

gross violations of those rights, especially as affecting Massachusetts. They therefore passed resolutions to suspend all imports, or use of imported goods, until harmony was restored betwixt Great Britain and her colonies. An association was formed to carry these resolutions out, to which every member subscribed.

They then composed addresses to the king of England, expressing their loyal affection; and one much more significant to the people of England, telling how tyrannically these loyal colonies had been treated, and that this policy was but the prelude to the same despotism at home. Another was to the French of Canada, calling on them to make common cause with the other American colonies. They assured them that all the American colonies must stand or fall together; part oppressed, all must be oppressed; part successful in maintaining their rights, all must be so. That they were all bound in one bright and strong chain of interest; that Nature had joined their country to the other colonies. They appealed to them by their eloquent writer, Montesquieu, and his "*Esprit des Lois*."

But, as regarded the Canadians, they had already fatally committed themselves. They had lately denounced the act of Great Britain, which gave to the Canadians the full exercise of their religion, and pronounced that act disastrous to the protestantism of the American colonies. England had given Canada all that it asked—the retention of the French laws and of the catholic religion. This was more than the fierce puritans of New England were likely to do; and their address to the Canadians fell flat, as their invasion of the country afterwards did. Had the English government been as conceding to the other American colonies as to Canada, the trouble had soon been over. Similar letters were addressed to the inhabitants of Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, and to those of Georgia and East and West Florida, with very similar want of response.

Having adjourned till the 10th of May of the next year, the congress dissolved itself on the 26th of October, and the delegates then hastened home to keep alive the flame of their revived zeal in every quarter of the continent. Though the more violent paper of instructions for the delegates, drawn up by Jefferson, had been superseded by a milder one, this paper was made to do duty in the form of a pamphlet entitled, "A Summary View of the Rights of British America," and zealously circulated. Within the doors of the congress, too, there had been heard far more fiery harangues than they had allowed to issue out of doors. Amongst the most determined incendiaries was the Bostonian defaulter, Samuel Adams, who seemed to have adopted the task of blowing the fire of hatred to England with greatest unction. He exclaimed, "I would advise persisting in our struggle for liberty, though it was revealed from Heaven that nine hundred and ninety-nine were to perish, and only one of a thousand to survive and retain his liberty!" But the bulk of the colonists were far from this self-immolating pitch of virtue. They were ready to concede a great deal to secure partisans, and to retain the adhesion of South Carolina, which threatened to secede if they were not allowed to export rice to Europe. They permitted that exception, as they afterwards made a more fatal concession

to the slave states—that of retaining slavery—an abandonment of principle which is now menacing them with a frightful Nemesis.

But, whilst congress was sitting, the spirit of revolution was every day growing more rife in Massachusetts. Governor Gage had issued writs for a new assembly, which was to meet at Salem on the 5th of October; but so many of the *newly*-appointed members refused to act, that he issued a proclamation to countermand the writs. The patriots, however, set the proclamation at defiance; and confident, from the resignation of the timid loyalists, that they were in a majority, met at Salem, and formed themselves into a provincial congress, to be joined by such other persons as should be chosen for the consideration of public affairs. They then adjourned to Concord, a town about twenty-five miles from Boston, and elected John Hancock, the owner of the Liberty sloop, as president. They appointed a standing committee, to be called the "Committee of Safety," a precedent adopted not only by the other colonies, but afterwards by the French in their revolution, "*Comité du Salut Public*."

They then sent a deputation to governor Gage, to remonstrate on the maintenance of his camp so near Boston, as menacing to the liberties and lives of the colonists. Gage, who might very properly have refused to receive a deputation from an unconstitutional body, prudently waived that consideration, received them, and told them that their pretence of fear from the troops was simply absurd; that they had seen that, notwithstanding the constant provocations of the people, the troops had calmly refrained from every attempt at injury or retaliation; that, so far from his violating the constitution, it was they who at this moment were there in open violation of it.

Returning from this interview, where they certainly had the worst of the argument, they proceeded to still more warlike measures. They adjourned to Cambridge, and constituted Concord the depot of arms and ammunition for twelve thousand militia. They appointed as generals, Jeremiah Pribble and Ardenias Ward, who had seen some service in the Canadian war, and enrolled the militia under the name of MINUTE MEN, or men who were to turn out, at a minute's notice, with musket or rifle. They appointed committees and sub-committees for different purposes, and, in fact, put the province into a perfect attitude of war.

Gage had troops sufficient to irritate, but not to overawe, and he found himself in the greatest straits. It was almost impossible to procure carpenters to build the necessary barracks for his soldiers. He was obliged to bring all his provisions by sea; and he was in danger of having the royal guns of the town batteries turned upon him, and he sent a party of sailors by night to spike them.

The newly-constituted provincial congress of Massachusetts now openly declared for commencement of hostilities. They proposed to fix a day for an attack on the king's troops. Those who disapproved of these violent proceedings, without being able to check them, began to absent themselves from the congress, under pleas of indisposition; but the sultry-souled Samuel Adams soon put a stop to this backsliding, by carrying a motion, that all members incapable of attendance should immediately resign, and their

places be filled up by their constituents. It was resolved that general Gage's troops should be attacked whenever they marched out of their present entrenchment with baggage and ammunition. They called on Rhode Island, Connecticut, and New Hampshire, to augment the militia from twelve thousand to twenty thousand men; and they issued an address to all dissenting ministers to exhort their congregations to take their stand against the attempts of England to reduce the colonies to slavery. Early in December this provincial congress prorogued itself; but the spirit it had sent abroad was not for a moment prorogued.

News arrived that the king, by proclamation, had prohibited the exportation of all arms and military stores to America. This news was received with a burst of rage. The people of Rhode Island, who had burnt the king's schooner, *Gaspee*, seized forty pieces of cannon on the batteries defending the harbour, and carried them into the country. The people of New Hampshire surprised a small fort called "William and Mary," garrisoned only by one officer and five men, and carried off all the ordnance, arms, ammunition, and military stores. Everywhere orders were issued for the purchase of arms and ammunition; for training the militia; for erecting powder mills, and manufactories of arms and shot, as well as for making saltpetre. So far as it depended on the people of Massachusetts, it was already rebellion. Still, however, the other colonies, except, perhaps, Virginia, were far from this bellicose temper. The colonies, in general, thought the measures of the late congress too strong; and the state of New York, spite of the impetuosity of such men as Jay, carried a vote rejecting the resolutions of the congress.

In England, their indefatigable agent, Franklin, lost no time in giving all possible publication to the resolutions and addresses of the congress as they arrived, especially those which warned the English people that the slavery of America was meant only to introduce the destruction of their own rights. He sent his sub-agents throughout the manufacturing towns of the north of England, to show to the people there how their trade would suffer through the non-importation of their goods by the Americans, and to excite them to petition for the rights of the colonies.

To neutralise Franklin's active representatives, Adam Smith, the celebrated author of the "*Wealth of Nations*," implored Dr. Roebuck, of Birmingham, an eminent physician, to make a tour through the manufacturing districts, and unveil to the people the real objects of the American colonists. This movement was managed by Wedderburn, the solicitor-general, who exerted himself in other ways to discredit the proceedings of Franklin.

The parliament of England had now nearly run its septennial course, and was accordingly dissolved on the 30th of September. Such was the feeling of resentment in this country against the proceedings of the Americans, that the new parliament sent up gave the ministers an increased majority. In Middlesex, notwithstanding, no competitor appeared against Wilkes and Glynn, and they were both returned. In the city the opposition also triumphed, and Wilkes was elected lord mayor. Thus at once he saw himself member for Middlesex and chief magistrate of the city. Whilst the condition of the colonies occasioned them so

much anxiety, the government had wisely determined to drop further opposition to Wilkes at home; and the event might have shown them how much wiser it would have been to have let him alone from the first, for, the moment he was permitted to take his seat in parliament, he sank into insignificance. A mere cipher in the commons, he managed to secure the office of city chamberlain, which he held to his death in 1797. Such was the change in the feeling of parliament on this subject that, after having so long incensed the whole country, and actually violated the constitution in opposition to Wilkes, they allowed him, in 1782, to carry a vote for expunging the whole of the proceedings against him from the journals. Wilkes became a constant supporter of Pitt's administration, and attended the king's levees, where George became so convinced, by closer observation, of the smallness of the man whom the folly of his ministers had exalted into a hero, that he used to address very gracious observations to his old bugbear; and on one occasion, asking Wilkes after his friend Glynn, with his characteristic impudence Wilkes replied, "Pray, sir, do not call sergeant Glynn my friend; he was a WILKESITE, which, I can assure your majesty, I never was!"

The new parliament met on the 29th of November. The king, in his speech, alluded to the determined resistance to the imperial authority of the American colonists, and pre-eminently of those of Massachusetts Bay. He called upon parliament to support him in his endeavours to restore order. There was strong opposition to the addresses in both houses, demands being made for a full production of all papers and correspondence on this great subject. Burke, in the *Annual Register*, says, the great speakers in the opposition never declared themselves more ably and eloquently; but the addresses were carried by large majorities.

What, however, astonished the public was, that after such a declaration of the insurrectionary condition of the American colonies, ministers proposed only the usual peace establishment of four thousand seamen and sixteen thousand troops. The same fatal blindness still continued to distinguish the ministry, which allowed them to see only disorders which they could at any time quell, and left them still strong in acts of parliament and feeble in active preventive measures. Now was the time to pour into the New England colonies such an amount of force as should utterly preclude resistance; and, having assumed that strong position, then gracefully to retract their unconstitutional one, and repeal the obnoxious statutes, granting to the assemblies their undoubted right to vote the necessary taxes. But ministers despised the military talent and bravery of men of their own blood and lineage, and let the mischief grow till it became irremediable.

The year 1775 opened with fresh intelligence of alarm from America. The news came down to the taking of Fort William and Mary. There was a state of great anxiety, and many speculations whether Chatham would come to town and exert himself to bring ministers to a sense of the ruin they were bringing about. Some said that he had resolved to interfere no more regarding America; but at this very time Chatham had resolved on one more great effort to avoid the calamities which the incompetent ministers were preparing for the country. He wrote to his wife,

who was in town, to say that he would be up and make a motion on American affairs, if the gout did not absolutely nail him to his bed. On the 19th of January he wrote to lord Stanhope that he would certainly be in town the next day, and knock at the minister's door to awake him. Accordingly, on the morrow, there he was, lame with the gout, but otherwise in full vigour; and there was an awful silence as he entered the house, for he had let no one but his most intimate friends know the nature of the motion that he meant to propose. He had begged that Franklin might be present, and he and numerous other Americans were seeking admittance to the bar of the house of lords. Chatham introduced Franklin himself, saying to the door-keepers, "This is Dr. Franklin!" a circumstance which caused much speculation.

Chatham, on rising, severely blamed ministers for the course which they had pursued, and which had driven the colonies to the verge of rebellion. He censured them for not sooner having laid the necessary papers before the houses of parliament; but now that they were there, he would endeavour to convey to his majesty and the country his ideas upon them. He moved that an address be immediately sent to his majesty, praying that measures might be taken, without loss of time, for settling the unhappy differences with the colonies; that the troops were useless at Boston, because no magistrate could be found to sanction their use for putting down the riots. He wished, he said, that not a day should be lost in doing this; a day, an hour, might produce years of calamity. He condemned the people of Massachusetts for their violence, but he condemned still more the arbitrary conduct of ministers which had provoked that violence. It was clear, by his still asserting that we had a right to regulate the trade of America, that he had acquired no fresh light on the real nature of import duties, and the like; but he declared that the resistance of the colonies to all internal taxation was just. He reproduced the acts of parliament which had lately passed, and in his censure of these, he certainly censured the Declaratory Act, which was his own work. "Resistance to your acts," he said, "was necessary as it was just; and your vain declarations of the omnipotence of parliament"—these were his own declarations—"and your imperious doctrines of the necessity of submission, will be found equally competent to convince or to enslave your fellow-subjects in America, who feel that tyranny, whether attempted by an individual part of the legislature, or the bodies who compose it, is equally intolerable to British subjects."

He drew a vivid picture of the situation of general Gage, who, not allowed to act against the insurgents, was only an object of irritation and contempt; and he cried—"Laying of papers on your table, or counting members in a division, will not avert or postpone the hour of danger; it must arrive, my lords; unless those fatal acts of last session are done away, it must arrive in all its horrors." He added, that it was "not merely repealing these acts of parliament—it is not cancelling a piece of parchment," he said, "that can win back America to our bosom. You must repeal her fears and her resentments."

He eulogised the conduct of the congress, and remarked that it was obvious that all attempts to impose servitude on

such men, to establish despotism over such a mighty continental nation, must be vain, must be fatal. "We shall be forced," he said, "ultimately, to retract; let us retract while we can—not when we must. I say we must necessarily undo these violently oppressive acts; they must be repealed. You will repeal them; I pledge myself for it that you will, in the end, repeal them. I stake my reputation on it. I will consent to be taken for an idiot if they are not finally repealed. Avoid, then, this humiliating, this disgraceful necessity."

He declared that the cause of America and England was one; that it was the glorious spirit of whiggism which ani-

He concluded a speech of upwards of an hour, and, according to his son, William Pitt, who was present, one of the finest speeches ever delivered, except by himself, in these words:—"If the ministers thus persevere in misadvising and misleading the king, I will not say that they can alienate the affection of his subjects from his crown, but I will affirm that they will make the crown not worth his wearing; I will not say that the king is betrayed, but I will pronounce that the kingdom is undone."

It is clear that this language of Chatham, if it did not induce the government to alter its insane policy, must wonderfully encourage the Americans; and that is the unalter-



THE RESIDENCE OF GEORGE WASHINGTON.

mated the colonists. "It is liberty to liberty engaged. In this great cause they are immovably allied; it is the alliance of God and nature—immutable, eternal—fixed as the firmament of heaven. You cannot force them, united as they are, to your unworthy terms of submission. It is impossible. And when I hear general Gage censured for inactivity, I must retort with indignation on those whose headlong measures and improvident counsels have betrayed him into his present situation. His situation reminds me, my lords, of the answer of a French general, in the civil wars of France—Monsieur de Condé—opposed to marshal Turenne. He was asked how it happened that he did not take his enemy prisoner, as he was often very near him? 'Because,' replied Condé, very honestly, 'I was afraid he might take me!'"

able nature of our free institutions, that our members of parliament are the first to proclaim to the whole world our follies and our weaknesses; to apprise our enemies what we are going to do, or not to do, and how best to defeat us. This inevitable consequence of our free deliberation on all subjects should therefore teach us never to violate the laws of justice and liberty; for, if we do, our own tongues will punish us by instructing and invigorating our antagonists. Well would it have been had the ministers been sensible of their folly, and frankly have abandoned their obstinate purpose of taxing without representation. Lords Shelburne, Camden, and Rockingham, and the duke of Richmond, zealously supported the views of Chatham, but the ministerial party opposed the motion as obstinately as ever; and it was rejected by sixty-eight votes against eighteen. The



THE SKIRMISH AT LEXINGTON.

duke of Cumberland, who was now full of vengeance against the king, on account of the Royal Marriage Act, and his exclusion from court, voted in the minority.

Chatham, undeterred by the fate of his motion, determined to make one more effort, and bring in a bill for the pacification of the colonies, and he called upon Franklin to assist in framing it. Franklin had, in the preceding autumn, been introduced at Hayes, through lord Stanhope, and Chatham had expressed his regret at what he heard, viz., that the Americans were bent on absolute separation from the mother-country. Franklin warmly protested against any such idea being entertained. He says himself, "I assured his lordship, that, having more than once travelled almost from one end of the continent to the other, and kept a great variety of company—eating, drinking, and conversing with them freely—I never heard, in any conversation, from any person, drunk or sober, the least expression of a wish for a separation, or hint that such a thing would be advantageous to America." These most positive assurances at once satisfied Chatham, as well they might, that this was the true state of the case. But what was the fact? We have the evidence of Josiah Quincy, a young American from Boston, who had taken a very active part amongst the "Sons of Liberty," and who, as the son of an old friend, was now constantly with Franklin in London. Writing at the very time that Franklin was making this solemn and earnest statement to Chatham to a friend in Boston—namely, on the 27th of November, 1774—he says, "Dr. Franklin is an American in heart and soul. You may trust him; his ideas are not contracted within the narrow limits of exemption from taxes, but are constructed upon the broad scale of *total emancipation*! He is explicit and bold upon the subject."

Righteous as was the cause of America, we have had, and shall have again, to lament that her champions often acted on her behalf by no means a high or honourable part. Duplicity and petty tricks often took the place of open and honest policy, and no one offended in this respect more than the ablest of all their champions—Dr. Franklin.

Relying firmly on Franklin's sincerity, Chatham sent to him his son-in-law, lord Mahon, an enthusiastic admirer of the philosopher, both on account of his principles of freedom and his discoveries in electricity. Lord Mahon waited on Franklin at his lodgings in Craven-street, to invite him down again to Hayes, to deliberate with Chatham on an efficient bill of reconciliation. Franklin went, and the next Sunday morning Chatham returned the visit in Craven-street, leaving his carriage at the door as the people were passing to church—a circumstance which naturally excited great curiosity, and flattered, as he confessed, extremely the vanity of the doctor. Chatham, whose words were most flattering too, told him that he came to set his judgment by his (the doctor's), as men set their watches by a regulator. On the following Tuesday, Franklin hurried down to Hayes with the draft of the bill left with him, and with his full approbation of it, having, he says, only added one word, that of "constitutions" after "charters."

The next day (Wednesday), the 1st of February, Chatham appeared in the house of lords with his bill. He declared that it was a bill not merely of concession, but of assertion,

and he called on the lords to entertain it cordially, to correct its crudenesses, and pass it for the peace of the whole empire. The bill first explicitly asserted our supreme power over the colonies; it declared that all that related to the disposing of the army belonged to the prerogative of the crown, but that no armed force could be lawfully employed against the rights and liberties of the inhabitants; that no tax, or tollage, or other charge for the revenue, should be levied without the consent of the provincial assemblies. Still, all regulations regarding trade and commerce were declared as belonging exclusively to the crown of England. It proposed that the intended congress should be held as fixed at Philadelphia, on the 9th of May, when it should, in the first place, recognize the supreme legislative right of parliament; and then, after making due provision for the support of the civil government of the respective colonies, it should make a free grant to the king of a certain perpetual revenue towards the alleviation of the national debt. And this last claim was set up on the ground that the mother country had burthened himself heavily for the defence, extension, and prosperity of the colonies. The powers of the admiralty and vice-admiralty courts in America were, according to the prayer of the last congress, to be restrained within their original limits, and it declared it unlawful to send a person indicted for murder in one province to be tried in another, or in the mother country. The acts of parliament relating to America passed since 1764 were wholly repealed; the judges were made permanent during their good behaviour, and the charters and constitutions of the several provinces were not to be infringed or set aside, unless upon some valid ground of forfeiture. All these concessions were, of course, made conditional on the recognition of the colonies of the supreme authority of parliament.

Had this bill been frankly accepted by ministers, it would have gone far to heal the rupture betwixt the mother country and her colonies. There was yet in it one clause to which it is not to be supposed the congress would have agreed—that with reference to the control of the trade of America; but it would have shown a real disposition on the part of England to recognise the rights of the subject in colonies as well as at home; and the great question of taxation being settled, this minor question might have been amicably arranged, and, in the words of Chatham, true reconciliation would have averted impending calamities. But ministers were not capable of the comprehensive vision of the great statesman; they were men of that contracted mind who are born to effect the liberation of nations by oppressing them, and thus to become the unconscious instruments of Providence for the inauguration of revolutions; and a series of revolutions, as that of France, grew out of this impending one. The earl of Dartmouth, the secretary of state for the colonies, proposed that the bill should lie on the table for deliberation. The duke of Grafton complained of the manner in which the bill had been hurried into the house, and, as Chatham in his reply observed, showed every disposition to hurry it as quickly out again. The friends of the duke of Bedford, who had joined the administration, showed the most rancorous disposition towards America. The chief of these, lord Sandwich, declared that he never could believe this bill was the work of any British peer, but rather of an

American, and he looked full at Dr. Franklin, who was leaning on the bar. He declared the Americans to be in actual rebellion; that they were not troubling themselves about mere words and nice distinctions; they were aiming at independence, and nothing else. As for commercial restrictions, why, the Americans were at this time throwing off all such restrictions—they were cultivating commercial relations with other countries. He had letters in his pocket which would prove that they had ships loading at various ports of France and Holland with East Indian produce for an American market.

This was true, and to sagacious men, instead of a cause for blind anger, it would have been one for securing still the benefits of a trade with those colonies, which must become immense. Lord Gower, another of the Bedford party, followed on the same side, and lord Dartmouth, who, at the commencement of the debate, showed considerable candour, now declared himself prepared to vote for the immediate rejection of the bill. Shelburne and Camden as strongly supported it, and Temple and Lyttleton, though objecting to some of the clauses, argued for the measure generally. Chatham, in reply, was roused to the strongest language. He said: "The bill will, I trust, remain a monument of my endeavours to serve my country, and, however faulty or defective, will, at least, manifest how zealous I have been to avoid the impending storms which seem ready to burst on us with overwhelming ruin. Yet, when I consider the whole case as it lies before me, I am not much astonished. I am not surprised that men who hate liberty should detest those who prize it, or that those who want virtue themselves should endeavour to persecute those who possess it. Were I disposed to pursue this theme to the extent that truth would bear me out in, I could demonstrate that the whole of your political conduct has been one continual series of weakness, timidity, despotism, ignorance, futility, negligence, and the most notorious servility, incapacity, and corruption. On reconsideration, I must allow you one merit—a strict attention to your own interests. In that view, you appear sound statesmen and able politicians. You well know, if the present measure should prevail, that you must instantly relinquish your places. I doubt much whether you will be able to keep them on any terms; but sure I am, such are your well-known characters and abilities, that any plan of reconciliation, however moderate, wise, and feasible, must fail in your hands. Such, then, being your precarious situation, who can wonder that you should put a negative on any measure which must annihilate your power, deprive you of your emoluments, and at once reduce you to that state of insignificance for which God and nature designed you."

Bitterer or more personal language was perhaps never used in that house; yet who shall say that it was not richly deserved? The duke of Richmond used language nearly as unsparing. Lord Shelburne and the duke of Manchester predicted the ruin of our trade, the stoppage of our manufactures, the starvation of the people, and consequent augmentation of taxes and poor rates, if the bill was rejected. Yet it was rejected by sixty-one votes against thirty-two; and from this time the die may be said to have been cast, and America lost! Lord Chatham immediately printed and

circulated his bill, to show what the ministers and house of lords had rejected.

In the meantime, numbers of petitions had been poured into the house of commons from London, Bristol, Norwich, &c., praying for measures of reconciliation with America, which were rejected. Franklin, Bollen, and Lee, as American agents, presented one in support of the demands of the general congress; but this, too, was rejected by a large majority, on the plea that the congress was an unauthorised, and therefore unrecognisable, body. Rejecting all proposals of more wise measures, on the other hand, lord North, on the 2nd of February, the very day after Chatham's proposal in the lords, moved an address of thanks to the king for laying the papers relative to America before them, and praying him to enforce the laws there, and to this end to send more soldiers. Fox moved an amendment on this motion, but it was lost by a majority of three hundred and four against one hundred and eight, and lord North's original motion was carried by an equally great majority.

Some temporary qualms of mind would seem to have followed lord Chatham's strong language, for a few days after Franklin received indirectly a sort of overture from government to enter into negotiations of a conciliatory nature. Franklin had been some time before introduced by Mr. Raper, a member of the Royal Society, to Mrs. Howe, a maiden sister of admiral lord Howe, afterwards so unfortunately selected to take the command of the fleet against the Americans. Mrs. Howe introduced Franklin to lord Howe, and Howe now intimated that if Franklin would draw up a paper as the basis of a certain settlement of the difference with America, he thought he could insure it the serious attention of lord North. Franklin accepted the office, and in a few days drew up the paper, and brought it to Lord Howe's. Franklin had meantime also discussed the subject with Mr. David Barclay, a friend of lord Dartmouth and lord Hyde. Here was a grand opportunity of coming to a perfect understanding on all essential points of this great controversy before the matter should be brought before parliament; but Franklin defeated it, and furnished one palpable proof more, that, whilst professing to lord Chatham and other ministers to desire nothing so much as the restoration of union, he was, in truth, determined, as far as in him lay, as Josiah Quincy asserted in his letter, to act only on "the broad scale of total emancipation." He had now introduced fresh conditions, demanding not only the abolition of the obnoxious statutes, and the recognition of the right of self-assessment, but that England should retire with all her ships and her soldiers, and that the colonies themselves should have the entire management of the troops; that they should not enter or be quartered in any colony without the consent of its legislature.

This was a declaration of absolute independence. If Franklin was satisfied, as he had said he was, with Chatham's bill, the introduction of these additional conditions was dishonest; if he were not satisfied with Chatham's bill, he had misled Chatham, and was deceitful. The moment Chatham saw this draft, he pronounced it wholly inadmissible. Mr. Barclay and lord Howe did the same, and entreated Franklin to withdraw the additional clauses, but in vain. Lord Howe, therefore, after introducing Franklin a second

time to lord Hyde, who, with equal want of success, urged the philosopher to adhere to the conditions of Chatham's bill, took the paper, saying he would lay it before lord North, but he was quite certain with no chance of its acceptance. Lord North rejected the scheme at once, and determined to lay before the commons a plan of his own. So long as Franklin remained in England, he continued to lord Chatham, lord Howe, and all influential men that he came near, his warm assurances of his tender desire for the preservation of union, but never for a moment conceded a point that stood in the way of reconciliation.

On the 6th of February the address to the king was reported, and then Wilkes, who, on this question, was always right, declared that a just and proper resistance to despotism was nothing less than revolution, and that this violent and insane address would probably cause the Americans to fling away the scabbard as we had done, that they might hereafter be celebrating the glorious revolution of 1775 as we did that of 1688. Lord John Cavendish spoke out in terms of a noble indignation:—"My heart and hand," he said, "join in deprecating the horrors of a civil war, which will be rendered still more dreadful by its involving in its certain consequences a foreign one, with the combined forces of great and powerful nations." The same sentiments, the same warnings of a European war in the train of an American one, were uttered by others, but in vain; the address was carried by an overwhelming majority, and the next day a conference was held with the house of lords on the address, which was then accepted by the peers, and sent up to the throne. The king, in reply, assured the house of his resolve to carry out their views, and recommended the commons to vote additional forces. Accordingly, they voted four thousand four hundred additional troops, and two thousand additional sailors—an absurd number, when, if they must apply force, it ought to have been overwhelming, and when they acknowledged that the movements of France were more than suspicious; they were menacing, for she was augmenting and preparing for sea her fleet.

On the 10th of February lord North took a fresh step for the coercion of the Americans. He said they had continually threatened us with ceasing to trade with us; that they had entered into the most unlawful and daring associations to ruin our merchants, and to starve our West Indians, who had derived their provisions from them; and that it was only proper to show them that the power of obstruction to trade really lay in our hands. He therefore moved for leave to bring in a bill to cut off the entire trade of New England, and their profitable fisheries, except to such persons as obtained certificates of their loyalty and good behaviour from the colonial governors. Spite of all opposition, leave was given. Numerous petitions were then poured in from merchants and others, praying to be heard against the bill, and numerous parties were heard. It was shown by these witnesses that the people of New England were indebted to the merchants of London alone no less than a million sterling; that this bill would ruin our fisheries as well as the Americans'; but this was contradicted by the merchants of Poole, in Dorsetshire, who showed that England alone employed in the Newfoundland

fisheries four hundred ships, two thousand fishing shallops, and twenty thousand men. The Quakers prayed that their brethren in the island of Nantucket, who had one hundred and thirty vessels employed in fisheries all over the world, and had nothing to do with war or rebellion, should be exempt from the operation of the act. This prayer was so far complied with, that all ships, the property of the Quakers of Nantucket, which had sailed before the 1st of March, were exempt from the penalties of the bill. The bill having been sent up to the lords, was passed finally, and, on the 30th of March, received the royal assent.

But scarcely had this bill of lord North's been brought forward, when he seemed to have been struck with compunction. He had listened to the outlines of negotiation with Franklin, through lord Howe and David Barclay, and though these, as we have seen, had come to nought, he was still sufficiently impressed by the solemn warnings of Chatham and others to attempt a conciliatory measure of his own. Accordingly, on the 20th of February, only ten days after his bill restrictive of the American trade, and whilst it was progressing, he moved in a committee of the whole house, "That if the legislature of any of the American provinces should propose to make some provision for the common defence, and also for the civil government of that province, and if such proposal shall be approved of by the king and parliament, it would be proper to forbear, whilst such provision lasted, from levying or proposing any tax, duty, or assessment within the said province."

This proposal, which, at an earlier stage of the dispute, might have been listened to, was one at this stage which was sure to be rejected, and was only one of those miserable half measures which commonplace minds so frequently put forth only to demonstrate their inability to grasp the amplitude of the occasion. It was supposed that the measure had been intended to be larger, but that the Bedford party had fallen on it in council, and reduced it to these pitiable dimensions. Yet when it was introduced into the commons by lord North, the Bedford party looked at each other in consternation, and soon the tempest broke loose in the treasury benches themselves. Welbore Ellis, usually so compliant to ministerial measures, and Rigby, the Bedford creature, denounced the proposal as giving up everything to the Americans and the opposition. All was confusion, and, as lord Chatham afterwards observed, lord North looked like a man exploded; the whole cabinet seemed about to explode too, altogether. In vain did lord North endeavour to calm the enraged friends of government. Gibbon, in a letter to lord Sheffield, says—"We went into the house in confusion, expecting every moment that the Bedfords would fly into rebellion against these measures. Lord North rose six times in the midst of 'lives and fortunes, war and famine.' He rose to appease the storm, but all in vain; till at length Sir Gilbert Elliot declared for administration, and the troops all rallied under their proper standard."

But the storm was appeased only by lord North's condescending to explain his measure in such a manner as deprived it of every particle of generous feeling, and reduced it to the lowest Machiavellian level. He said, the real object of the resolution was to divide the Americans—to satisfy the moderate part of them, and oppose them to the immoderate,

to separate the wheat from the chaff; that he never expected his proposal to be generally acceptable. On this, colonel Barré and Burke assaulted him fiercely. Barré branded the whole scheme as founded on that low, shameful, abominable maxim, "*Divide et impera.*" Burke declared that the proposition was at variance with every former principle of parliament, directly so with the restrictive measures now in progress; that it was mean without being conciliatory. But the resolution passed by two hundred and seventy-four votes against eighteen.

Whilst these measures were in agitation, a petition and memorial from the house of assembly of Jamaica was read. This document declared, that, to cut off the trade of the American colonies, was to ruin the sugar colonies too. It maintained the right of the Americans to tax themselves, and not to be taxed by others. Glover, the author of "*Leonidas*," was heard at the bar as the agent of the Jamaica assembly, and ably stated their views. He showed that the West Indian colonies contributed directly seven hundred thousand pounds yearly to the national resources, and exported forty thousand hogsheads of sugar annually to England, besides taking in return a vast quantity of our manufactures, and that this revenue and trade we were endangering, and even risking the loss of the West Indian colonies too.

Again, on the 22nd of March, Burke made another earnest effort to induce the infatuated ministers and their adherents in parliament to listen to reason. In one of the finest speeches that he ever made, he introduced a series of thirteen resolutions, which went to abolish the obnoxious acts of parliament, and admit the principle of the colonial assemblies exercising the power of taxation. In the course of his speech he drew a striking picture of the rapid growth and the inevitable future importance of these colonies. He reminded the house that the people of New England and other colonies had quitted this country because they would not submit to arbitrary measures; that in America they had cultivated this extreme independence of character, both in their religion and their daily life; that almost every man there studied law, and that nearly as many copies of Blackstone's Commentaries had been sold there as in England; that they were the protestants of protestants, the dissenters of dissenters; that the church of England there was a mere sect; that the foreigners who had settled there, disgusted with tyranny at home, had adopted the extremest principles of liberty flourishing there; that all men there were accustomed to discuss the principles of law and government, and that almost every man sent to the congress was a lawyer; that the very existence of slavery in the southern states made white inhabitants hate slavery the more in their own persons. "You cannot," he said, "content such men at such a distance—nature fights against you. Who are you that you should fret, rage, and bite the chains of nature? Nothing worse happens to you than does to all nations who have extensive empires. In all such extended empires authority grows feeble at the extremities. The Turk and the Spaniard find it so, and are compelled to comply with this condition of nature, and derive vigour in the centre from the relaxation of authority on the borders."

Both Burke and Chatham were on the verge of that true

knowledge of colonial government, which our statesmen of to-day have learned from the great American catastrophe—the knowledge that it is best to leave colonies entirely to conduct their own affairs—the true profit to us flowing from their trade. The idea of imperial dignity blinded them only on that one point, but even so far as they saw they were not followed. Burke's resolutions were negatived by the same great majorities as was another scheme introduced by David Hartley, the son of the philosopher, soon after, which was negatived without a division. Clinging to the hope of some saving measure being yet adopted, Mr. Hartley proposed that the late restrictive acts on the trade of New England should be suspended for three years; but in vain.

In the meantime, petitions, memorials, and remonstrances were presented from New York and other places, and from the British inhabitants of Canada, but all were rejected. On the 26th of May George III. prorogued parliament, and expressed his perfect satisfaction in its proceedings; so utterly unconscious was this king that he was alienating a great empire, and which, indeed, was already virtually gone from him; for during the very time that parliament had been protesting against even the contemptible crumbs of concession offered by ministers, war had broken out, blood had flowed, and the Americans had triumphed!

During the winter they had been preparing for war; fabricating and repairing arms; drilling militia; and calling on one another, by proclamations, to be ready. On the 26th of February general Gage sent a detachment to take possession of some brass cannon and field-pieces collected at Salem. A hundred and fifty regulars landed at Salem for this purpose, but, finding no cannon there, they proceeded to the adjoining town of Danvers. They were stopped at a bridge by a party of militia, under colonel Pickering, who claimed the bridge as private property, and refused a passage. They then attempted to pass by a boat, but some Americans jumped into the boat, and cut holes in its bottom with their axes. There was likely to be bloodshed on the bridge, but it was Sunday, and some ministers of Salem pleaded the sacredness of the day, and prevailed on colonel Pickering to let the soldiers pass. They found nothing, and soon returned.

Again, on the night betwixt the 18th and 19th of April, general Gage sent a detachment of about eight hundred grenadiers and light infantry to destroy a dépôt of stores and arms at Concord, about twenty miles from Boston. They were commanded by lieutenant-colonel Smith, and major Pitcairn, of the marines. Every possible precaution had been taken to keep this movement secret, but the New Englanders were well informed by their spies and agents of every particular. The alarm was given—fires kindled, bells rang, guns discharged—and the whole country was up. It was supposed that the first intention was to seize Samuel Adams and John Hancock, who were lodging at Lexington. The British troops reached Lexington at five o'clock in the morning, and pushed on their light infantry to secure the bridges. They encountered a body of militia under cover of a gun near the road, whom they ordered to retire, and they retired in haste.

Here the Americans assert, that when the minute-men did not retire on the first order, the English fired on them and

killed eight of them. The English, on the other hand, declare that the Americans, in retiring, no sooner reached the shelter of a wall than they fired on the British; that the firing came also from some adjoining houses, and shot one man, and wounded major Pitcairn's horse in two places; that then the English were ordered to fire, that they killed several, wounded others, and put the body, about a hundred in number, to flight. The English then pushed on to Concord, the grenadiers having now come up. On approaching Concord they observed another body of minute-men drawn up on a hill near the meeting-house, but, as the regulars advanced, these retired across a bridge into the town. The

at their enemies, the minute-men pressing on their rear, still sheltered by trees and walls. The result would have been more disastrous had not general Gage sent on to Lexington another detachment of foot and marines, consisting of about sixteen companies, under command of lord Percy. His lordship formed his troops into a hollow square, in which he received the exhausted soldiers, who flung themselves on the ground with their tongues hanging out of their mouths, like dogs after a chase.

After they were somewhat rested, lord Percy slowly marched back towards Boston, but the Americans, who had drawn back at the junction of these fresh troops, now



VIEW OF CHARLESTOWN

regulars advanced and took possession of the bridge, sending a number of soldiers into the town to destroy the stores there. They succeeded in throwing into the river five hundred pounds of ball, breaking to pieces sixty barrels of flour, part of which, however, was recovered, and spiking three guns.

By this time the alarm had spread, the minute-men came running from all places, and as the English, having executed their commission, began to retire, the Americans shouted, "The lobsters run!" The minute-men now rushed over the bridge after them, and firing from behind trees and walls, killed a considerable number of them. The Americans—excellent shots with their rifles—could only be seen by the smoke of these rifles, and the English, tired with their long night march, instead of halting to hunt them out, kept on their way towards Lexington. The whole march was of this description: the English, unable to get a good shot

hung again on their rear in increased numbers, and, carefully concealing themselves behind trees, walls, and in houses, kept up an almost incessant fire the whole way—the English scarcely ever being able to get a shot at them. As they approached the river, some Americans endeavoured to draw them, on pretence of showing them a ford, into an ambuscade, but lord Percy used his own judgment, and crossed safely. But the other side of the river was equally infested with riflemen, who followed the troops to the very gates of Boston, which they entered, quite worn out, about sunset. In this first bloodshed betwixt the colonists and the mother country, the English found they had lost sixty killed, forty-nine missing, and one hundred and thirty-six wounded. The Americans admitted that they had a loss of sixty, of whom two-thirds were killed.

The Americans, elated with their success, styled it "the glorious victory in the battle of Lexington," for we shall



GEORGE WASHINGTON AND HIS MOTHER.

find the colonists continually exciting skirmishes into battles. They said that lord Percy, in the morning, marched to the tune of Yankee-Doodle, but came back in the evening in Chevy-Chase. They boasted that they would drive Gage and his soldiers out of Boston, but the men-of-war lying close under the town, and the works on the neck, kept them from any immediate attempt; and, instead of venturing on an assault, they determined to commence a blockade. The news spread on every side; the retreat of the English from Concord, which always was intended, as soon as the object was accomplished, was represented as an ignominious flight before the conquering Americans, and the effect was marvellous. Men flocked from all quarters. There were some twenty thousand men assembled round Boston, forming a line nearly as many miles in extent, with their left leaning on the river Mystic, and their right on the town of Boston. They were under the command of colonel Artemas Ward, assisted by Heath, Prescott, and Thomas. They were soon joined by the gallant colonel Israel Putnam, who had served in the two last wars, but, on the conclusion of that in 1763, had retired to a small farm, where he also kept a tavern. The news of the skirmish at Lexington reached him as he was repairing the stone fence of his land, dressed in a leathern frock and apron. Doffing those, he mounted his horse, and by sunrise the next morning was at Concord, where he was soon joined by three thousand men from Connecticut; and Jedediah Pribble having declined attending, on the plea of ill-health, Putnam became with Ward the souls of the American army. Gage, who was waiting fresh reinforcements, lay quiet, contented to hold his post, when he might, according to military authorities, have attacked the American lines, at first loose, and without any proper order and consistency, with great advantage.

The provincial congress of Massachusetts now established themselves at Water-town, about ten miles from Boston, and issued orders for raising an army of thirty thousand men, thirteen thousand of them to be of that province. They dispatched letters and messengers to the several colonies of Hampshire, Connecticut, and Rhode Island for assistance and further co-operation. They appointed Ward captain-general, Thomas lieutenant-general, and Gridley chief engineer. They also dispatched John Darly, of Salem, to England, to convey the account of the battle of Lexington to Franklin, and with an address to the people of England, declaring that they would never submit to the tyranny of a cruel ministry, but would die or be free. Franklin, however, had sailed for America, and the Massachusetts agency was left in the hand of Arthur Lee, who was ordered to communicate the particulars at once to the city of London, and to circulate them through the newspapers.

The congress next ordered the issue of one hundred thousand pounds in paper money, in such small sums as should circulate as currency. This was the first step into the miseries of war, a paper currency not having been used in Massachusetts for a quarter of a century, and certain, if the war continued, to suffer fearful depreciation.

The inhabitants of Boston, not relishing the idea of a blockade, applied to Gage for permission to retire. He replied that they were at liberty to do so with their families

and effects, on surrendering their arms. The Bostonians at once interpreted effects into the whole of their merchandise, and Gage, in consequence, countermanded his permission.

On the 10th of May the second congress met at Philadelphia. Lord Dartmouth had sent a circular to the governors of the colonies, to obstruct and, if possible, prevent the appointment of delegates to this congress; but it had had no effect. The delegates had everywhere been easily elected, and Franklin, having arrived on the 5th of May in Philadelphia, was in time to be added to the number already chosen there. The battle of Lexington had heated the blood of the delegates, and they assembled in no very pacific mood. They elected Peyton Randolph president, and, soon after, on his retirement, John Hancock, owner of the Liberty, sloop. They assumed the name of the congress of the UNITED COLONIES, and rejected with contempt the poor conciliatory bill of lord North, as it had already been deservedly treated by the provincial assemblies. They immediately issued a proclamation prohibiting the export of provisions to any British colony or fishery still continuing in obedience to Great Britain; or any supply to the British army in Massachusetts Bay, or the negotiation of any bill drawn by a British officer. They followed the example of the New England congress, of ordering the issue of paper money to the extent of two millions of dollars; and the history of this paper money is curious. It became so rapidly depreciated in 1777, two years from this time, that ten additional millions, voted in 1779, were valued only at two hundred and fifty-nine thousand in specie! The whole sum they raised betwixt 1775 and 1779 were two hundred millions of dollars, and the losses sustained by the people by this money never were made up by the Americans on the achievement of their independence. Fearon, in his travels in the United States, in 1818, says:—"The nation have not redeemed their notes, nor, I presume, will they ever. I boarded at the house of a widow lady, whose family had been utterly ruined by holding these notes."

Congress ordered the military force of the colonies to be placed on an efficient footing. They called into existence a body of men, besides the provincial militia, to be maintained by the United Colonies, and to be called continental troops, which distinction must be kept in mind during the whole war. They then made a most admirable choice of a commander-in-chief in the person of colonel George Washington. We have met Washington as a youth acting as a surveyor, and setting out the new lands of the colonies under the rudest and simplest conditions of life. We have next met him sharing the unfortunate defeat of general Braddock, when he had a narrow escape of his life. In 1758 he resigned his commission in the Virginian militia; the next year married, and for sixteen years followed the unambitious life of a country gentleman, and was forty-three years of age when called by his countrymen to head their army. Washington was distinguished by no brilliancy of genius; he had no taste for reading or intellectual pursuits, but for farming, managing with great exactness his accounts, and for the enjoyment of domestic life. But he was endowed with strong good sense, great firmness of purpose, and calmness of judgment; and, above all, by a noble up-

TWENTYFOUR SHILLINGS



AUG¹ 18. 1775.

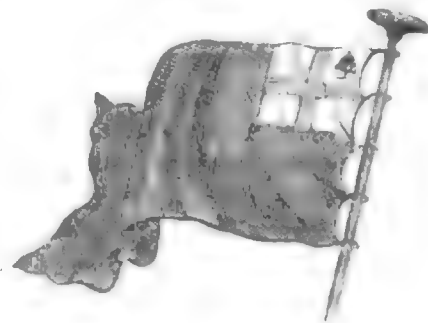
rightness of character, which inspired all around and under him with confidence. He relied firmly on the guidings of Providence; and if Providence indicated by one thing more than another its intention to set America free, it was by providing so unpresuming yet worthy a hero on that side, and just at the same time taking away the only man on the British side whose genius for war was indisputable. Clive just then fell by his own hand, and the rest of the English generals were of that wretched mediocrity which is produced by the routine of the war-office, instead of the system of putting, as Chatham did, military genius in the van.

The congress voted Washington five hundred dollars per month, with the rank of commander-in-chief, and with four major-generals and eight brigadier-generals under him. Amongst these it is noteworthy that two Englishmen and one Irishman were included. Horatio Gates was a godson of Horace Walpole's, who had served with distinction against Martinico; Lee was a very eccentric man, a lieutenant-colonel in the British service, but who, from some unknown cause, had become bitterly hostile to the English ministry, and had been induced by Gates to purchase lands in Virginia. Montgomery was a native of Ireland, who went over from our ranks. Wood and Putnam, already in the camp before Boston, were become, one a major-general, the other a brigadier.

The moment that the congress assumed this military attitude, and issued its orders to the provincial assemblies, the British government seemed to fall everywhere. The governors took to flight, and committees of safety were appointed, and their places supplied by persons of their selecting. Washington having accepted the nomination of commander-in-chief, but declined the offered salary, declaring that he would only accept the payment of his expenses,

of which he should, and through the war did, keep a very exact account, in six days, or on the 21st of June, set out for the army at Boston.

The spirits of the Americans had been raised by the success of attempts against the forts of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, on Lake Champlain. Early in the spring, some of the leading men of Connecticut, and chief amongst them Wooster and Silas Deane, projected this expedition, as securing the passes into Canada. The volunteers who offered for this enterprise were to march across the frontiers of New York, and come suddenly on these forts. They were joined on the way by what were called the "Green-Mountain Boys," three hundred in number, under Ethan Allen, an active partisan of that district, and at the same time an old friend of captain La Place, who was in command at Ticonderoga. They advanced secretly through the woods to the shores of Lake Champlain, and sent forward one Noah Phelps, a self-appointed captain of the volunteers, to reconnoitre. The wretched condition of carelessness existing in these important outposts, notwithstanding the alarming state of the colonies, may be known by the result. Phelps, disguised as a countryman, entered the fort on pretence of seeking a barber; and, whilst roaming about in feigned search of him, noted well the ruinous condition of the fort, and the utter negligence of the guard. The next day, Ethan Allen went alone to the fortress, ostensibly on a visit to his friend the commander, leaving his troops concealed in the wood. He represented that he wanted to conduct some goods across the lake, and borrowed twenty of La Place's soldiers to help him. These men he made dead drunk; and then, rushing suddenly to the fort, where La Place had only twenty-two soldiers more, he compelled them in their surprise to lay down their arms, set a guard over them, and entered his friend's bed-room and pronounced him a prisoner. La Place demanded by whose authority; and Allen replied, on that of "the Great Jehovah and the continental congress."



FLAG OF THE COLONISTS.

This Allen, so far from being a religious enthusiast, as you might suppose from his language, was a notorious disbeliever in Christianity, and had written a book called "Reason, the only Oracle of Man." He certainly had his reason in much more active play than his droway antagonists. He hastened to secure a hundred iron cannon, fifty swivels, two mortars, ten tons of musket-balls, three cart-loads of flints, a hundred stand of small-arms, and other military stores. He then advanced against the fort of Crown Point, where he found only a garrison of twelve men, and immediately

afterwards secured Skenesborough, the fortified house of major Skene, and took his son and his negroes.

Benedict Arnold, formerly a druggist and horse-dealer, of Newhaven, but now appointed a colonel of militia, had hastened from another point to support Allen. He assisted him to secure Crown Point, and then he put out a number of men on batteaux and flat-bottomed boats, and surprised a schooner lying at St. John's, at the north end of Lake Champlain, the only vessel of war on that lake. Allen and Arnold, however, did not long agree. Arnold held the schooner, calling himself high admiral of those waters, and Allen remained in possession of Ticonderoga. Arnold soon returned to the army before Boston, but Allen remained at the fort till the middle of June. He wrote to the New York congress, pointing out the immense advantages of keeping these lake forts, the keys of Canada. He and Arnold, during their brief co-operation, had planned an expedition into Canada. Allen assured the congress of New York that England could spare no power to defend Canada without weakening her army in the United Colonies, and declared that he would, with one thousand five hundred men, undertake to secure Montreal, and that, with no very large force, Quebec might be taken. These hints were afterwards acted upon.

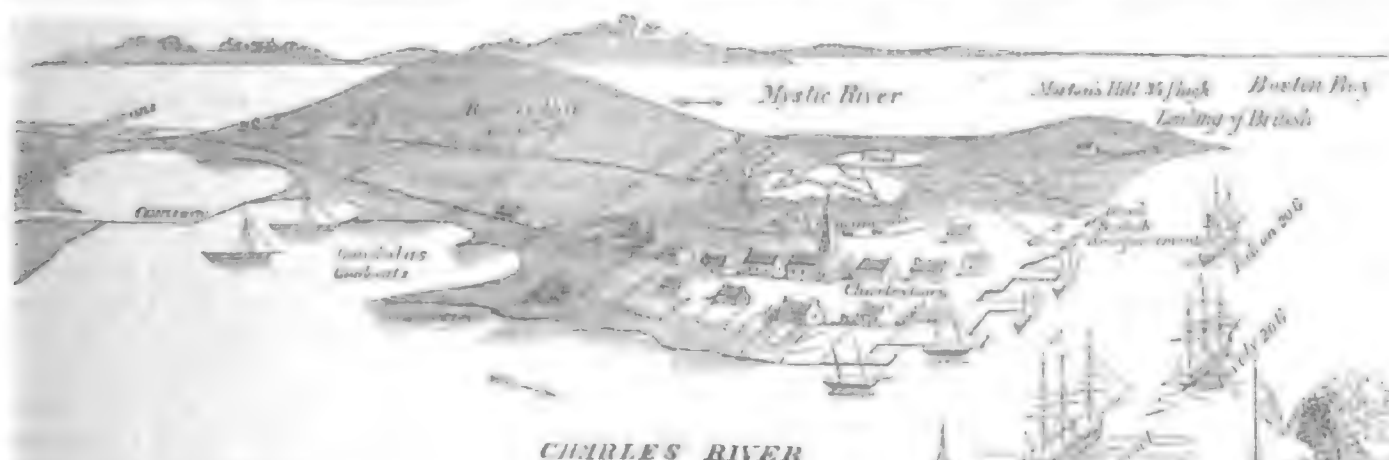
When Washington arrived at Boston, on the 15th of June, he found the English army augmented to ten thousand by fresh forces, under generals Burgoyne, William Howe, the brother of lord Howe, and Henry Clinton. Burgoyne we have formerly met with in Spain, where he showed considerable spirit; but none of the generals showed much here, though the soldiers were brave and well-disciplined, and could, if well commanded, have soon cleared the neighbourhood of the Americans. The American troops consisted of twenty thousand militia and volunteers, still in a most rude and confused condition, extended over a line of twenty miles in length, and only required an attack of five thousand men, led on by a general of courage and ability. They were, moreover, greatly deficient in powder and other necessaries. Now was the time to deal with them; every moment was of consequence, because it allowed the Americans to organise themselves, which they did actively. At this time, besides the want of ammunition and drilling in the army, there was much heart-burning amongst the officers. There was a decided opposition to the appointment of Lee and Gates; Wooster and Spencer loudly complained of Putnam being promoted over them; and Pomeroy, from mere disgust, quitted the service.

But the English generals lay as if there was no urgent need of action, and as the most incompetent men alone could lie. Had a sudden movement on the neck been made from Boston, five hundred men could have broken and dispersed the Americans nearest to that position before the other ill-trained troops, some of them at great distances, could have come up to their assistance: and they might have been easily beaten in detail by the simultaneous efforts of four good, spirited generals and ten thousand efficient soldiers. But a lethargy seemed to have seized Gage, and to have fallen from him on his coadjutors. The English soldiers could not understand what their generals meant by keeping them on the neck twisting their tails and powdering their

heads, whilst the Yankees were gathering in their front and on their flank in clouds; every day practising themselves in evolutions, condensing their line, and rendering more complete the blockade.

In the month of May, governor Trumbull and the Connecticut assembly made some overtures to Gage, which much alarmed the people of Massachusetts, and the provincial congress now voted Gage a public enemy, and an instrument in the hands of tyrants, whom there was no further occasion to obey. They recommended the people to elect for themselves a governor, and council, and house of assembly, and to act in other respects as perfectly independent. On the 12th of June Gage offered a full pardon to all who would immediately lay down their arms, except John Hancock and Samuel Adams, whose offences were described as of too flagitious a character to merit pardon. The proclamation had no other effect than to provoke the Americans to more determined action. North of the peninsula of Boston, separated from it only by an arm of the sea, called the Charles river, about as broad as the Thames at London-bridge, stands Charlestown, built also on a peninsula, surrounded everywhere by navigable water, except a neck somewhat wider than Boston neck. On the peninsula of Charlestown were two eminences: the lower one, nearest to Boston, being called Breed's Hill, the higher and more remote, Bunker's Hill. These hills, which commanded Boston, would have immediately attracted the eye of any general of the least talent. But Gage had utterly neglected this most vital point; when it was urged on his attention, he still had continued to disregard it, and Burgoyne, Howe, and Clinton had been more than twenty days at Boston, with Bunker's Hill staring them in the face, without its suggesting an idea of their being commanded from it, when the army and the officers in Boston, on awaking on the morning of the 17th of June, suddenly saw the height of Breed's Hill covered with soldiers and military works, as by magic, and the Americans shouting and beginning to fire upon the town and shipping in the harbour.

The Americans had marched on the evening of the 16th with orders to make themselves masters of Bunker's Hill. By some mistake, they had planted themselves on Breed's Hill, and instantly began to throw up a formidable redoubt and entrenchments, and to place their guns in battery. Though Boston and the fortified Neck were so near, and the water all round Charlestown swarming with men-of-war and transports, nothing whatever was observed of them till the morning dawned: then the *Lively*, sloop, and the battery on Copp's Hill, in Boston, began to cannonade the new apparition on Breed's Hill. Gage then ordered a detachment of troops, under the command of general Howe and brigadier Pigott, to drive the Americans, at all costs, from that position. It was noon before Howe crossed the river and landed on the Charlestown peninsula; but then Howe perceived the strength of the Americans to be greater than had been supposed, and, halting, he sent for reinforcements. During every minute of this delay, the enemy was also receiving fresh reinforcements, a large body of whom were headed by Dr. Joseph Warren, a physician of Boston, lately elected president of the Massachusetts congress, and, by his own authority, nominated major-general.



CHARLES RIVER

The English—now augmented to about two thousand men—marched on. There were several ways of ascending the hill, the best of which was to have landed in the rear of the American entrenchment, where the hill was easiest of ascent, and where the enemy had no batteries: the very worst was in front of the intrenchments, and where the hill was steepest, and most exposed to the fire of the camp above, and that of the riflemen in Charlestown. The English officers, as if perfectly demented, took the most arduous and destructive way. They advanced up the hill, formed in two lines, the right headed by general Howe, the left by brigadier Pigott. The left was immediately severely galled by the riflemen posted in the houses and on the roofs of Charlestown, and Howe instantly halted and ordered the left wing to advance and set fire to the town. This was soon executed, and the wooden buildings of Charlestown were speedily in a blaze, and the whole place burnt to the ground. Howe halted the right line till this was done; and Burgoyne, watching the scene from Boston, afterwards thus described it in a letter to lord Stanley, his brother-in-law: "Now ensued one of the greatest scenes of war that can be conceived. If we looked to the height, Howe's corps, ascending the hill in the face of entrenchments, and in very disadvantageous ground, was much engaged; to the left, the enemy pouring in fresh troops by thousands over the land; and, on the arm of the sea, our ships and floating batteries cannonading them. Straight before us, a large and noble town in one great blaze, and the church-steeple, being timber, were great pyramids of fire above the rest; behind us, the church-steeple and heights of our own camp covered with spectators of the rest of our army which was engaged; the hills round the country also covered with spectators; the enemy all in anxious suspense; the roar of cannons, mortars, and musketry; the crash of churches, ships upon the stocks, and whole streets falling together, to fill the ear; the storm of the redoubts, with the other objects, to fill the eye; and the reflection that, perhaps, a defeat was a final loss to the British empire in America, to fill the mind; made the whole a picture, and a complication of horror and importance beyond anything that ever came to my lot to witness."

The Americans reserved their fire till the English were nearly at the entrenchments, when they opened with such a deadly discharge of cannon and musketry as astonished and perplexed the British. The musketry continued one unintermitted blaze, for the men in the rear handed up to



PLAN OF THE BATTLE OF BUNKER'S HILL.

the front loaded guns as fast as the others were discharged. The English lines, amid smoke and slaughter, were swept back, numbers of the Americans shouting, in memory of past taunts, "Well, are the Yankees cowards?" Most of the men and the staff standing around general Howe were killed, and he stood for a moment almost alone. Some of the newer troops never stopped till they reached the bottom of the hill. To add to the misery of the soldiers, they were oppressed by their knapsacks, loaded with three days' provisions, with their muskets, one hundred and twenty-five pounds weight! though only about to scale a hill in face of their own camp, and should have been as lightly equipped as possible. This stupid management and the broiling sun doubled the arduous labour of climbing a rugged steep, up to the knees in grass, and amongst inclosures.

The officers, however, speedily rallied the broken lines, and led them a second time against the murderous batteries. But here was discovered one of those disastrous pieces of mismanagement which so often disgrace our service. The balls sent from the ordnance department at Boston were too large for the field-pieces, and they were useless! Against the artillery and musketry of the Americans our men had only muskets to return the fire with. A second time they gave way. But general Clinton, seeing the unequal strife, without waiting for orders, and attended by a number of resolute officers, hastened across the water in boats, and, rallying the fugitives, led them a third time up the hill. By this time the fire of the Americans began to slacken, for their powder was failing, and the English, wearied as they were, rushed up the hill, and carried the entrenchments at the point of the bayonet. There was a loud hurrah, and

the next moment the Americans were seen running for their lives down the easy descent of the hill, towards the blazing ruins of Charlestown. Had Gage had a proper reserve ready to rush upon the flying route on the Neck, few of them would have remained to join their fellows. But the inconceivable imbecility which distinguished the English commanders in this war looks more like a benumbing agency of Providence than anything in the long and glorious annals of England, under usual circumstances. The flying Americans were pretty sharply enfiladed, in passing Charlestown Neck, from

to declare that they had only five hundred men engaged against a British force of five thousand. The most correct of the American historians estimate their troops engaged that day at four thousand; but general Gage declared that the Americans were three times the number of the English, or nearly seven thousand. The battle was called the battle of Bunker's Hill, though really fought on the lower, or Breed's Hill.

On the English side, the men and officers were confessed to have fought bravely: the mischief lay in the stupid



A CANADIAN INDIAN.

the Gloucester man-of-war and two floating batteries; but there the pursuit ended, and the Americans were let off with a loss of four hundred and fifty killed and wounded; whilst we had one thousand and fifty killed and wounded, including eighty-nine commissioned officers. On our side, lieutenant-colonel Abercrombie, major Pitcairn, major Williams, and major Spendlove, fell. The chief officer on the American side who was killed was Dr. Warren.

The Americans, though driven from the hill, and leaving the victorious English there, spread everywhere the boast of a splendid victory on their part: and they did not hesitate

arrangements of the commander, both in attacking in the very worst place, and not following up the advantage with fresh troops. On the American side, Washington blamed considerably the conduct of the officers, whilst praising the men, and, after a strict inquiry, cashiered captain Callender, of the artillery.

Notwithstanding the real outbreak of the war, congress yet professed to entertain hopes of ultimate reconciliation. When the reinforcements had arrived from England, and it was supposed that part of them were destined for New York, it issued orders that, so long as the forces remained



VIEW ON THE RIVER ST. LAWRENCE.

quiet in their barracks, they should not be molested; but if they attempted to raise fortifications, or to cut off the town from the country, they should be stoutly opposed. When the news of the surprise of the forts on the Lake Champlain arrived, congress endeavoured to excuse so direct a breach

of the peace by feigning a belief in a design of an invasion of the colonies from Canada, of which there was notoriously no intention; and they gave orders that an exact inventory of the cannon and military stores there captured should be made, in order to their restoration, "when the former



NATURAL FRONTIER NEAR QUEBEC.

harmony between Great Britain and her colonies, so ardently wished for by the latter, should render it consistent with the overruling law of self-preservation."

After the battle of Bunker's Hill, congress still maintained this tone. On the 8th of July they signed a petition to the king, drawn up by John Dickenson, in the mildest terms, and who, when to his own surprise the petition was adopted by the congress, rose, and said that there was not a word in the whole petition that he did not approve of, except the word "congress." This, however, was far from the feeling of many members, especially from New England and Virginia, the homes of such fiery democrats as Patrick Henry, Jefferson, Hancock, and Samuel Adams; and Benjamin Harrison immediately rose and declared that there was but one word in the whole petition that he did approve, and that was the word "congress." The petition to the king expressed an earnest desire for a speedy and permanent reconciliation, declaring that, notwithstanding their sufferings, they retained in their hearts "too tender a regard for the Kingdom from which they derived their origin to request such a reconciliation as might be inconsistent with her dignity or welfare."

At the same time, they resolved that this appeal, which they called "The Olive Branch," and which they sent on by Mr. Richard Penn, one of the descendants of William Penn, and a proprietary still of Pennsylvania, should, if unsuccessful, be their last. And, at the same time, they drew up two other documents in a very different tone. One was an address to the people of Great Britain, and another to the people of Ireland. In the address to the people of England, they recapitulated the heads of the controversy, and called on them to oppose these outrages of their ministry, as equally fatal to English as to American freedom. They thanked, in the address to the people of Ireland, that people for their sympathy, and glanced significantly at the like grievances of the Irish. They accompanied these documents by another to the city of London, through the medium of Wilkes, and followed these by one to Jamaica, in which, though they admitted that by its insular situation it could not help them, they yet felt the consolation of its kindred feeling for their oppressions.

At the same time, congress also took measures for cultivating the goodwill of the Indians. They established three boards of Indian affairs—one for the Six Nations and other northern tribes, one for the Cherokees and Creeks, and a third for intervening nations. They voted money for the education of Indian youth at Wheelock's school, at Hanover, in New Hampshire; and sent Kirkland, a missionary, and other agents, to the Six Nations. But Guy Johnson, the British Indian agent, who had a wonderful influence with these Indians, ordered these agents out of the country.

To express their sense of Franklin's services in England, and to recompense him for his dismissal by the king from the office of Postmaster-General of America, they appointed him the Postmaster-General themselves. Franklin, thus rewarded, continued to play the same double part as he had done. He signed the mild and tender petition of Dickenson to the king, and with the same hand, almost at the same moment, he wrote this letter to an old friend in London:—"Mr. Strahan,—You are a member of parlia-

ment, and are of that majority which has doomed my country to destruction. You have begun to burn our towns, and murder our people. Look upon your hands; they are stained with the blood of your relatives! You and I were long friends; you are now my enemy, and I am yours,

"BENJAMIN FRANKLIN."

The spirit of hostility which now blazed out in minds which disclaimed the double-dealing of Franklin showed itself from north to south. Wooster, at the command of congress, marched some regiments of his Connecticut men into the vicinity of New York, to keep down the royalists there, and prevent the landing of British troops. Wooster quartered himself near Haverlem, five miles from New York. This led to increased confusion. The governor Tryon had orders from lord Dartmouth to treat the place as in rebellion, if any attempt was made to raise fortifications, or to seize the king's stores. The insurgents had already endeavoured to carry away the guns from the battery: and the *Asia* ship of war, lying in the harbour, had fired on them, and wounded severely three men. Some days after, in retaliation, the insurgents seized and destroyed two of the *Asia's* boats. The provincial congress ordered new boats to be built; but these were sawn in pieces on the stocks in the night. This state of things continued till November, the royalists and the insurgents growing ever more embittered. At the head of a company of ardent Connecticut republicans was one captain Sears, who, with many others, had gone over from New York disgusted with the lukewarmness of that place. Incensed at the freedom of the royalist newspaper, published by James Rivington, Sears, one day in November, at noon, marched into New York at the head of seventy-five indignant sons of Liberty, entered Rivington's house, destroyed his papers, and carried off into Connecticut his types, and there cast them into bullets. On their way back through West Chester, they also seized the clergyman and a justice of the peace as tories, and carried them away.

The New York congress highly resented this outrage as an invasion of their rights as a distinct colony, and demanded the return of the types to the chairman of the committee of safety of New York. But Trumbull, the governor of Connecticut, declared, in the true spirit of chicane, that Sears was one of their own citizens; that it was, therefore, no invasion by Connecticut, shutting his eyes to the broad fact, that Sears was in the pay of Connecticut, and attended by citizens of Connecticut. He asserted that it was merely an attack on private property, and, if the injured required a remedy, they must seek it by law.

At the same time, the committee of safety of New York was in the daily commission of equal outrages on its own fellow-citizens. By its orders, doors were broken open to seize arms for the use of the troops, and these orders were extended to the whole colony. These affairs showed that the Americans were beginning the revolution on very fine principles indeed, under which no person or private property was safe against the plea of necessity. The agents of the committee often went about backed by a battalion of soldiers: but even then they found people sturdy enough to resist and defend their domestic rights. The Long Islanders hid away their arms, and declared that they would blow out

the brains of any one attempting to take them. On the contrary, in some parts of the island, they turned the tables on the revolutionists, and took away their arms. The general congress was speedily compelled to repeal the order for the seizure of arms, which was likely to create a fatal division amongst the colonists. In New York there continued many persons well-affected to the mother country, who would most gladly have seen her authority restored.

The state of feeling in the colony of New York and elsewhere was so alarming, that the congress passed a resolution far more destructive of personal right and liberty than that for the seizure of arms. This was a seizure of persons. The members of the revolutionary congresses and committees of safety were desired "to arrest and secure every person in the respective colonies whose going at large might, in their opinion, endanger the safety of the colony, or the liberties of America." Tryon, governor of New York, retired on board the Halifax packet for his personal safety, but he still continued to carry on communications with the loyal party on shore. In many of the colonies, where there was scarcely a single English soldier, the well-affected were obliged to keep their sentiments to themselves. In North and South Carolina, the governors, Martin and Lord William Campbell, were obliged to fly. Lord Dunmore, the governor of Virginia, in the very focus of the revolutionary fire, on the first news of the fight at Lexington, had sent the powder of the province on board a king's ship in the river, and then sending his family on board too, fortified his palace, and still continued to hold out. Sir James Wright, governor of Georgia, wrote to Boston for troops, but could get none, yet he kept up the zeal of the anti-revolutionary party, and prevented the province sending delegates to the congress till July.

If a tenth part of the spirit had been shown by the British government which had been shown in the German wars, where hundreds of millions were voted for soldiers and ships, such a force would have been sent into the American towns, and such a fleet along its coasts, as would speedily have reduced all resistance. The only towns of any considerable size were Boston, Newport, New York, Philadelphia, Norfolk, and Charlestown: the three largest scarcely contained twenty thousand inhabitants each; and none of the others had half that number. All these towns lay on or near the sea-board. They could have been all held by strong garrisons, the ports blockaded, and the trade of America annihilated, by a sufficient fleet. The settlements extended for a thousand miles along the Atlantic. Nothing could have been easier, with a sufficient naval force, than to have scoured the whole of this coast, cut off all trading, and sat still on shore awaiting the event. This was the plan suggested by colonel Barré, who knew the nature of the country, and warned them of all things not to follow the practised rifle-men of America into the woods and swamps of the interior. But the necessary ships were not forthcoming; all the force, the miserable one of twenty thousand, that the ministry in this imminent emergency had sent for the support of the English authority, was cooped up in Boston, inactive—as it were paralysed, and invested by an army without shoes, many of them without shirts, without discipline, and with-

out powder; and all this the British officers, as we shall see, perfectly well knew, and yet they lay still, as if under some spell of sorcery!

When Washington arrived at the camp at Cambridge, instead of twenty thousand men, which he expected on his side, he found only sixteen thousand, and of these only fourteen thousand fit for duty. He describes them as "a mixed multitude of people under very little order or government." They had no uniforms; and Washington recommended congress to send them out ten thousand hunting shirts, as giving them something of a uniform appearance. There was not a single dollar in the military chest: the supply of provisions was extremely deficient and uncertain. There was a great want of engineering tools: and he soon discovered that the battle of Bunker's Hill, which, at a distance, was boasted of as a victory, had been a decided defeat. He immediately set about to reduce this discouraging chaos into new order. Assisted by general Lee, he commenced by having prayers read at the head of the respective regiments every morning. He broke up the freedom which confounded officers and men; he compelled subordination by the free use of the lash, where commands would not serve. He kept them daily at active drill. He laboured incessantly to complete the lines, so that very soon it would be impossible for the enemy to get between the ranks.

The reverend William Emerson, one of the army chaplains, gives a picturesque description of this camp, and which vastly resembles, in its tents and booths, an Australian digging:—"It is very diverting to walk amongst the tents. They are as different in their form as their owners are in their dress, and every tent is a portraiture of the temper and taste of the persons who encamp in it. Some are of boards, and some of sail-cloth, some partly of the one, and partly of the other. Others, again, are made of stone and turf, brick, or brush. Some are thrown up in a hurry; some curiously wrought with doors and windows, done with wreaths and withes in the manner of a basket. Some are your proper tents and marquees, looking like the regular camp of an army."

But the great and—if the English generals had been only properly awake—the fatal want, was that of powder. Washington found that they had but nine rounds of powder to a musket, and next to none for the artillery. "The world," said Franklin, "wondered that we so seldom fired a cannon; why, we could not afford it!" The Massachusetts assembly had passed a resolution that "no inhabitant in the colony should fire a gun at beast, bird, or mark, without a real necessity therefor." And all this was disclosed to general Gage by a deserter, and he still lay in a profound catalepsy! The ministry at home, scarcely more awake to the real danger, were yet astonished at his lethargy; at his thus allowing the insurgents every day to strengthen their position and perfect their discipline; and they recalled him under the plea of consulting him on the affairs of the colony. He sailed from Boston in October, leaving the chief command to general Howe.

Before this, Georgia had sent in her adhesion to the congress. The reverend Dr. Zably and four others were elected delegates to that body. Though Georgia was not at

all included in the late severe acts, its representatives declared that, to remain aloof on that account, would betray a mean insensibility to the oppression of the rest of the colonies. They adopted resolutions similar to those of the congress of Virginia, and on their accession the general congress assumed the style of "THE THIRTEEN UNITED COLONIES."

In England, during these transactions in America, the people were in general equally besotted with the government, and more enraged at the resistance of the colonies, than indignant at the unconstitutional government which originated that resistance. The metropolis, however, exhibited a very different spirit. There Wilkes was now lord mayor; and he and his party presented an address to the king, in strong terms condemning the proceedings of ministers, as calculated to establish despotism both at home and in our colonies. They prayed for their instant dismissal; but the king replied that he was astonished that any of his subjects should be found encouraging the Americans in their rebellion, and declaring his resolve to follow the recommendations of parliament. At the very next common hall another address, or rather remonstrance, was voted, and the sheriffs were instructed to inquire whether the king would receive it on the throne. The king declined, claiming the right to receive addresses when he pleased. The address was eventually received in some manner. Government, however, to check the insolence of the city, issued a proclamation against encouraging rebelling, and to authorise the suppression of seditious correspondence. Wilkes, as lord mayor, would not suffer this proclamation to be read in the usual manner at the Royal Exchange, by the proper officers on horseback, but sent inferior officers on foot; and the mob, on hearing the proclamation, broke out into a storm of hisses and groans.

A few days after this, Richard Penn, attended by Arthur Lee, the resident agent of the American colonies, presented to the king the petition from congress, and was informed that there was no answer. This was certain to put the finish to the American resentment. It was received as an act of the last contempt; and ever after, through the unhappy contest, if any Americans were inclined to regret the war, they were always reminded of the second petition of congress, and the haughty rejection of it, and with it all chance of adjustment.

The gentlemen and traders of London, struck with consternation at this unyielding temper on the part of the government, presented, on the 11th of October, a solemn address to the throne, expressing the most awful apprehensions of the results, and of the ruin of our commerce; of the well-grounded expectation that France and Spain would come into the struggle against us; and of the report, only too correct, that the ministry were contemplating the employment of foreign mercenaries to tread down the liberties and the people of America, who were our own flesh and blood. Other addresses were poured in from town and country of the like kind, and ministers and their friends exerted themselves to procure counteracting ones from both London and the provinces.

Under such circumstances parliament met on the 26th of October. The king, in his speech, declared that he had called the parliament together thus early, on account of the

disturbed condition of America. He seemed to attribute the presumption of the American colonies to the encouragement they had received here from persons who had been active to infuse into the minds of the colonists ideas contrary to the constitution of those dependencies; that the Americans had now openly avowed their hostility, and proceeded to bloodshed; they had usurped all the legislative and executive authority there, had laid hands on the revenue, and were in arms against our whole power. He complained that they had tried to arouse us, whilst we were candidly and anxiously seeking to satisfy them; and after praising the moderation and forbearance of the parent state, he declared it was time to exert our mighty strength and resources to quell the rebellion. He avowed that he had hired foreign troops at a cheaper rate to assist in the task of reducing the insurgents, but that, in order to employ as many as possible of our own soldiers in this office, he had sent his own electoral troops to supply the place of British ones at Gibraltar and Port Mahon.

This was a sad confession, confirming all that the city addresses had surmised, that foreign troops were to be employed to cut down our own kindred. Yet the deluded monarch talked of tempering severity with mercy; and having just repelled the Americans who had petitioned for a last hearing, and a last chance of argument, he declared that he had sent commissioners over to America to receive the submission of any repentant state. Lastly, George assured parliament that he had received the most satisfactory assurances from all foreign powers of peace and sympathy, and that, therefore, he saw no probability of the dispute being prolonged by the interference of any other state.

Such was this most unprophectic speech. Application had indeed been made to the continental powers on friendly terms with us, requesting them to prevent their subjects supplying ammunition or other assistance to the rebellious colonists. Spain refused to pledge herself to any such condition. France merely announced to her subjects, that, if they traded with the Americans, they would do it at their own risk. Denmark and Holland engaged to maintain neutrality and non-interference of trade. But in most of these countries the subjects were left to elude the conditions. From Holland powder was exported as schiedam; and in cases where such cargoes were brought to the notice of the government, the offender was only fined the paltry sum of ninety pounds.

Lord John Cavendish moved an amendment upon the address, praying the king to institute fuller inquiry into the circumstances and conditions of America before calling foreign troops, expressing a conviction that the whole difference arose from want of adequate information in this country, and that a serious review of the whole causes of the unhappy difference might yet avert the threatened horrors of a civil war.

This amendment was zealously supported by the opposition. Barré declared that the late campaign had been conducted by fools and madmen. Fox said that we had lost more already in one campaign than Alexander the Great had ever gained in all his conquests, for we had lost a continent. General Conway was equally severe. Lord North defended this measure, and the amendment was thrown out by two hundred and seventy-eight votes against one hundred

and eight. In the house of lords, lord Rockingham moved a similar amendment, and a warm debate took place, presenting some startling features. Lord Dartmouth, the secretary for American affairs, admitted that the late campaign had been unsuccessful; and lord Gower attributed this to the delusive nature of the information regarding America which had hitherto been given to ministers. But the most startling thing was to see the duke of Grafton, who had originally been as active as any one in the ministry in prosecuting the quarrel, suddenly back out of it, and take the most determined stand against the war. In August Grafton had written to lord North, strongly urging the advisability of a reconciliation with America. Seven weeks he had waited in vain for a reply, and that only came inclosing the king's speech. Grafton immediately hastened up to town, and in an audience with the king, told him that he would discover too late, that his ministers were misleading him, and that he would find that twice the number of troops would only augment the disgrace, and never effect his purpose. This remonstrance having no effect, he immediately resigned the privy seal, and took his stand with the opposition, to the public astonishment, in favour of a full and immediate conciliation of the outraged colonists.

Unfortunately for England, lord Chatham was again oppressed with his former malady, and could not take an active part in politics, nor did he recover fully from it till the spring of 1777. His powerful voice was therefore lost on this most important occasion, but his opinions were well known, and he had lately recovered himself sufficiently to show how strong that opinion was. His eldest son, lord Pitt, had been aide-de-camp to general Carleton in Canada, and this autumn was sent home with dispatches. Chatham now induced him to withdraw from the army rather than be employed against the Americans: and the earl of Effingham also resigned his commission on the same grounds.

These circumstances added great force to the resignation of the duke of Grafton, and to his decided testimony to the impolicy and wickedness of the war against the colonies. He confessed his hitherto total ignorance of the real condition and real temper of the colonies: that he had been persuaded that a show of coercion would prevent the exercise of coercion itself; that he now saw the folly of these opinions, and protested that nothing but a total and immediate repeal of all the coercive acts would make accommodation possible.

The bishop of Peterborough supported the views of Grafton, fully justifying the duke for his present conduct by the total failure of all the promises of ministers to him, and by the delusive information given him. It was difficult to say where this defection would end, and nothing was more significant than the fact that all the men of superior genius and ability, Chatham, Burke, Fox, Barré, and out of parliament, Junius and Horne Tooke, were ranged on the side of conciliation: all the commonplace and routine minds only were for increased rigour. America was lost in spite of the most determined warnings of the highest intellect of the nation, and by men only fitted to travel in the wake of greatness. The motion of lord Rockingham suffered the fate of such motions, though two bishops voted in favour of it, and nineteen peers entered a protest against the decision.

The opposition maintained the struggle, with a resolution

fully justified by the immense importance of the cause, on every possible opportunity. On the report of the address, and again on the 1st of November, the duke of Manchester moved a resolution against the employment of foreign troops, as contrary to the Bill of Rights. The same motion was introduced into the commons two days after its defeat in the lords, and was defeated there also. These vain endeavours to stop the fatal rage for crushing the colonists, who were only taking the same stand on the same principles as our reformers had done in 1688, was immediately followed by lord Dartmouth quitting the office of secretary of state for the colonies, and taking the privy seal, resigned by Grafton, whilst, to the astonishment of the whole nation, the colonial office was filled by lord George Germaine, the disgrace of Minden, and notorious for his proud, imperious, and rash temper, as active in mischief in official life as he had been inactive at the necessary moment in the crisis of battle. Besides this most disastrous change as it regarded America, lord Rochford also resigned, and was succeeded as secretary of state for the southern department by lord Weymouth, and "the wicked" lord Lyttleton, so notorious for his debauched life, was called to serve the moral George in the privy council, and as chief justice in Eyre, notwithstanding his fierce attacks up to this time on all the measures of ministers against America.

On the 30th of October lord North brought in a bill, in pursuance of a passage in the king's speech, to call out the militia in cases of actual rebellion. This was violently opposed, as tending to bring the people under martial law, and for inducing the militia to volunteer for foreign service. In his speech in reply, lord North commented sharply on the conduct of the Constitutional Society, at the head of which was Horne Tooke, who was now under prosecution for the circulation of letters from this society, denouncing the affair at Lexington as a bloody murder of subjects on our part. Besides this, the society had agreed that the sum of one hundred pounds should be raised for the relief of the widows, and orphans, and aged parents, of those who fell there on the American side. Notwithstanding the sturdy resistance of the opposition, this bill was carried, and in December another bill was carried, extending the militia act to Scotland for the first time.

Ministers having thus passed these measures on the country, called for twenty-five thousand sailors and fifty-five thousand soldiers as the force for the year. Of these twenty-eight thousand soldiers were to be employed in America, and seventy-eight sail of the line on her coast. Besides this, lord Barrington, secretary at war, asked two million pounds for the pay and contingent expenses of five battalions of Hessians. Barrington excused the employment of the foreign troops by the impossibility almost of recruiting at home—a pretty clear indication of the view which the common people took of this struggle. He said no means had been left untried to recruit; the bounty money had been raised, the standard of height had been lowered, attempts had been made to enlist Irish catholics and foreigners individually, but in vain. We shall soon find it declared in parliament that, though we had spent fifty millions of money, we had yet no army; such was the popular repugnance to this unnatural war.

One of the most extraordinary spectacles was that of lord Barrington, in his place as minister of war, declaring that an army in America was as absolutely necessary as a fleet on its coast, whilst he had long been contending to lord North quite the contrary. Like Barré, he was perfectly persuaded of the fatality of following the Americans, admirable marksmen as they were, into the interior, amid their woods, bogs, and numerous rivers. He pointed out the difficulties of conveying artillery, stores, &c., into such an interior, and the danger of losing communication with the fleet. He went further than Barré—he would have no army at all on land, but would blockade the forts, and have strong fleets out everywhere along the coasts to cut off at once all trade with the colonies, and all access to interfering foreign powers. He would withdraw the garrisons

On the 7th of November the duke of Richmond proposed that Mr. Penn should be heard at the bar of the house of lords, in relation to the petition which he had brought from America. This was overruled; but the duke again moved that he should be heard the next day, and, after much opposition, carried his object. Penn, who was the grandson of the founder of Pennsylvania, and had been governor of it himself, was then examined. He denied that the colonists wished for independence, but, on the contrary, they desired peace, and therefore had called the petition intrusted to him "The Olive Branch." He stated that Pennsylvania alone had sixty thousand men capable of bearing arms, and that twenty thousand had already enrolled themselves; that four thousand five hundred minute-men also were maintained by that province. The opposition dwelt on the



A CANADIAN FOREST SCENE.

from the backwood frontiers, and leave the colonists open to the inroads of the Indians, who had cost us so much to keep back. He considered that our fighting on land only tended to kindle the enthusiasm of the colonists, and that if left to starve, without conflict, in their blockaded country, their distresses, not relieved by any little successes, would soon sink their spirits, and then, when they were ready to concede, we ought to be ready to concede too. Just before the meeting of parliament, lord Barrington wrote to lord North, urging these views again, and declaring that the Americans might be reduced by the fleet, but never by the army. Had lord Barrington, when he saw that his plan of the campaign was not adopted, resigned his post, and openly proclaimed his views, he would have done great service, but he was weak enough to allow the king to persuade him to retain office, whilst George went on pursuing his own plans in spite not only of Barrington, but of lord North himself.

strong nature of the country, its swamps, its vast rivers, its almost interminable forests; the ministerial party on the discrepancy betwixt the smooth language of the petition and the pacific statements of Penn, and the language of the addresses to the people of England and Ireland, to say nothing of the Americans being already in arms. The duke of Richmond's motion was lost. Then the duke of Grafton moved a string of resolutions—namely, that ministers should lay before parliament a statement of the number of soldiers employed in America before the disturbances, and their respective stations: their number now, and their stations; the plans for their winter quarters; and also an estimate of the number of soldiers that they deemed requisite to send against America.

Ministers very properly replied that this was precisely the information that would be most serviceable to the American insurgents, and lord Gower added what was equally true: that all the measures determined upon in England were



THE CAULDRON RAPIDS, NEAR OTTAWA.

much sooner known in the rebel camp than in our own. A long and vehement debate ensued, in which all the leading members took part, and in which lord Mansfield severely criticised the conduct of Grafton, Camden, and others, who, when in the ministry, had supported the arbitrary enactments against the colonies.

On the 16th of November, Burke, on presenting a petition against the prosecution of the war, moved for leave to bring in a bill on the principle of Edward I.'s statute *de tallagio non concedendo*, and on that of his former motion for the repeal of all the obnoxious acts, the renunciation of the claim to tax without representation, and with the addition of



WATERFALL OF MONTMORENCY, BETWEEN QUEBEC AND SAGUENAY.

a recognition of the congress, and a full amnesty for all past offences. Fox, Conway, Sir George Saville, strongly supported Burke, and governor Pownall declared that even Burke's proposals did not now go far enough. Admiral lord Howe, who was ordered to head the fleet against the colonies, expressed his painful sense of the duty imposed on him of making war on his fellow-subjects, and declared that, if he consulted his private feelings, he should decline. In the lords the same style of debate followed; but now the news of the expedition against Canada had arrived, and lord Mansfield exclaimed: "We are now in such a situation that we must either fight or be pursued. If we do not get the better of America, America will get the better of us! They have begun to raise a navy; trade, if left free to them, will beget opulence, and enable them to hire ships from foreign powers. It is said the present war is only defensive on the part of America. Is the attack on Canada a defensive war? Is their prohibiting all trade and commerce with every part of the British dominions, and starving our sugar islands, acting on the defensive? No; though those people never offended us, we will distress them, say they, because that will be distressing Great Britain. Are we, in the midst of all outrages of hostility, of seizing our ships, entering our provinces at the head of numerous armies, and seizing our forts, to stand idle, because we are told that this is an unjust war, and wait till the Americans have brought their arms to our very doors? *The justice of the cause must give way to our present situation; and the consequences which must ensue, should we now recede, would, nay, must, be infinitely worse than any we have to dread by pursuing the present plan, or agreeing at once to a final separation.*"

This was a melancholy situation to be reduced to by a blind and arbitrary policy—to be compelled to fight with our fellow-countrymen, though we felt that we were fighting unjustly. But so it was, and under this impression all proposals of accommodation on the part of the opposition were rejected, and the war went on.

The expedition against Canada, the news of which came with such conclusive effect on these debates, was projected by colonel Arnold and Ethan Allen at the taking of the forts of Ticonderoga and Crown Point. The recommendations of Allen were taken up, and on the 27th of June, although they had on the first of that month declared their determination not to invade or molest Canada, the congress passed other resolutions, instructing Philip Schuyler, one of their newly-made generals, to proceed to Ticonderoga, and from thence, if he saw it practicable, to go on and secure St. John's and Montreal, and to take any other measures against Canada which might have a tendency to promote the security of the colonies.

It was autumn, however, before the American force destined for this expedition, amounting to two thousand men, assembled on Lake Champlain; and Schuyler being taken ill, the command then devolved on general Montgomery. General Carleton, the governor of Canada, to whom the Americans, when it suited their purpose, were always attributing designs of invasion of the colonies, had not, in fact, forces sufficient to defend himself properly. Governor Johnson had offered the aid of seven hundred of the Indians of the Six Nations, and he had been impolitic

enough to refuse them. The Indians had noted the careless way in which the Americans held the forts of Ticonderoga and Crown Point after they had taken them from the English, and offered to take them back for England, and he refused that too; whereupon, in their resentment, they offered themselves to the Americans. They came most opportunely to Montgomery, who had just been foiled by another party of Indians, and he immediately advanced to the siege of St. John's, and thence to Montreal. Arnold, meantime, had gone to communicate a plan of his own to Washington, hoping to join the troops of Montgomery at Quebec by a different route, or to surprise it by himself.

Ethan Allen, who served under general Montgomery, proceeded with a detachment of one hundred and fifty men, to attempt the surprise of Montreal. He crossed the St. Lawrence about four miles below that town, and at the moment when he made himself pretty sure of his prize, he was himself surprised by major Campbell, at the head of only about thirty-six men of the 26th Regiment, but well supported by the people of Montreal and other French Canadians. Allen was directly put in irons as a felon and a traitor, and sent to England.

Meantime, general Montgomery had reached the St. Lawrence, and detached six hundred men to invest Fort Chamblé, situated on the river Sorel, about five miles above Fort St. John. Carleton made a clumsy and ineffectual effort to prevent the attack on the Fort, and Chamblé was surprised on the 3rd of November. Major Stopford, who had one hundred and sixty men there, made a shameful defence, not even destroying the ammunition, but letting it fall into the hands of the enemy, when the Americans were reduced to almost their last cartridge. Major Preston, who commanded at St. John's, finding that colonel Maclean, who was on the march to his assistance, had been compelled to return to Quebec, to anticipate the arrival of Arnold, also surrendered that fort with five hundred regulars and one hundred Canadian volunteers, who had behaved with much bravery.

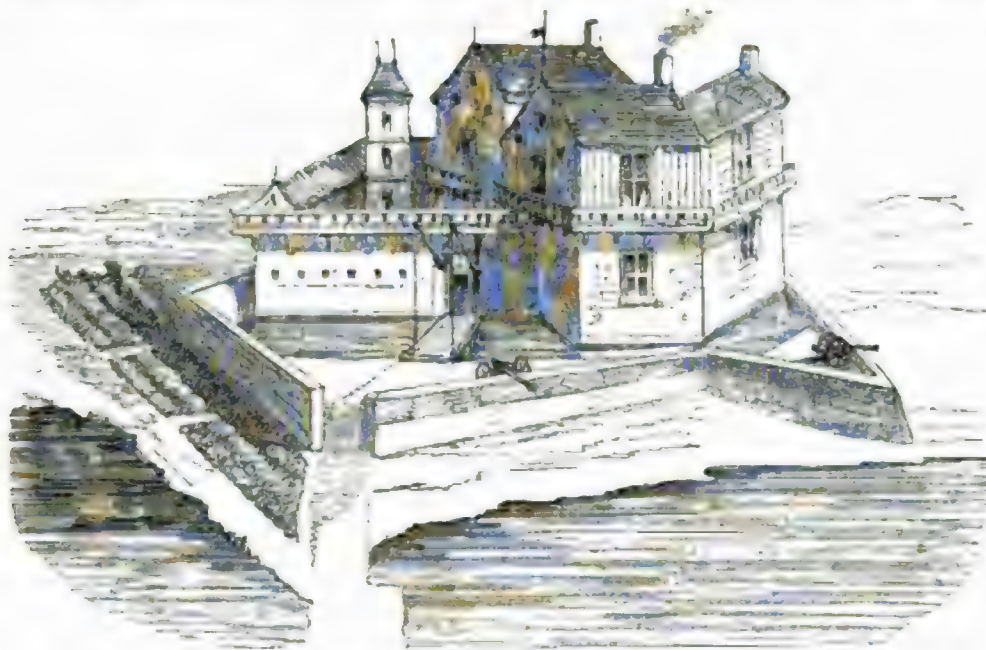
The menaced condition of Quebec compelled general Carleton to abandon Montreal to its fate, and to hasten to the capital, and Montgomery immediately took possession of it. So far all succeeded with the American expedition. Carleton, to reach Quebec, had to pass through the American forces on the St. Lawrence. He went in disguise, and dropped down the river by night, with muffled oars, threading the American craft on the river, and so reached Quebec alone, but in safety. Montgomery was determined to fall down the St. Lawrence too, to support Arnold; but his position was anything but enviable. He had been obliged to garrison Forts Chamblé and St. John's, and he was now compelled to leave another garrison at Montreal. This done, he had only four hundred and fifty men left, and they were in the most discontented and insubordinate condition. Though he had married an American lady, and had embraced the cause of the colonists with enthusiasm, he was now greatly disgusted with the service, and declared that he would resign at the end of the campaign. He found his men far more disposed to follow their own wills than his orders. Instead of obeying, they questioned and disputed his commands. Their term of service expired in a few

weeks, and they were impatient even of that time. They complained of the severity of the service and the season. As he proceeded, therefore, he found them fast melting away by desertion; and, had he not soon fallen in with Arnold and his band at Point aux Trembles, he would have found himself alone.

Arnold had meantime arranged everything with Washington, at Cambridge, for his expedition. Amongst his instructions was one enjoining him, if he found lord Pitt, Chatham's son, still serving in Canada, and he should happen to fall into his power, to treat him with the highest respect, for that he could not err in doing too much honour to the son of so illustrious a character—so true a friend of America. Arnold marched away from Cambridge with twelve hundred men, and on reaching the Kennebec River, one hundred and thirty miles north of Boston, embarked upon it, carrying with him one thousand pounds in money,

Arnold now sent out his men in all directions to forage for provisions; and, allowing time to rest and for the stragglers to come up, he did not advance again till the 9th of November. He emerged on the river St. Lawrence, at Point Levis, immediately over against Quebec. Could Arnold have crossed immediately, such was the suddenness of the surprise, that he probably would have taken the city. But a rough gale was blowing at the time, and for five days he was detained on the right bank of the river by that circumstance and the want of boats. By that time, colonel Maclean had made good his retreat into the city, and put it in a state of defence. Some small armed vessels were anchored in front of the town, and boats filled with armed men rowed to and fro to keep watch on the Americans on the opposite shore.

Arnold, nevertheless, managed to cross the river in the night, about a mile and a half above the place where Wolfe



FIRST HOUSE ERECTED AT QUEBEC.

and a whole cargo of manifestoes for distribution among the Canadians. The Kennebec is a wild and rapid stream, rising in Lake St. Pierre, or Moosehead, in a mountain range separating Maine from Canada. Great part of this stream had never been surveyed; it was full of rapids and falls, and so strong that, on an average, the men had to wade above half the way. Arnold, in his dispatches, said—"You would have thought them amphibious." Thence he had to traverse a terrible wilderness of woods, swamps, streams, and rugged heights, where the men had to carry their boats and their provisions on their shoulders, and where, for two-and-thirty days, they saw no house, wigwam, or sign of human life. So extreme were his distresses, that for the last several days they had to live on their own dogs. It was the 3rd of November before they reached the first Canadian settlement on the river Chaudière, which flows into the St. Lawrence opposite to Quebec.

His second in command, colonel Enos, had got entangled in the windings of the Dead River, a tributary of the Kennebec, and had been so completely bewildered that he had returned with one-third of the detachment to Cambridge.

had crossed. Finding the cliffs there too high to scale, he followed the shore down to Wolfe's Cove, and ascended the heights just where Wolfe had done so. Like Wolfe, Arnold formed his band on the heights of Abraham, and, trusting to the belief that the Canadians were in favour of the Americans, proposed to make a dash up to the gates of the city before day broke; but his followers protested against this design. When day dawned, Arnold saw so many men on the walls and batteries that he knew the assault was hopeless, and retired to Point aux Trembles, where he was joined by Montgomery, who took the chief command.

Arnold had not been able to bring any artillery with him; Montgomery had a little. They had about twelve hundred men altogether; and with this force they now marched upon Quebec. On the 20th of December they commenced firing on the town from a six-gun battery; but their cannon was too light to make much impression—they had no guns heavier than twelve-pounders, and these were soon dismounted by colonel Maclean and his sailors. The Americans withdrew their guns to a safer distance; and their troops were desirous to abandon the enterprise as impracticable,

but the commanders engaged them to continue by holding out a prospect of their plundering the lower town, where all the wealth lay. These religious New Englanders, who took forts in the name of Jehovah, had no objection to a little plunder. "The proposition," says Marshall, in his *Life of Washington*, "was at first received coolly by a part of Arnold's troops, who were by some means disgusted with their commanding officers; but the influence of Morgan, who was particularly zealous for an assault, and who held up, as a powerful inducement, *the rights conferred by the usages of war on those who storm a fortified town, at length prevailed.*" It seems to have made no difference that the people who were proposed to be plundered were their fellow-colonists, and not the English. In fact, the plundering of the Canadians by the Americans, contrary to the instructions of Washington, was one of the causes which made the Canadians deaf to all persuasions to join the insurrection.

On the last day of the year, soon after four in the morning, the attack was commenced. Two divisions, under majors Livingstone and Brown, were left to make feigned attacks on the upper town, whilst the rest, in two lines, under Montgomery and Arnold, set out amid a blinding snow-storm to make two real attacks on the lower town. Montgomery, descending to the bed of the St. Lawrence, wound along the beach to Cape Diamond, where he was stopped by a blockhouse and piquet. Having passed these, he again, at a place called Pot Ash, encountered a battery, which was soon abandoned. Montgomery then led his troops across huge piles of ice driven on shore; and, no sooner had they surmounted these, when they were received by a severe fire from a battery manned by sailors and highlanders. Montgomery fell dead along with several other officers and many men; and the rest, seeing the fate of their commander, turned, and fled back up the cliffs.

Arnold, at the same time, was pushing his way through the suburbs of the lower town, followed by captain Lamb with his artillerymen, and one field piece mounted on a sledge. After these went Morgan with his riflemen; and as they advanced in the dark, and muffled in the falling snow, they came upon a two-gun battery. As Arnold was cheering on his men to attack this outpost, the bone of his leg was shattered by a musket-ball. He was carried from the field; but Morgan rushed on, and made himself master of the battery and the guard. Just as day dawned, he found himself in front of a second battery, and, whilst attacking that, was assailed in the rear, and compelled to surrender, with a loss of four hundred men, three hundred of whom were taken prisoners.

The Americans called Montgomery their Wolfe, because he fell before Quebec; but with this difference, that Wolfe fell in the hour of success, and Montgomery in that of defeat. They could not erect a monument to his honour at Quebec, but they voted him one elsewhere. He was interred, by order of general Carleton, with military honours.

Arnold retreated to a distance of three or four miles from Quebec, and covered his camp behind the heights of Abraham with ramparts of frozen snow, and remained there for the winter, cutting off the supplies of the garrison, and doing his best to alienate the Canadians from the English.

To aid in this employment, congress sent the son of Franklin, with two other commissioners, armed with a newspaper press, but it produced little effect; and though Carleton could now have easily driven Arnold across the St. Lawrence, he preferred deferring this operation till spring freed the river from ice, and should enable him to act more effectually. Meantime, Arnold's position was by no means enviable. His wound was most disabling, and his men were discontented, insubordinate, and continually deserting.

In Virginia, lord Dunmore made a fresh attempt to re-establish the royal authority. He addressed letters to the planters, telling them that a great part of them only fomented a war with England to avoid paying their debts; and that, since they were anxious for liberty, he would, to the best of his ability, promote it by liberating their slaves and their indented servants, who were nearly white slaves. He issued a proclamation to this purport; and such negroes as could fled into Norfolk, where he had taken up his quarters. Could he have reached the slaves in the interior, the most disastrous consequences to the planters would have resulted. But these gentlemen took the alarm, and a thousand men threw themselves betwixt him and the country. They were marching for the bridge across the river Elizabeth, when they were met by a detachment of about one hundred and twenty men, black and white. They threw up intrenchments at the first news of the approach of this handful of king's troops, and received them with such a fire as killed their leader, captain Fordyce, and put the rest to flight. The country was left open from the river Elizabeth to Norfolk, and the Americans advanced to attack that town. On their approach, Dunmore, who had no adequate force, retired on board ship, and set fire to the wharves, which, communicating with the town, consumed it to ashes. As soon as he retired, the Virginians wreaked their vengeance on the royalists, burning down many of their houses, laying waste their plantations, and keeping their persons in constant jeopardy. Under such circumstances terminated the year 1775.

CHAPTER VI.

REIGN OF GEORGE III. (Continued.)

The Winter in Massachusetts—Blockade of Boston—Departure of the British Troops—Warfare in South Carolina—Americans expelled from Canada—Arrival of Admiral Howe—Pamphlets of Thomas Paine—Silas Deane's Mission to France—Independence proposed by Lee—Promulgated—The Name of the United States assumed—The British on Long Island—Battle of Brooklyn—Project to burn New York—The Barber Captain—Franklin's Mission to France—Overtures to Prince Charles Stuart—Washington's Night-march to Trenton—Surprise of the Hessians—Action at Princeton—New Jersey recovered by the Americans—Close of the Campaign—Parliament in England—Fire in the Dockyard at Portsmouth—Signal attempt at Plymouth—Jack the Painter—His Execution—Trial of Horne Tooke—British Ambassador at Paris—Koniusko—La Fayette goes to America—Skirmish at Quibbletown—Battle of Brandywine—British enter Philadelphia—Battle of Germantown—Condition of Washington's Army—Burgoyne re-takes Forts Mifflin and Edward—Miss Mifflin—Battle on Behm's Heights—Burgoyne's Retreat—Negotiations with General Gates—Surrender of Burgoyne—Terms of the Convention broken—British Parliament—Chatham's Speech on the Employment of Indians—News of Burgoyne's Surrender—and of American Treaty with France.

Winter affairs in America were rapidly assuming that shape which seemed to preclude every hope of accommodation. Efforts were not wanting in Great Britain, even at this

late period, still to check the fatal progress of the government. The Irish, who had for ages been an oppressed people, sympathised intensely with the Americans. The protestant dissenters of Dublin voted thanks to lord Howard of Effingham, for resigning his commission in the army, rather than sanction the war against the colonies. They voted the same thanks to the peers in opposition, who had exerted themselves to put an end to this unnatural quarrel. The common council of Dublin, prevented by the lord-mayor and aldermen from sending a strong petition and remonstrance to the king against the war, passed a resolution, expressing their deep sympathy with the injured inhabitants of America, and with their own countrymen about to be sent to slaughter their innocent fellow-subjects; and, aiming at the lord-mayor and aldermen, they declared all who opposed a petition tending to undeceive the king, by which the shedding of blood might be prevented, were enemies to the constitution. Soon after, on lord Harcourt, the lord-lieutenant, proposing to the Irish house of commons to send four thousand men out of Ireland, and receive as many foreign troops at no expense to Ireland, the house absolutely refused to admit the foreign troops. The conduct of lord Harcourt was brought before the English house of commons, on the plea that he had made an offer of public money contrary to the rule which required such matters to come first from the English commons. The case was clearly a breach of privilege, but ministers got out of it by their standing majority.

The English opposition was not so readily disposed of. The spirit of that body rose higher, as the imminence of war became greater. Charles James Fox made a motion for a committee to inquire into the causes of the inefficiency of his majesty's arms in North America, and of the defection of the people in the province of Quebec. He took a searching review of the whole proceedings since 1774, and contended that there was a great lack of ability and management somewhere, either in the government which planned, or the generals who had to execute the ministerial orders. His motion was rejected by two hundred and forty to one hundred and four votes.

But on the 29th of February the treaties lately entered into by the British government with a number of German princes to furnish troops to fight in America, were laid on the table of the commons; and a just and intense indignation was raised against this most odious and impolitic measure. There had been negotiations with Russia for the purpose of procuring her savages to put down our kinsmen in America; but this barbarous attempt had failed. It was more successful with the petty princes of Germany, the relations of the king and queen of England, who, always poor and always rapacious, were only too glad to turn the blood of their subjects into money. The duke of Brunswick, the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, and other little despots, for whose protection England had lavished oceans of blood and millions of money to prevent their being, as they would have been but for this long ago, swallowed up by Russia, Prussia, or France, now greedily seized on the necessity of England, to drive the most extravagant terms with her. Under the name of levy-money, they were to receive seven pounds ten shillings for every man; and besides maintaining

them, we were to pay to the duke of Brunswick, who supplied four thousand and eighty-four men, a subsidy of fifteen thousand five hundred and nineteen pounds: the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, who furnished twelve thousand men, did not get such good terms as Brunswick—he had ten thousand pounds; the hereditary prince of Hesse, six thousand pounds a-year, for only six hundred and eighty-eight men. Besides this, the men were to begin to receive pay before they began to march. The duke of Brunswick was also to receive double his sum, or thirty-one thousand and thirty-eight pounds a-year, for two years after they ceased to serve: and the landgrave of Hesse was to receive twelve months' notice of the discontinuance of the payment after his troops had returned to his dominions, and that year's payment was to be four hundred and fifty thousand crowns, or nearly one hundred thousand pounds. The prince of Waldeck soon after engaged to furnish six hundred and seventy men on equally good terms. Beyond all these conditions, England was bound to defend the dominions of these German harpies in the absence of their troops, so that had Frederick of Prussia, or had France or Austria, chosen to invade their petty territories, we should have been involved in a continental war on their account.

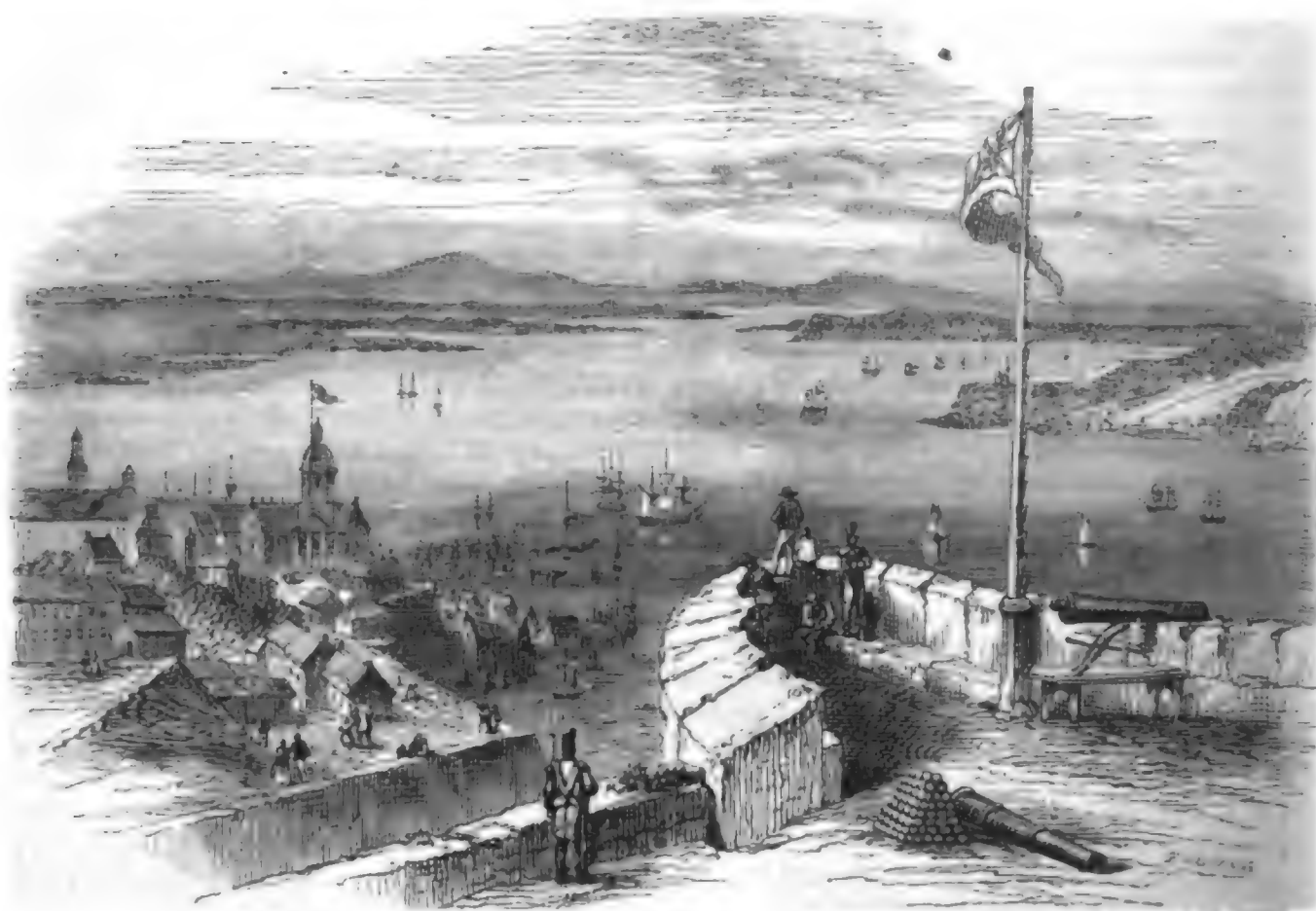
Surely never were mercenaries engaged by the most distressed nation on such disgraceful terms. Frederick of Prussia, who himself would have engaged mercenaries without any scruple, did not, however, omit the opportunity to express his contempt of George III.'s rapacious relatives, who sold him the blood of their subjects on such terms. Whenever any of the Brunswickers or Hessians passed through his territories on their march to the place of embarkation, he is said to have charged them toll as cattle, seeing that they were sold like cattle. Lord Mithon says, that "as the traveller lingers over the delicious garden slopes of Wilhelm's Höhe, he may sigh to think at what sacrifice they were adorned: how many burghers' sons from the adjoining town of Cassel were sent forth for no object but replenishing the coffers of their sovereigns, to fight and fall in a quarrel not their own." But if the improvement of their castles and estates with the blood-money of England had been the worst mole of its expenditure, it had been well. You have only to converse with the Germans themselves, to learn that our money, thus easily obtained, went to pamper the vilest sloth and lust of princely swine—went to pay the debts and mistresses of men that were loathed by their own people as monsters of sensuality; and these princes, who did not bring anything like the number of soldiers into the field for which they were paid, spent the money of moral George and moral England in satisfying greedy concubines and long-waiting creditors, and then plunged into still deeper sensual mire, in reliance on the lavish, unscrutinising, and exhaustless subsidies of England. The stories of such facts, still detailed in Germany, are painful to English ears. And what were the men they sold us? They were the offscouring of their populations, not raised, as now, by conscription, but raked together by every means, and we shall but too soon have to discover their real value to our service. In short, these Menschen Verkäufer, or men-sellers, as they are styled by their own people, had driven a very hard bargain with us.

for very worthless wares. We paid for about seventeen thousand mercenaries a million and a half yearly!

There is no point of view in which it is possible to regard these transactions in too severe a spirit. What a spectacle was it to the world to see England, in open defiance of her own constitutional principles, hiring the vilest of men to massacre our own fellow-subjects! It was a circumstance which greatly exasperated the Americans, and greatly encouraged them, by making it appear that we were too weak to contend against them ourselves. In the same degree, and for the same reasons, it encouraged France to make common cause with the colonists, and nothing is clearer than that, had we given an extra bounty and pay, we could, at

them for slaves. He declared that they were guilty of the additional crime of selling their people to destroy much better and nobler beings than themselves. Other members anticipated that we were only paying for the emigration of these Germans to America, where 150,000 of their countrymen had already crossed from their despotic masters at home; but the ministry were of opinion that these gallant Hessians and Brunswickers had only to show themselves in the colonies to frighten the insurgents into submission.

In the house of lords, the duke of Richmond denounced the whole scheme of setting rude mercenaries to butcher our own kinsmen. He represented the rapacity of the petty princes of Germany as unparalleled, and he complained of



QUEBEC, 1775.

an infinitely less annual cost, have raised infinitely better men at home. But the whole of the policy of the reign of George III. had from the first been so impolitic, and so grossly hostile to liberty, the monarch himself growing every day more and more obstinate, and more and more insisting on his own narrow and incapable ideas, that nothing but a frightful catastrophe could result from it.

The independent members of both houses nobly discharged their duty in condemnation of this engagement of German mercenaries. Even Lord Irnham, a Luttrell, stimulated into a violent oppositionist by the treatment of his daughter, the duchess of Cumberland, by the court, could grow virtuous on the occasion. He compared the German princes, the relatives of the king and queen, to Sancho Panza, when he wished that all his subjects of Baratania were black-amoores, that he might turn them into ready money by selling

the secret influence which rendered all appeals to the throne for wise and humane measures abortive. That influence, however, was now well known to be the king's own stubborn will and incapability for perceiving the calamitous course that he was pursuing. He thought it perfectly monstrous that for seventeen thousand three hundred mercenaries we should be paying a million and a half annually. On every possible occasion, the opposition in both houses renewed the appeal to better principles. The duke of Grafton, on the 14th of March, moved an address to his majesty, that opportunity should be given to the colonists still to offer their list of grievances, and that a suspension of arms should be granted to afford time to consider them. He assured government that negotiations between America and France were already on foot for sending assistance by the French to the colonies; that two French gentlemen had been to America, had conferred



DEATH OF MONTGOMERY AT QUEBEC.

with Washington at his camp, and had then proceeded to the congress at Philadelphia.

Ministers blindly treated all these warnings as groundless and ridiculous, declaring that we were never on better terms with France. In one of the debates, the earl of Coventry stated the true philosophy of colonisation. He begged their lordships to look at the map of America, and then ask themselves whether, at best, we could long hope to retain such a vast continent under our sway? He declared that the profits of a great and growing legitimate commerce were the real advantages of states planted by the parent country to that country; and that the true wisdom was to secure the affection of such peoples by granting them the most perfect freedom of action. Such doctrines, however, were far beyond the majority of statesmen of the time, and had to be made intelligible by humiliation and misfortune. Even the most enlightened of the opposition contemplated the separation of America from us as synonymous with the ruin of our trade. They did not yet comprehend the depth of the roots of blood and affinity, even though shaken and outraged, nor the mighty force of mutual necessities in nations. On the 10th of May, alderman Sawbridge, now lord mayor, made a motion for placing the Americans in the same position with regard to this country as Ireland; and general Conway made a final motion for inspecting the powers of the commissioners sent to America. All these efforts were vain.

During these discussions Wilkes brought in a motion for reform in parliament, by increasing the number of representatives for the larger counties, for the metropolis, and by conferring the franchise on the great manufacturing towns of Sheffield, Leeds, Manchester, and Birmingham. Such a motion required, yet, many long years to render it effective. The lords, also, spent a great deal of time investigating the question of the legality of the marriage of the celebrated beauty, the duchess of Kingston, formerly Miss Chudleigh, who was accused of being at the same time married to Mr. Augustus John Hervey, now earl of Bristol. Though she had, before marrying the duke of Kingston, procured a sentence of the Consistorial Court for the dissolution of her first marriage, the lords pronounced her guilty of bigamy; but, on the plea of her privileges as a peeress, exempted her from punishment. By this decision she was reduced to the rank and title of countess-downager of Bristol, but not deprived of the benefit of the late duke of Kingston's will on her behalf. Her former husband, the earl of Bristol, also, was now deceased.

The king prorogued parliament, under the pleasing delusion that his German mercenaries would soon bring his rebellious subjects to reason; and the ministers apparently as firmly shared in this fallacious idea.

In America, during this time, various encounters had taken place betwixt the English and American forces. Washington, spite of the severity of the winter weather, was pressing the blockade of Boston. But the difficulties with which he had to contend were so enormous, that, had general Howe had any real notion of them, as he ought to have had, he might have beaten off the American troops over and over. His troops, it is true, only amounted to about seven thousand, and Washington's to about fifteen thousand; but besides the deficiency of powder in Washington's camp, the condi-

tions on which his troops served were such as kept him in constant uncertainty. He declared that it took two or three months to bring them into any tolerable degree of subordination. By the time that was partly done, the period of their engagement terminated, and he was reduced to relax discipline, and coax them to renew their term. He complained, too, that the patriotism of the New Englanders did not bear a close inspection. He declared in his letter to his friend, Joseph Reed, that the conduct of the New England troops was scandalous, and that "a dirty, mercenary spirit pervaded the whole;" that "notwithstanding all the public virtue which is ascribed to the people of Massachusetts, there is no nation under the sun, that I ever came across, which pays greater adoration to money, than they do . . . Such a dearth of public spirit and want of virtue; such stock-jobbing and fertility in all the low arts, to obtain advantage of one kind or another in this great charge of military management, I never saw before, and pray God I may never be witness to again." He declared that, could he have foreseen what he should have to suffer from them, he would never have accepted the command.

Fortunately for him, the English in Boston were benumbed with that kind of lethargy which God sends when he means to punish a nation. The affairs of the commissariat, though they had the command of the sea, and had plenty of ships to bring in provisions, were managed with that ineffable neglect, which has made that department of our service, down to our time, the scorn of the whole world. In the terrible weather of this winter the troops suffered miserably from want both of fuel and food, and they were compelled to pull down houses for the timber for their fires. The officers tried to get through this wretchedness the best they might by establishing a theatre, holding balls, and projecting masquerades. They observed that England seemed to have forgotten them, and they tried to forget themselves.

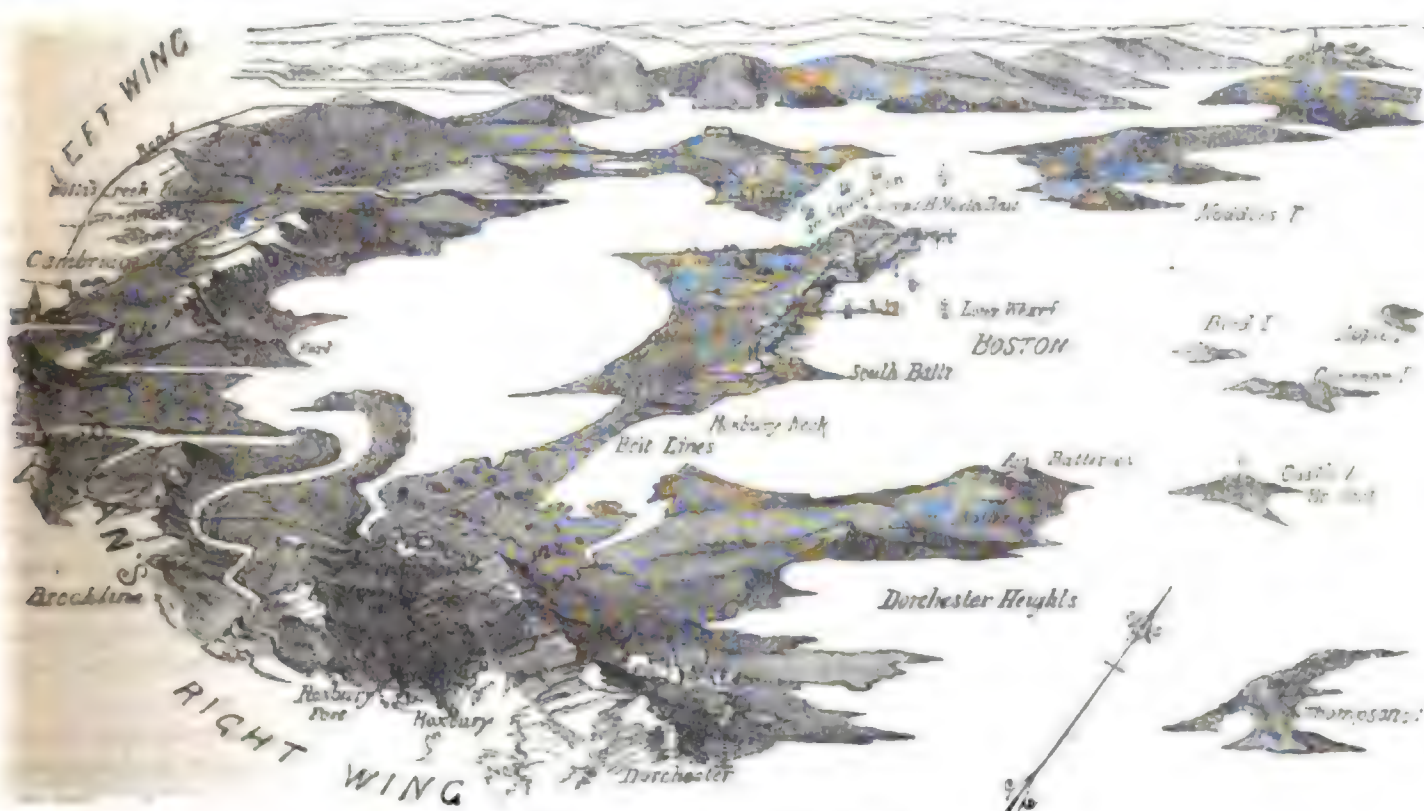
This was the condition of things when, early in March, Washington commenced acting on the defensive. He then up entrenchments on Dorchester, now South Boston heights, overlooking and commanding both Boston town and harbour. Taking advantage of a dark night, on the 4th of March he sent a strong detachment to the heights, who, before morning threw up a redoubt, which made it necessary for general Howe to dislodge them, or evacuate the place. It seems amazing, after the affair of Bunker's Hill, that Howe had not seen the necessity of occupying the post himself. He now, however, prepared to attack the redoubt, and the soldiers were eager for the enterprise. The vanguard fell down to William Castle, at which place the ascent was to be made, and on the morrow, the 5th of March, the anniversary of what was termed the massacre of Boston, the fight was to take place. A violent storm, however, arose, rendering the crossing of the water impracticable. By the time that it ceased, the Americans had so strengthened their works that it was deemed a useless waste of life to attempt to carry them. The only alternative was the evacuation of Boston. Howe had long been persuaded that it would be much better to make the British headquarters at New York, where there were few American troops, and where the king's friends were numerous; and this certainly was true, unless he had mus-

tered resolution and sought to disperse his enemies when they were in a state of disorder and deficiency of ammunition that insured his certain success. As it was, he was now most ignominiously cooped up, and in hourly jeopardy of being shelled out of the place. He had obtained the permission of his government for this movement, and he now set about it in earnest. When, however, he came to embark, another example was given of that shameful neglect which pervaded the whole of the British civil department of the military service, at that day, and which has continued to our day. When the transports were examined, they were found totally destitute of provisions and forage. "Never," says one of the officers, "were troops in so disgraceful a condition, owing entirely to Great Britain being fast asleep!"

No direct compact was entered into betwixt Howe and

thus released from an irksome restraint, whilst the prominent republicans, who had fled into the country, now flocked in again, and took possession of their homes and employments. Washington did not feel secure till he saw the British fleet under sail, for he seems by his letters to have but little faith at this time in the men of Massachusetts. He wrote—"I am taking every precaution I can to guard against the evil; but we have a kind of people to deal with who will not fear danger till the bayonet is at their throats, and then they are susceptible enough of it."

Howe, who, with seven thousand soldiers and more than one thousand sailors, did not feel himself safe at New York till the new reinforcements should arrive, sailed away to Halifax—a circumstance which gave the appearance of a retreat to his change of location, and had thus a bad effect



PLAN OF THE BLOCKADE OF BOSTON.

Washington regarding the evacuation; but an indirect communication and understanding on the subject was entered into—through the "Select Men" of Boston—that no injury should be done to the town during it, provided the troops were unmolested in embarking. Before departing, however, the English totally dismantled and partly demolished Castle William. On the 17th, the last of the British troops were on board; and that afternoon Boston was entered in triumph by general Putnam, at the head of the vanguard. About two thousand of the royalist inhabitants fled with the English army. Many of these unfortunate people abandoned large properties and depended entirely on the rations allowed them from the army stores, rather than trust to the tender mercies of their countrymen. The departing fleet of one hundred and fifty sail lay for ten days in Nantasket Roads. Washington entered the town in triumph the day after the entry of Putnam, and was received with every demonstration of joy by the inhabitants,

in more ways than one. Washington, who was informed of his final destination, immediately marched with the greater part of his army to New York, and thence went himself to Philadelphia to concert future measures with the congress. This body, in commemoration of the surrender of Boston, ordered a medal to be struck in honour of it, and that it should bear the effigy of Washington, with the title of the assertor of the liberties of his country. The medal was cast in France.

Whilst general Howe was making for Halifax, some of the reinforcements from England arrived at Boston. To add to the miserable series of blunders committed by the British generals there, Howe had left no cruisers in the bay to warn English vessels approaching that the town was now in American hands. The consequences were—as might have been expected—disastrous. Scarcely was Howe's fleet out of sight when several store ships sailed right into the harbour, and fell into the hands of Washington. One of

these vessels contained no less than fifteen hundred barrels of gunpowder, and a large stock of arms and tools necessary for the army. The Americans declared this supply of arms, and especially of powder, a direct act of Providence in their favour; and, in fact, Providence would seem to have stupefied the wits of the English for the purpose of effecting the independence of America. Scarcely was this disaster complete when lieutenant-colonel Campbell, with seven hundred of the expected troops from England, ran also into the harbour, and was secured. To add to the effect of this most inconceivable negligence on the part of Howe, he had been compelled, for want of room on board the wretched transports, to leave behind two hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, half of which were serviceable, four large mortars, one hundred and fifty horses, twenty-five thousand bushels of wheat, and a quantity of provender and provisions. Perhaps there never was a more amazing instance of culpable disregard of common sense and care. If Howe could not have carried off these things, he could at least have destroyed them, and not have left them to support the enemy against him. But this was only the beginning of such strange doings.

In Canada, the management of the war was more successful. To maintain the war in that quarter, the congress had ordered nine regiments to be raised. One of these was to be raised in Canada itself, and, for this purpose, a commission was given to Moses Hazen, who had formerly been a captain of rangers, under Wolfe. This man went over to the American cause for the rank of colonel, and was to form his regiment of Canadians. He was not, however, very successful. The Canadians were not to any extent disaffected to the British government, and by no means well affected to the New Englanders, who were bitterly bigoted against catholics, which the Canadians chiefly were. Besides, Hazen was furnished chiefly with the congress paper money, in which the Canadians had no faith. Congress was therefore obliged to send coined money, though dreadfully short of it themselves. To reassure the Canadians, they passed a resolution to restore, at the end of the war, whatever their army had taken from them, and to make compensation for all damages and injuries. When Hazen and Arnold saw that the Canadians would neither enlist nor bring provisions to their camps, without cash payment, they commenced plundering for all that they wanted, and thus confirmed that people in their hatred of the Americans. They, moreover, insulted the Canadians by ridiculing their rites of worship.

Miserably as Arnold had passed the winter in his camp, as spring approached he again planted his batteries above Quebec, but produced so little effect, that Carleton lay still in expectation of his reinforcements on the breaking up of the river. On the 1st of April general Wooster arrived, and took the command, much to the disgust of Arnold, who was sent to command a detachment at Montreal. On the 1st of May, general Thomas, who was to be supreme in command, arrived, and found the forces amounting to about two thousand men. Many had already quitted the army and gone home, their term being up, and many more were on the eve of doing so. Had he had anything like an efficient force, the time was gone for employing it. The river was now fast opening; and on the 6th of May three

English ships had made their way up to Quebec, full of troops. Two companies of the 29th regiment and one hundred marines were immediately landed amid the rejoicings of the inhabitants; and general Carleton gave instant orders to issue forth and attack the American lines.

But general Thomas, conscious that, so far from being able to take Quebec, he should be himself taken, unless he decamped with all haste, was already on the move. General Carleton pursued him vigorously, and the retreat of the Americans became a regular rout. They threw themselves into boats at the Three Rivers, leaving behind them all their artillery and stores, as well as the sick, who were numerous, the smallpox having broken out amongst them. Numbers of the enfeebled Americans were scattered through the woods, where many of them perished of exhaustion. To his honour, general Carleton issued a proclamation, that all such fugitives giving themselves up should receive all the necessaries and comforts that their cases required; and, as soon as their health was restored, should be at liberty to return to their own provinces. He also ordered all officers of militia to have diligent search made through the woods for such unhappy fugitives, and for the payment of all necessary charges incurred in this service.

Thomas managed to reach Fort Chamblé and St. John's on the Sorel; but there he died, having taken the smallpox. Meantime, general Carleton had dispatched captain Forster against a place called the Cedars, about thirty miles to the westward of Montreal, on the river St. Lawrence. Forster only took with him two lieutenants, forty-eight soldiers, and about one hundred and twenty Indians. The Cedars was a place naturally strong, within a mile of the great falls of St. Lawrence; and the Americans had thrown up some formidable works. Forster set out on the 11th of May, only five days after the Americans commenced their flight, and on the 17th he landed at Point au Diable, within six miles of the Cedars, and marched into the woods surrounding that fort with much secrecy and address. He posted his men all round the fort, and then sent a party of Indians to cut off all communication with the island of Montreal, where Arnold lay. These Indians fell in with a number of men from the garrison, who had been out foraging, who fled into the fort, and thus gave the first intelligence of the English being at hand. Forster demanded the instant surrender of the fort; and on Major Butterfield, the commander, demurring, he gave him to understand that, should fighting take place, and any of the Indians be killed, nothing would prevent the Indians committing a fearful massacre. Butterfield agreed to give up the fort on condition of being allowed to retire to Montreal; but Forster refused, and began firing on the place. Butterfield then surrendered. The next day the Indians surprised a party of Arnold's men, sent to succour the fort, and brought them in prisoners, proposing to put them to death with their usual ceremonies. Forster, with the greatest difficulty, induced them to forego this barbarity, by distributing presents amongst them. He had now nearly five hundred prisoners in his hands, when he was attacked by Arnold with a strong party at Vaudreuil, about six miles to the westward of the Cedars. Arnold was compelled to retreat to St. Anne's, in the island of Montreal, where Forster entered

into arrangements with him for an exchange of prisoners. Congress afterwards broke this cartel, on pretence that Forster had treated his prisoners with cruelty, whereas, he had really saved them from the tomahawks of the Indians. Congress carried this conduct still further. They demanded that Forster should be given up to them on a charge of murder. This breach of faith, says one of their own historians, presented a most unfortunate obstacle to the exchange of prisoners in future.

Carleton being, by the beginning of June, reinforced by still more troops from England, determined to follow the Americans. They had reached the Three Rivers, about midway betwixt Quebec and Montreal, and about thirty miles from the American headquarters on the Sorel, when general Sullivan, who had succeeded Thomas, sent two thousand men under general Thompson. His three chief regiments were commanded by colonels St. Clair, Wayne, and Irving. They got across the river and hoped to surprise the English; but it was daylight before they drew near the Three Rivers. They were descried in their boats, and briskly fired into from the banks. Landing with confusion, they sought a place where they could form and defend themselves; but they found themselves entangled in a labyrinth of streams and morasses. Then they were attacked, front and rear, by generals Frazer and Nesbit. Wayne was disabled by a wound, and, though they fought bravely, general Thompson and Colonel Irvine were taken prisoners, with two hundred of their men. In the suddenness of the surprise, no precaution had been taken to secure or destroy their boats; the remainder of the Americans, therefore, getting into them, pulled away and escaped.

Sullivan, who had hastened to support them, now, accompanied by St. Clair, made the best of his way back to Fort Chamblé. Carleton pursued, but coming to the Sorel, instead of sailing up it, by which he might have reached Chamblé nearly a day earlier than Sullivan, with a strange neglect he continued lying at the mouth of the river for a couple of days. Had he not done this, Arnold would have been intercepted at Montreal, and Ticonderoga, now defenceless, would have fallen into his hands. By this false step much damage to the king's cause ensued. Carleton, however, determined to seek out Arnold himself, and sent on general Burgoyne in pursuit of Sullivan. Burgoyne made quick pursuit; but the Americans were too nimble for both himself and Carleton. Arnold evacuated Montreal in all haste, and, crossing the river, joined Sullivan at St. John's, on the Sorel. There Sullivan proposed to make a stand, but his troops would not support him, for the whole army was in a state of insubordination. They set fire to St. John's, and retreated for Lake Champlain. Burgoyne marched rapidly after them; but, on reaching the head of the Sorel, he found they had escaped him by embarking on the lake, where he had no means of following them, but where they had numerous armed vessels. Sullivan and Arnold had encamped on the Isle aux Noix, a swampy place, where their men perished. Many of them, of fever, and Burgoyne was obliged to satisfy himself with the thought that they were driven out of Canada.

In the south, affairs had been as ill conducted by the

English commanders as in the north they had been carried on well. Governor Martin had made an effort to recover North Carolina. He had collected a number of Highlanders, recently emigrated to America, and a number of backwoodsmen, called Regulators, and sent them, under the command of colonels Macdonald and Macleod, to compel the inhabitants to submission. They were to be supported by regular troops to be landed at Wilmington, and general Clinton was daily expected with the reinforcements from England. But Clinton did not appear, and the impatient Highlanders and Regulators, in marching from Cross Creek to Wilmington, were decoyed into a swamp, and there attacked and beaten. Macleod and most of the Highlanders were taken prisoners, and the Regulators, such as escaped, made again for the woods.

On the 3rd of May lord Cornwallis arrived on the coast with a squadron of transports, convoyed by Sir Peter Parker, with several ships of war, and containing seven regiments of infantry. General Clinton arrived soon after, and took the command of the troops; and, in concert with Parker, he determined to attack Charleston, the capital of South Carolina, whose trade was of vital interest to the colonies, and to take or destroy it. On the 4th of June they appeared off Charleston, and landed on Long Island. They found the mouth of the harbour strongly defended by fortifications on Sullivan's Island, and by others on Hadrell's Point on its north, nearly reaching to the island, and connected with it by a bridge of boats. On the point lay encamped the American general Lee, with upwards of five thousand five hundred regulars and militia, and some artillery. Clinton threw up two batteries on Long Island to command those on Sullivan Island, whilst Parker, from the ships, was to assist in covering the landing of the troops on that island. Clinton was informed that he could easily cross from one island to the other by a ford; and consequently, on the morning of the 28th of June, Sir Peter Parker drew up his men-of-war—three vessels of fifty guns each, and six frigates of twenty-eight guns each, besides another of twenty-four guns and the Thunder bomb. With springs upon his cables, he opened a sharp fire on the fort on Sullivan Island, under cover of which Clinton proceeded to cross the ford, and to co-operate from the land. But he had been deceived; what was called a ford, he found impassable. He was compelled to reembark his troops, and meantime Parker's vessels, also unacquainted with their ground, ran upon a shoal, where one of them struck. Under these unfortunate circumstances, the Americans, from the island and from Hadrell's Point, poured a tremendous fire into the ships, doing dreadful execution. The battle continued till nine or ten o'clock at night, nearly twelve hours. Captain Morris, of the *Bristol*, was killed, and captain Scott, of the *Experiment*, wounded beyond almost all hope of his life. The ships were greatly damaged. The *Bristol* had one hundred and eleven killed and wounded, and the *Experiment* seventy-nine. The *Actæon* frigate, not being able to be got off the shoal, was set fire to by Parker, and burnt to the water's edge. Clinton sailed away, after this ignominious attempt to join general Howe, but some of the vessels were compelled to remain some time at Long Island to refit.

The Americans were, of course, greatly elated by this success. Colonel Moutrie, who defended the fort, was highly complimented for his bravery; the garrison were much applauded; and a sergeant received a present of a sword from the people of Charleston for his gallant conduct on the occasion. The safety of the fort and town, however, depended on the army of general Lee, for, had he not protected it from the first, the fort on Sullivan Island would have been easily reduced, and the town exposed to bombardment.

In Virginia, lord Dunmore made a last endeavour to rouse the loyal portion of the population. His plan had something impracticable in it. He sent out a Mr. Connelly, a native of Pennsylvania, to excite the people of the interior and of the back settlements to arms. They were to engage several Indian tribes to join them, and Connelly, collecting



OLD SOUTH CHURCH, BOSTON.

a body of men at Pittsburgh, was to burst into Virginia, with his miscellaneous host and his Indian allies, and, descending the Potomac to Alexandria, was then to be met by lord Dunmore and such forces as he could muster. But Connelly was recognised, seized in the back settlements, and conveyed to Philadelphia in irons, where his papers were examined, revealing the whole plan, and completely putting an end to lord Dunmore's operations. Connelly was treated with much severity by the Americans.

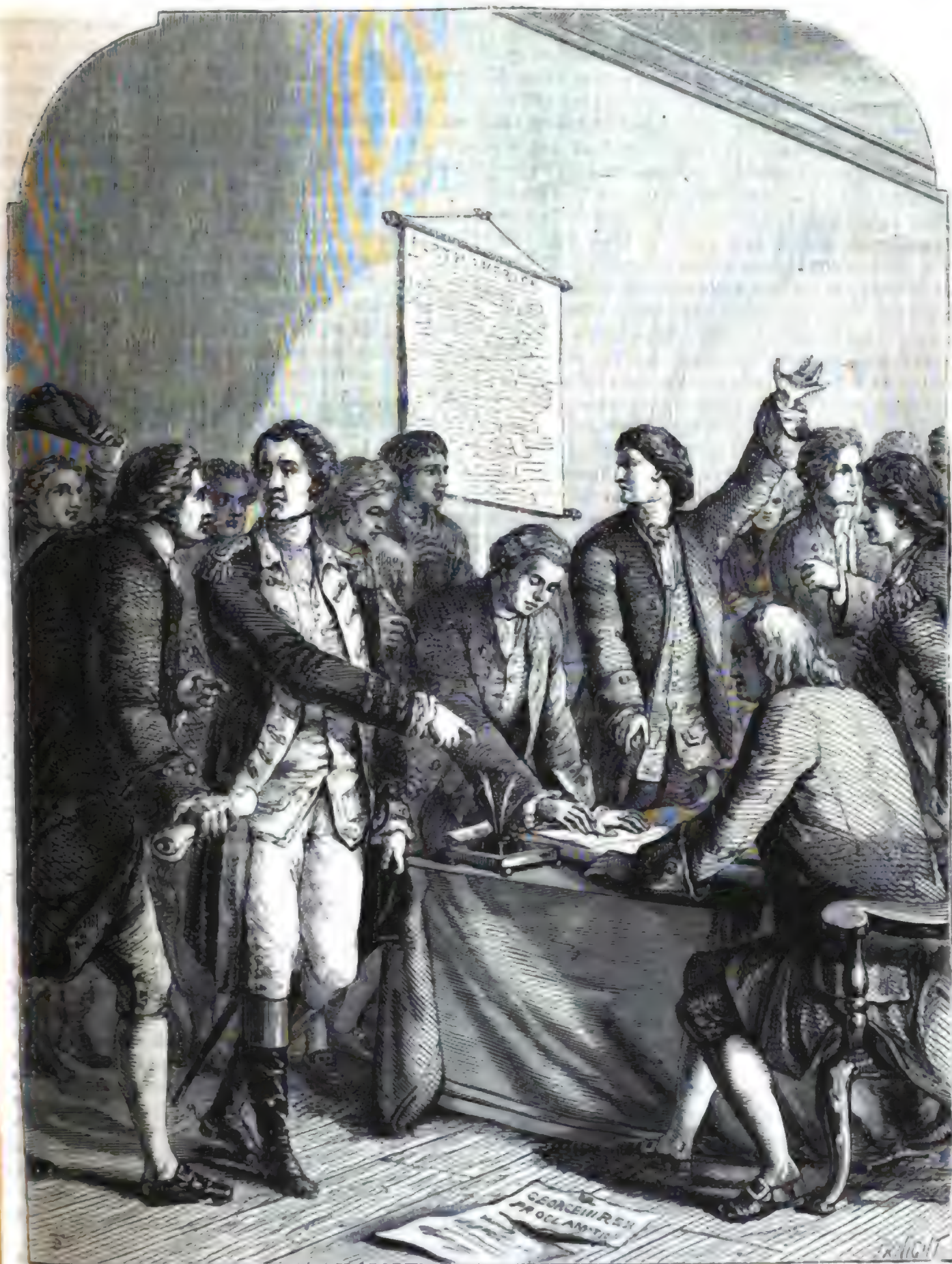
But whilst these conflicts were taking place, the revolution was marching on at full speed, and had reached its acmé—the Declaration of Independence. The continental congress, on the 15th of May, passed a resolution that it was necessary for such of the States as had not framed for themselves such constitutions as were required by the altered circum-

stances of the country, to forthwith frame such as should be conducive to their safety and welfare. This was published in all the newspapers, accompanied by a statement that, as the king of England, in concurrence with his parliament, had excluded the people of those colonies from his protection, it became indispensable to abolish the constitution established by that power, and frame one for themselves. Here was a plain declaration; there was no longer any mistake. Congress had voted for independence, and it was curious to see the immediate effect of this, in causing a number of double-dealing patriots to throw off their dissimulation, and put in their eager claims for the first promulgation of this idea. John Jay, of New York, zealously claimed it for himself; and the friends of Dr. Franklin claimed it as boldly for him, notwithstanding his continual protestations in England, to the last moment of his stay there, that he desired nothing of the kind. His own private letters, however, already quoted, justify the claims of his friends, which at once establish his duplicity and his patriotism.

There was no man in the colonies, nevertheless, who contributed so much to bring the open declaration of independence to a crisis as Thomas Paine, the celebrated author of "The Rights of Man" and of "The Age of Reason."

Paine was originally a quaker and staymaker at Thetford, in Norfolk. He renounced his quakerism and his staymaking, became an exciseman, and then an usher in a school, reverting again to the gauging of ale firkins. In 1772 he wrote a pamphlet on the mischiefs arising from the inadequate payment of the excise officers, laying them open to bribes, &c. This pamphlet having been sent to Franklin, induced him to recommend the poor author to emigrate to America. Paine adopted the advice, and settled at Philadelphia in 1774. He there devoted himself to political literature, wrote for the papers and journals, finally edited the "Philadelphia Magazine," and, imbibing all the ardour of revolution, wrote, in January of the present year, a pamphlet called "Common Sense."

This pamphlet was the spark which was all that was needed to fire the train of independence. It at once seized on the imagination of the public, cast all other writers into the shade, and flew, in thousands and tens of thousands of copies, over all the colonies. It ridiculed the idea of a small island, three thousand miles off, ruling that immense continent, and threatening, by its insolent assumption, the expanding energies of three millions of men, more vigorous, virtuous, and free, than those who sought to enslave them. During the winter and spring this lucid and admirably reasoned pamphlet was read and discussed everywhere, and by all classes, bringing the conviction that immediate independence was necessary. The common fire blazed up in the congress, and the thing was done. As for Paine, poor as the country was, the congress of Pennsylvania voted him three hundred pounds; the university of that province conferred on him the degree of Master of Arts; he was elected a member of the American Philosophical Society, founded by Franklin, and afterwards clerk of the committee of foreign affairs. In a word, he became the great oracle on subjects of government and constitutions, and contrived, both by personal exertions and through the press, to urge on the utter separation of the colonies from the mother country. We shall hereafter



SIGNING THE DECLARATION OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE.

find him as busily employed in co-operating in the revolution of France—the offspring of the present revolution—as a member of the French national assembly.

Besides pamphlets, sermons to the people and harangues to the soldiers were assiduously addressed, to bring the mass to the fusion point of independence. George III. and England were depicted in terrific colours as Pharaoh and the land of bondage; the poor afflicted Americans were the oppressed children of Israel. A British officer in disguise, listened to a speech addressed to a body of militia by their colonel, in which he was both scriptural and classical, embellishing his oration with quotations from Cæsar and Pompey, brigadier-generals Putnam and Ward! The people addressed on the subject of independence often turned round with very posing questions, as, “What do you mean by independence?” and on one occasion a correspondent of Washington informed him that the answer was, “We mean a form of government to make us independent of the rich, and every man able to do as he pleases.”

Amongst the provinces employing themselves to carry out the recommendation of the congress, by framing new constitutions, that of New York was emboldened by the presence of Washington and his army to disregard the royalists, and to frame a perfectly independent system. Governor Morris took the lead in the ultra party, and declared that the time was now come for asserting entire independence. On the 27th of May, a resolution to that effect was passed, asserting that, as governor Tryon had voluntarily abdicated (the fact being he had fled for his life), it was necessary to fill up his office according to the inherent rights of the people, to abolish the old assembly, which had been called under regulations passed by Great Britain, now become hostile, and to elect a new assembly, and establish a new government totally independent of all foreign and external power. The delegates of the assembly were instructed to support these principles in the congress.

The assembly of Virginia, meeting in convention at Williamsburg on the 6th of May, drew up a declaration of rights, a document which afterwards became the model for the celebrated “rights of man” with the French revolutionists. In this declaration it was asserted that the rights of the people cannot exist with hereditary monarchy; and in the fourth article it was affirmed, that the idea of “a man being born a magistrate, a legislator, or a judge, is unnatural and absurd.” And, accordingly, Richard Henry Lee, as one of their delegates, on the 7th of June, moved in the general congress, that “these united colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; that measures should immediately be taken for procuring the assistance of foreign powers, and a confederation be formed to bind the colonies more closely together.”

This all-important question was adjourned to the next day, the 8th of June, when it was debated in a committee of the whole house. As the whole debate, however, took place with closed doors, as all great debates of congress did, to hide the real state of opinion, and to give to the ultimate decision the air of unanimity, the reports of it are meagre

and unsatisfactory. We know, however, that Lee, the original mover, was supported by his colleague Wythe, and most energetically by John Adams; that it was as vigorously opposed by John Dickenson and his colleagues, Wilson, of Pennsylvania, and Robert Livingstone, of New York, by Edward Rutledge, of South Carolina. Moreover, a considerable number of members from different states opposed the motion, on the ground, not of its being improper in itself, but, as yet, premature. Six colonies declared for it, including Virginia; Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Maryland, were expressly against it. New York, Delaware, and South Carolina, were not decided to move yet; and it was proposed to give them time to make up their minds. Dr. Zubly, of Georgia, protested against it, and quitted the congress. To give time for greater unanimity, the subject was postponed till the 1st of July, but, meantime, a committee was appointed to draw up a declaration of independence. The members of this committee were only five, namely, Thomas Jefferson, of Virginia; John Adams, of Massachusetts; Roger Sherman, of Connecticut; Richard R. Livingstone, of New York; and Benjamin Franklin, of Pennsylvania. Besides this, two other committees were appointed—one to draw up a plan of confederation, and the other to prepare a scheme of the terms proper for foreign alliances. A board of war was also established, and John Adams was nominated its chairman. —post, says the American historian, Hildreth, “which gave him a full insight into the details of affairs, and compelled him to complain, like Washington, that, even in this infant age of our republic, corruption abounded, and a predominant avarice, which threatened the ruin of America; the golden age of pure, disinterested patriotism, being much like all other golden ages—a thing at a distance, which will not bear a close inspection.”

On the 1st of July the report of the committee was read together with the form of declaration as drawn up by Jefferson, but afterwards remodelled by Franklin and the committee. Nine states now voted for independence. Pennsylvania and South Carolina voted against it. Delaware and South Carolina requested an adjournment to the next day, in order to make up their minds, when they voted for it, a new delegate having arrived from Delaware with firmer instructions. New York held out against independence, general Howe having now arrived at Sandy Hook, and the provincial congress having retired from New York to White Plains. Jay and governor Morris, from that state, were, however, vehement for independence, asserting that the congress of New York ought to be dissolved, and delegates sent up to a new and more popular congress. Morris said that congress had, in fact, established an independent sovereignty of its own: it had coined money, raised armies, and regulated commerce. It alone required one thing more—to enter into foreign alliances; and even that they had dabbled in. They were treating with Canada, and France and Spain they ought to treat with; the rest was but a name.

The revolutionary party in New York determined to carry them, and the revolutionary party in Pennsylvania the same, right or wrong. In Pennsylvania delegates insisted that those of their colleagues who were averse to the

declaration should absent themselves, and those favourable to it should attend and vote. From Delaware, one single delegate, Caesar Rodney, voted and decided the question in that province. The New York assembly only nominally reconstructed its provincial congress. Instead of calling the electors together, as recommended by the report of the 28th of May, some of the freeholders and voters declared such of the old members as were willing to vote for the declaration re-elected; and this irregular and clearly unconstitutional body attended and voted for the declaration. Thus a body, chosen by a very small minority, contrary to the law they had themselves established, set aside the plain will of the majority; for, since the arrival of Howe at Sandy Hook, the royalists came forth again, and were as resolute against separation as ever. Even of the number of delegates thus sent up in violation of all rule, one of them, John Alsop, refused to vote for the declaration, and, after making a solemn protest, quitted the congress. Some other delegates—amongst them, John Dickenson, of Pennsylvania—staid, and protested totally against the whole proceeding, declaring they would never sign the declaration.

By these violent, arbitrary, and unprincipled means was at length passed the famous Declaration of Independence. The original motion for such a declaration, on the 8th of June, had only been supported by a bare majority of seven states to six; and now the whole thirteen states were said to have assented, though it is a notorious fact that several signatures were wanting, and were not supplied till months afterwards by newly-chosen delegates.

Besides Alsop resigning as delegate of New York, Dickenson, Andrew Allen, late chief justice of Pennsylvania, and others who voted against the declaration, were recalled, and Andrew Allen's brother William threw up his commission of lieutenant-colonel in the continental army.

It may be truly said, that never had a country a more righteous cause than North America, and never was one carried by means less commanding our respect. A certain number of men, violent and regardless of the voices or rights of others, domineered over the majority by the same hardy insolence as the southern states now domineer over the northern ones. They had not faith enough in the nobility of their cause to allow righteous principles to operate unchecked until their triumph, but attempted to force the course of events, irrespective of truth and justice, whilst seeking victory. That trickiness, now grown to its height under the name of Yankeism, shows its slimy trail even on the broad and thickly-signed sheet of the Act of Independence. The declaration once engrossed on parchment and signed, the arbitrary spirit of the republican party appeared more undisguised. All who continued of the royalist party were menaced with fines and punishments. "Very serious," says their own historian, Hildreth, "was the change in the legal position of the class known as tories, in many of the states a large minority, and in all respectable for wealth and social position. Of those thus stigmatised, some were inclined to favour the utmost claims of the mother country; but the greater part, though determined to adhere to the British connection, yet deprecated the policy which had brought on so fatal a quarrel. This loyal minority—especially in its more conspicuous members—as the warmth of

political feeling increased, had been exposed to the violence of mobs, and to all sorts of personal indignities, in which private malice, or a wanton and insolent spirit of mischief, had been too often gratified, under the disguise of patriotism."

"The barbarous and disgraceful conduct of tarring and feathering, and carting tories—placing them in a cart and carrying them about as a sort of spectacle—had become, in some places, a favourite amusement. To restrain these outrages, always to be apprehended in times of tumult and revolution, congress had especially committed the oversight of tories and suspected persons to the regularly-appointed committees of inspection and observation for the several counties and districts. But even these committees were not always very judicious or discriminating in the exercise of despotic powers implied in that delicate trust.

"By the recent political changes, tories and suspected persons became exposed to dangers from the law as well as from mobs. Having boldly seized the reins of government, the new state authorities claimed the allegiance of all residents within their limits; and, under the lead and recommendation of congress, those who refused to acknowledge their authority were exposed to severe penalties, confiscation of property, imprisonment, banishment, and, finally, death. The new governments, however, were slow in resorting to extreme measures. The most obnoxious tories had already emigrated; and, for the present, the new governments contented themselves with admonitions, fines, recognisances to keep the peace, and prohibitions to go beyond certain limits. To many of the more ardent leaders, this leniency appeared dangerous. 'Can we subsist?' wrote Hawley to Gerry; 'did any state ever subsist without exterminating traitors?'"

In these facts, stated by their own historians, we have the germs of the present character of the Americans. The disregard of personal right in asserting the general right; the domination over all liberty of private judgment; the adoption of any trick or stratagem to insure their objects; the looseness of conscience in their pursuit of a determined end, are but to-day more prominently forced on the eye, in the recklessness of American speculation, in their caucuses, and intimidations in elections, in their gasconading of their excellencies and bravery, in their readiness to insult their own mother country solely for their own electioneering purposes, in their proneness to repudiation of their obligations, in their arbitrary resentment against the expression of opinions disagreeable to them, however just; and, above all, in their hugging of slavery, with all its demoralising consequences. We look in vain for the original source of these characteristics in their English forefathers, or their English contemporaries; but whencesoever they accrue, they were unquestionably not merely existent, but rife, at their revolution.

The admission of slavery into their new constitution, in direct and shameless violation of the very first clause of their declaration of rights, "that all men are born equally free, possessing certain natural rights, of which they cannot, by any compact, deprive their posterity," was such a thing, done in the face of all nations, as argued a fearful callousness to the touches of a noble shame. This odious feature of

their constitution was originally omitted in the draught of the act of union, but was concealed to the southern states in order to insure the accomplishment of the union. By a remarkable Nemesis, it is now the menacing cause of a final rupture of that union. Jefferson says, that "not only the south, but our northern brethren also, I believe, felt a little tender under these censures, for, though their people had very few slaves themselves, yet they had been considerable carriers of them to others."

Slavery once admitted soon showed its diabolical influences. It undermined the morality of government, of religion, and of a large bulk of the community; it compelled slave-holders to imitate popery, in suppressing the Bible amongst the black population; it taught ministers of the gospel to falsify the gospel, and to overturn all the principles of morality, justice, and truth; to make the word of peace, and liberty, and mutual equity, speak the most terrible blasphemies of the God "who made of one blood all the nations of the earth;" it taught sensuality to break down all the boundaries of purity and personal sanctity which Christ had set up, and led to the commission of a crime almost exclusively American—the selling your own offspring, the trading in your own flesh and blood, in your own image, as well as the image of the common Father.

This signal surrender of principle to expediency in the case of slavery has, no doubt, yet to be avenged, in national calamities and disruptions, to a degree frightful to the imagination; but it immediately tended to aggravate beyond everything else those features of American character, the brutalities of duels with rifles and bowie knives, the knocking one another down on the floor of congress, the cudgelling of senators for the independent expression of their opinions, and the monstrosities and murders at sea, now so frequently disgracing their mercantile navy. These things are too notorious to be denied; but, that we may not be accused of injustice in stating them on this necessary occasion, we shall add the observations of one of their own most esteemed writers, Dr. Channing, in a letter to Mr. Clay in 1837, since which time such features have become still worse:—

"I cannot do justice to this topic without speaking freely of our country—as freely as I should of any other; and, unhappily, we are so accustomed, as a people, to receive incense, to be soothed by flattery, and to account reputation a more important interest than morality, that my freedom may be construed into a kind of disloyalty. But it would be wrong to make concessions to this dangerous weakness.

"Amongst us a spirit of lawlessness pervades the community, which, if not repressed, threatens the dissolution of our present forms of society. Even in the old states, mobs are taking the government into their hands; and a profligate newspaper finds little difficulty in stirring up multitudes to violence. When we look at the parts of the country nearest to Texas, we see the arms of the law paralysed by the passions of the individual. Add to all this the invasions of the rights of speech and of the press by lawless force, the extent and toleration of which oblige us to believe that a considerable portion of our citizens have no comprehension of the first principles of liberty. It is an undeniable fact that, in consequence of these and other

symptoms, the confidence of many reflecting men in our free institutions is very much impaired. Some despair. That main pillar of public liberty, mutual trust amongst citizens, is shaken. That we must seek security for property and life in a stronger government, is a spreading conviction. Men who, in public, talk of the stability of our institutions, whisper their doubts—perhaps their scorn—in private."

When we add to these melancholy features of American character a treatment of free men and women of colour which scandalises the whole civilised world, we may truly say that, when they admitted black slavery into their act of independence, they gave a very black complexion to that document. The declarations contained the following assertions of freedom:—1. That all men are born equally free, possessing certain natural rights, of which they cannot, by any compact, deprive their posterity. 2. That all power is vested in the people, from whom it is derived (but it was voted in congress the blacks made no part of the people). 3. That they have an inalienable, indefeasible right to reform, alter, or abolish their form of government at pleasure. 4. That the idea of an hereditary first magistrate is unnatural and absurd.

The Americans did not make their declaration of independence till they had assurances from France that the French king was prepared to support them with men, money, and arms. The English government, as Lord North publicly declared in parliament, had long heard of American emissaries at Paris seeking aid there. We have this statement, again, from Governor Morris, in congress; and John Jay, in his "Life and Opinions," published by his son, not only gives a circumstantial account of this assurance of French aid, but adds that it had the effect of inducing the congress to take the decisive step of making the declaration. This is Jay's account:—"Some time in the course of this year, 1775, probably about the month of November, congress was informed that a foreigner was there in Philadelphia who was desirous of making to them an important and confidential communication. This intimation having been several times repeated, a committee, consisting of Mr. Jay, Dr. Franklin, and Mr. Jefferson, was appointed to hear what the foreigner had to say. These gentlemen agreed to meet him in one of the committee rooms in Carpenters' Hall. At the time appointed, they went there, and found already arrived an elderly, lame gentleman, having the appearance of an old wounded French officer. They told him they were authorised to receive his communication, upon which he said that his most Christian majesty had heard with pleasure of the exertions made by the American colonies in defence of their rights and privileges; that his majesty wished them success, and would, whenever it should be necessary, manifest more openly his friendly sentiments towards them.

"The committee requested to know his authority for those assurances. He answered only by drawing his hand across his throat, and saying, 'Gentlemen, I shall take care of my head.' They then asked what demonstrations of friendship they might expect from the king of France. 'Gentlemen,' answered the foreigner, 'if you want arms, you shall have them; if you want ammunition, you shall have it; if you want money, you shall have it.' The

committee observed that these assurances were indeed important, but again desired to know by what authority they were made. 'Gentlemen,' said he, repeating his former gesture, 'I shall take care of my head;' and this was the only answer they could obtain from him. He was seen in Philadelphia no more. It was the opinion of the committee that he was a secret agent of the French court, and directed to give these indirect assurances, but in such a manner that he might be disavowed, if necessary."

In consequence, Mr. Jay says, a secret committee, of which he himself was a member, and which had Thomas Paine for its secretary, was appointed to correspond with the friends of America in Great Britain, Ireland, and other parts of the world. Encouraged by the assurances of France, the secret committee was soon converted into a public one, and agents were sent off to almost every court of Europe to solicit aid of one kind or another against the mother country, not omitting even Spain, Naples, Holland, and Russia. Silas Deane was dispatched to Paris in March of this year, to announce the almost certainty of a total separation of the colonies from Great Britain, and to solicit the promised co-operation.

The Americans had great hopes of exciting a rebellion in Ireland at the same time that they promoted the discontent of the people of England. Jay tells us that he was employed to draw up at this time an address to the Irish, in which he took care to remind them of the oppressions of themselves by Great Britain; of their love for the Irish, and deep sympathy with their wrongs; of the gratitude of the Americans for the friendly spirit they had manifested towards them during the tyrannies of England. They deplored their necessity of stopping trade with Ireland as well as England; because, if they did not, England would continue the trade through Ireland. And they thus concluded:—"Compelled to behold thousands of our countrymen imprisoned, and men, women, and children, in promiscuous and unmerited misery; when we find all faith to an end, and sacred treaties turned into tricks of state; when we perceived our friends and kinsmen massacred, our habitations plundered, our houses in flames, and our once happy inhabitants fed only by the hand of charity; who can blame us for endeavouring to restrain the progress of the desolation? Who can censure us for repelling the attacks of such a barbarous band? Who, in such circumstances, would not obey the great, the universal, the divine law of self-preservation? Though vilified as wanting spirit, we are determined to behave like men; though insulted and abused, we wish for reconciliation; though defamed as seditions, we are ready to obey the laws; and though charged with rebellion, we will cheerfully bleed in defence of our sovereign in a righteous cause. What more can we say? What more can we offer? We know that you are not without your grievances. We sympathise with you in your distress, and are pleased to find that the design of conjugating us has persuaded the administration to dispense to Ireland some vagrant rays of ministerial sunshine. Even the tender mercies of government have long been cruel towards you. In the fat pastures of Ireland, many hungry periciles have fed and grown strong to labour in her

destruction. We hope the patient abiding of the meek may not always be forgotten."

It is edifying to recollect that this Mr. Jay, who thus declared the Americans still ready to obey the laws, still longing for reconciliation, still prepared to bleed for their sovereign in a rightful cause, had been always amongst the foremost in forcing on the people of New York to an irreconcilable rupture, and in authorising a minority to send delegates to supersede in congress the delegates of the properly-constituted assembly, because they would not vote for the declaration of independence.

It is a very significant fact, that, though the declaration of independence had thus been violently and irregularly forced into being, its announcement was everywhere received with a cold indifference. When it arrived from congress at the camp, it was, by Washington's order, read aloud at the head of every regiment, but it produced no particular sensation. The adjutant-general (Reed) does not even mention it in his almost daily letters to his wife; and his biographer remarks in his Life, written at the present day, that, "No one can read the private correspondence of the times without being struck with the slight impression made, on either the army or the mass of the people, by the declaration." Jared Sparks, indeed, in his "Life of Washington," makes the general, in his letters to congress, say that the troops "testified their warmest approbation;" but lord Mahon (see appendix to his History of England, vol. vi.) has so completely exposed his falsifications of the original letters and dispatches of Washington, that this assertion, contrary to the general evidence, is of little value. The most marked act following the publication of the declaration was, that a party of soldiers pulled down and beheaded a leaden statue of George III., which had been erected in the Broadway, at New York, six years before, and cast it into bullets.

Lord Howe arrived from England, and cast anchor off Sandy Hook, a few hours after the declaration of independence had been read to the army by Washington. He had been expected by his brother, general Howe, who had arrived at the same point on the 29th of June, supposing he should find the admiral already there. General Howe had been immediately waited on by governor Tryon, who was lying there on board a ship of war, and had engaged two hundred volunteers from amongst the tories of New York, who were violently incensed at the persecutions of the republicans, who had denounced the penalty of death on all who in any way assisted the English, and were then confiscating and selling their property by public auction. General Howe found Washington already in New York, and actively engaged in throwing up entrenchments, both there and on Long Island, to close the Hudson against the English fleet. Washington's head-quarters were at New York; those of general Sullivan, at the western extremity of Long Island, opposite to New York; and Governor's Island, Paulus Hook, New Rochelle, and other points, were strongly defended to protect the rear of the city.

At the time of admiral Howe's arrival, the army of Washington did not amount to more than seventeen thousand men, of whom three thousand were sick, and but about ten thousand men fit for duty. By his letters to

congress, it is clear that he entertained very little hope of maintaining his ground in case of attack, for the fresh forces brought by Howe from England, being joined by the shattered remains of Sir Peter Parker's squadron, amounted to twenty thousand men. A few days afterwards, however, he was joined by two regiments from Philadelphia, and by large bodies of New York and New England militia.

His first act was to dispatch a letter to Franklin, who, in England, had expressed so earnest a desire for accommodation of all differences, informing him of his commission to seek reconciliation, and of his powers for the purpose. But the declaration being now made, Franklin had no longer a motive to conceal his real sentiments, and he replied in terms which greatly astonished Howe, filling his letters only with



THOMAS JEFFERSON. FROM AN AUTHENTIC PORTRAIT.

raising his army to twenty-seven thousand men, but of these a large number were sick. He now posted strong reinforcements in Brooklyn. On this, general Howe quitted Sandy Hook, and advanced to Staten Island, where he could watch the operations of the enemy. The Americans abandoned Staten Island, on his approach, without firing a gun.

Things being in this position on the arrival of lord admiral Howe, he determined still, notwithstanding the proclamation of independence, to make every effort to procure a last chance of peace. He deeply regretted the delays which had attended his fleet, and lost no time in sending on shore an intimation that he brought conciliatory overtures.

complaints of "atrocious injuries," and of what America had endured from "your proud and uninformed nation."

Howe next turned to Washington, to whom he dispatched a flag of truce, bearing a letter to the commander-in-chief. But, as Washington could only be regarded as an insurgent chief, lord Howe thought he could not officially recognise a title only conferred by the American congress, and therefore did not address him as general, but simply as George Washington, esquire. Washington refused to treat in any other character than that of commander-in-chief of the American forces. He instantly returned Howe's letter, and forwarded the other papers to congress. One of these



GENERAL VIEW OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK, 1860.

papers was a circular declaration to all the late royal governors, including a copy of lord Howe's commission, and an offer of pardon to all who should submit; and that any town or province which declared its adhesion to the crown should at once be exempt from the provisions of all the late acts of parliament, especially as regarded their trade; and that, moreover, all such persons as were active in promoting the settlement of their districts should be duly rewarded.

The moment congress received this document they ordered it to be published in all the newspapers, that "the people might see how the insidious court of Great Britain had endeavoured to disarm and amuse them," and that "the few whom hopes of moderation and justice on the part of the British government had still kept in suspense, might at length be convinced that the valour alone of their country is to save its liberties."

Lord Howe, undeterred by this spirited proceeding of congress, on the 20th of July sent the adjutant-general once more to Washington, with another letter, still addressed to George Washington, esquire, but adding a number of *et ceteras*. Washington was not to be caught by so shallow an artifice. He replied that the *et ceteras* might mean *anything*, and they might mean *anything*; that, as a public officer, he could not receive any letter, except in due form. Patterson protested that no disrespect was intended, but that lord Howe and his brother, the general, had their conduct prescribed by their government, and could not depart from it; but that they had the best intentions, and were furnished with large powers. Washington replied that, so far as he could learn, they had only powers to grant pardons, which those who had committed no fault did not need. The interview, like the last, therefore, ended in nothing, except that the congress took advantage of these repeated efforts to insinuate that the English were afraid of fighting.

Lord Howe now prepared to attack New York; but, before following his movements, we must notice that congress, bold as it assumed to be, was not only in great anxiety regarding the event there, but also regarding the state of things on the northern frontiers. Ten regiments had been dispatched there from New York, which would have been of the utmost value at New York itself. Three regiments had been sent from Boston, and there was active recruiting in Connecticut and Massachusetts. Spite of this, Crown Point was declared untenable; the troops were starving, sick, and deserting, and it was determined, in a council of war, to fall back on Ticonderoga.

Schuyler, the general of the continental troops raised in New York, was looked on with great aversion by the New England troops, who could not forgive the people of New York for their leaning to moderation. Schuyler, on his part, had no great respect for the New Englanders; and now general Gates with his army, having retreated out of Canada, came into Schuyler's district, and the New Englanders were disposed to set aside Schuyler's authority. Miserably defeated as the noisy and bombastic New Englanders had been in Canada, and miserable as was their plight when they arrived in the district under Schuyler's command, they did not hesitate to insult him, and to propagate the most injurious reports against him,

accusing him even of treachery. Schuyler was a brave officer and high-spirited man, and offered to resign; but congress expressed entire confidence in his patriotism, and refused to accept his resignation. They added that, in appointing Gates, they had no intention of superseding Schuyler; but this did not prevent the usual mischief of contending parties and conflicting commands. To add to this evil, the smallpox continued its ravages in the northern army; and, though reinforcements continued to arrive, the army, during three months, had lost five thousand men by death and desertion, and the whole force now did not exceed that number, half of whom were sick.

Carleton, on the other hand, was at the fort of Lake Champlain, with an army of thirteen thousand men. To operate upon Arnold, who had the command of the vessels on the lake, he launched twenty small craft, and a number of armed boats, which he had dragged up the Sorel and over the rapids of Chamblé. To these he added five vessels larger than any of the American ones, which he had brought the frames of from Montreal. With this superior fleet he soon chased Arnold from Crown Point to near Ticonderoga, compelling him to run his vessels ashore, and set fire to them. The Americans lost eleven vessels and ninety men; the rest escaped into the woods. But, though Carleton accomplished this in October, and Gates lay at Ticonderoga, Carleton, with that want of spirit and perseverance which marked all the English commanders then, thought he had done enough, retired to Crown Point, and put his army into winter quarters.

At New York, which Howe was now preparing to attack, Washington had about thirty thousand men—Mifflin was his quarter-master-general—Lincoln led the militia of Massachusetts, and George Clinton that of New York. Thaddeus Kosciuszko, afterwards the hero of Poland, was one of the chief engineers; and William Palfrey, a Boston merchant, was paymaster-general. But Washington's troops were ill equipped, and most disorderly in their discipline. In the regiments of the southern states, and of the Jerseys and Virginia, there was some distinction betwixt the officers and the men, but very little in those of New England. The officers of the New England states were for the most part farmers, or sons of farmers, or at best innkeepers, like Israel Putnam, and the officers of the other states turned up their noses at them. Meantime, the privates of the New England regiments paid little more respect to their officers. "When," says adjutant-general Reed, "so thorough a levelling spirit predominates, either no discipline can be established, or he who attempts it must become odious and detestable. It is impossible for any one to have an idea of the complete equality which exists between the officers and men who compose the greater part of our troops. You may form some notion of it when I tell you that yesterday morning a captain of horse, who attends the general from Connecticut, was seen shaving one of his men on the parade near the house!"

With such troops had Washington to encounter the well-disciplined forces of England. General Putnam had thrown up entrenchments on each side of the Hudson and the East river, and sunk vessels in them to prevent the English vessels passing; but these precautions did not avail

In spite of the artillery of Forts Washington and Lee, several British vessels ascended the Hudson, whence, having taken soundings, and reconnoitred, they returned safe, notwithstanding attempts to burn them with fire-ships.

Washington expected that Howe would attack New York by the way of Long Island, and therefore he had posted nine thousand men at Brooklyn, nearly opposite to it, behind entrenchments thrown up by general Greene. Greene had been attacked by fever; and general Putnam, who had taken his post, was but indifferently acquainted with the position of the forces and the nature of the ground they would have to defend with a rabble of most insubordinate troops.

Under these circumstances general Howe, on the morning of the 22nd of August, threw over from Staten Island into Long Island four thousand men, under the command of general Clinton. They landed in Gravesend Bay, under cover of the artillery of three frigates and two bombs. The rest of the army followed with the artillery. Washington hastened over from New York to strengthen general Sullivan, who was in command on the island. He posted no less than fifteen thousand men along a peninsula at that end of the island facing New York. These lines stretched nearly across the peninsula from Waaleboght Bay, an elbow of the East River on the left, to Gowanus Cove on the right, their rear being covered by batteries on Governor's Island, Red Hook, and Brooklyn Ferry, with other batteries on East River, to keep open the communication with New York. In front of them stretched strong entrenchments, secured by abatis, flanked by redoubts, and lined with lunces, the centre at Brooklyn being made doubly strong. Again, at about two miles and a half distance, in advance, ran a range of low, thickly-wooded hills, crossed by two roads, a third road following the shore round the western base of these hills, and a fourth, penetrating inland, turned them on the east. These passes in the hills had been defended by entrenchments, and strong bodies of troops guarded their base on the west.

Washington issued orders which showed his anxiety as to the condition of his troops. He said the time was now come when they must determine whether they would be free men or slaves: whether they would continue to enjoy their property, or become beggars and outcasts. We must, he said, resolve to conquer or die. He promised rewards to all who distinguished themselves in the action; but he ordered all who attempted to run, or to conceal themselves, to be instantly shot.

Two British columns advancing by night—one by the shore road, and the other over the hills—managed to capture the patrols and approach the outposts of the Americans. Washington having been all day engaged in strengthening his lines, had returned to New York. Putnam was posted on the left; and general Stirling, called by the Americans lord Stirling, was posted on the left on the sea shore, near the part called the Narrows. This titular lord Stirling was, in reality, a Mr. Alexander, who had made claim to the extinct title of Stirling, his claim having been disallowed, but still given him by the Americans, as better judges than the house of lords. On the hills Sullivan occu-

pied one of the passes towards the left. The column on the British right, consisting of Hessians, under general Von Heister, seized on the village of Flat Bush, nearly opposite to Sullivan. At the same time, Sir Henry Clinton and Sir William Erskine reconnoitred Sullivan's position and the rest of the line of hills, and sent word to general Howe that it would not be difficult to turn Sullivan's position where the hills were low, near the village of Bedford. Howe immediately ordered lord Percy to support Clinton with his brigades, in the direction of Bedford, and general Grant to endeavour to turn the position of general Stirling, whilst the Hessians were ready to attack Sullivan in front. At a signal, Howe himself marched along with one of the divisions. In order to draw the enemy's attention from the movements of general Clinton, Grant made a direct attack upon Stirling's position, which brought to his aid a great part of Sullivan's forces, thus deserting their own ground. Grant maintained his attack till daylight, by which time Clinton had, by a slight skirmish, crossed the line on his side. The attention from his march was diverted by Von Heister attacking Putnam's position on the direct way to Brooklyn, and lord Howe, from his ships opening a cannonade on Governor's Island and Red Hook, in the rear of that town. About eight o'clock came a fire from Clinton's column, which had now forced its way into the rear of Putnam and betwixt the Americans and Brooklyn. On this discovery they endeavoured to make a way to their lines before that town, but were driven back by Clinton only to find themselves assailed in the rear by Von Heister. Thus hemmed in, they fled in confusion, some rushing into the woods, some managing to escape by the road near the sea side; but more of them were shot or knocked down by the German brigades; and numbers of them surrendered as prisoners.

This action in their rear alarmed both Sullivan and Stirling, yet they maintained their ground against Grant till they learned the total route of their comrades opposed to Clinton and Heister, when they laid down their arms and ran for it. Knowing the ground better than the British, many of them managed to escape to Brooklyn: but one thousand and ninety-seven prisoners were taken, and from one thousand two hundred to one thousand five hundred Americans were killed or wounded. Amongst those taken were generals Sullivan, Stirling, and Woodhull. The English lost only about four hundred killed and wounded.

Washington, who had witnessed the battle, saw, to his infinite mortification, the British pursuing his fugitive troops almost up to their entrenchments. The ardour of the English soldiers was such that they would speedily have stormed and carried the lines, and not a man of the American army on Long Island would have escaped being taken or killed. But general Howe, with that marvellous stupidity which marked all our generals in this war, ordered them back, saying that the lines could be taken with less loss of life by regular approach. He commanded them to secure themselves in the shelter of a hollow way till morning, where the balls of the American rifles whistled over their heads all night. The next morning they began throwing up trenches near one of the American redoubts, from which to cannonade it: but Washington was

much more aware of the untenable nature of his position than Howe, and, under favour of darkness, and of a thick fog in the morning, he had been for hours busily transporting his forces over the East River to New York. All that day, and in the night of the 29th, he continued, with all possible silence, conveying over his troops, artillery, and stores, expecting every moment that general Howe would burst through his lines at Brooklyn, and attack him in the rear, whilst lord Howe, with his ships, would advance, and blow all his fragile transports into the water. Nothing but the wonderful somnolence of stupidity which distinguished our generals, or the benumbing effect of that providence which intended the liberation of America, could have prevented this catastrophe.

When Washington saw his last guns and soldiers land in New York, he must equally have wondered at his own folly, which induced him to put half his forces in Long Island, capable of being surrounded by the English fleet and army, and their folly, which allowed him to leave it again in freedom.

The people of both Staten Island and Long Island received the British with great joy. They accepted the terms of Lord Howe's proclamation; and Washington himself wrote to governor Trumbull: "I am sorry to say that, from the best information we have been able to obtain, the people on Long Island have, since our evacuation, gone generally over to the enemy, and made such concessions as have been required; some through compulsion, I suppose, but more from inclination."

Such was the defection, not only in New York, where the greater bulk of the inhabitants were favourable to British rule, but on both sides of the Hudson, in New Jersey, as well as in New York, that Washington saw there was no maintaining his position there. He found the British fast inclosing him on all sides, too; and on the 12th of September he began to evacuate the place in such haste as to leave behind him a great quantity of his artillery and stores. The English landed on York Island without the loss of a man. Three thousand men had placed themselves ready to attack the British as they landed, and before they could form; but the sight of two companies of grenadiers, already in position, had such an effect on them, that they fled, leaving their blankets and jackets, which they had thrown off in certainty of beating the English.

But scarcely were the English quartered in New York before they found that a number of incendiaries were lurking in the place, determined to burn it to the ground, and the English in it. It was the advice of general Greene to Washington to have done this before quitting the place, observing that "two-thirds of the property of the city and suburbs belong to the tories." The amiable John Jay, whom we have so recently seen expressing so tender a regard for the union with England, was still more destructive in his plans. "Had I been vested with absolute power in this state," he wrote, "I have often said, and I think still, that I would last spring have desolated all Long Island, Staten Island, the city and county of New York, and all that part of the county of West Chester which lies below the mountains." Fortunately for New York, the desires of her own children were prevented by the so-called cruel English.

Washington submitted the question of the conflagration of New York to congress, and congress humanely disapproved. But the incendiaries in the city had no such forbearance.

Howe had no sooner driven Washington's army beyond the eighth mile-stone, and taken possession of the place, when fires began to break out in all quarters. The incendiaries, who had prepared their combustibles, seized the opportunity of a brisk wind on the night of the 20th, at midnight, to set fire to the city in many places. The soldiers were roused by beat of drum; sailors were landed in all haste from the fleet, and every exertion was made to quell the flames, but they did not succeed till one-third of the city was destroyed. As the old English church fell, the Americans at Paulus Hook gave three cheers, that being a fine sight to the bigoted presbyterians. Some of the incendiaries were caught at their work, and either bayoneted on the spot, or thrown into the flames by the infuriated soldiery. Some American writers represent this as an act of stern patriotism; but when we recollect that the incendiaries were fierce New Englanders, who treated the New Yorkers as of a different blood and mode of faith, as well as for the most part royalists, we see more clearly why they desired to burn their neighbours' houses rather than their own.

To ascertain the designs of the English, Washington, at the suggestion of colonel Knowlton, dispatched Captain Hall, a young, enthusiastic Connecticut man, as a spy into the British camp. Hall was discovered, carried before general Howe, tried, and convicted as a spy, and immediately hanged. This fact no doubt afterwards steeled the mind of Washington in the case of major André.

On the morning of the 15th of September, British men-of-war ascended on both sides of York Island; a battery was erected on an island near Hill Gate, and thus stopped the further removal of stores by water. By means of this battery, which swept the whole island, and engrossed the attention of the Americans, and under cover of the fire of the men-of-war on the Hudson and the East Rivers, Clinton landed at Kipp's Bay, three miles above the city. Washington had thrown up works at this important point, and posted troops there; but these took to immediate flight, and two New England brigades, sent to support them, fled with equal rapidity without firing a shot. Washington, who had come up to view the ground, was left exposed to capture within eighty yards of the enemy. Washington is said to have opposed his person desperately to his flying troops; to have struck them, and snapped his pistol in their faces, but in vain. In his exasperation he flung his hat on the ground, exclaiming, "Are these the men with whom I am to defend America?" His attendants only prevented his being taken by the English by seizing his bridle and leading him from the spot.

Washington saw almost with despair the condition of the American army; any other man would have despaired of it altogether. He wrote to congress, that nothing could make soldiers trustworthy but longer terms of service; that, in fact, they ought to be engaged for the whole war, and subjected to a rigid and constant discipline. He complained that the soldiers were much bolder in plundering than

fighting; and one of his officers observed that the Pennsylvanian and New England troops would as soon fight each other as the enemy. His adjutant-general, Reed, declared that discipline was almost impossible amid such a levelling spirit as prevailed. One of his officers wrote that, "in the skirmish of the 18th I had the greatest escape I ever had from one of my own rascals, who was running away. Upon my driving him back, he presented his piece, and snapped at me at about a rod's distance. I seized a musket from another soldier and snapped at him. He has since been tried, and is under sentence of death; but I believe I must beg him off, as, after I found I could not get the gun off, I wounded him on the head, and cut off his thumb with my dagger."

"All the year," wrote Washington, "I have been pressing congress to delay no time in engaging men upon such terms as would insure success, telling them that, the longer it was delayed, the more difficult it would prove. But the measure was not commenced till too late to be effected; and then in such a manner as to bid adieu to every hope of getting an army from which any services are to be expected; the different states, without regard to the qualifications of an officer, quarrelling about the appointments, and nominating such as are not fit to be shoeblacks, from the local attachments of this or that member of the assembly. I am wearied almost to death with the retrograde motion of things."

These startling facts made the congress begin in earnest to look out for foreign aid. In the meantime, it voted that the army should be reorganised with eighty-eight battalions, to be enlisted as soon as possible, and to serve during the war: each state to furnish its respective quota, and to name the officers as high as colonels. But Washington had soon to complain that they only voted, and did not carry the plan strenuously into action; that there was a mighty difference betwixt voting battalions and raising men.

On the flight of the battalions from Kipp's Bay, Washington ordered Putnam to fall back farther from the city, and to back up his position along Harlem Heights, where he fortified his camp in a rude way, having lines extending across York Island. Howe marched after him, and encamped in face of his lines, about a mile and a half from the Heights of Harlem, his right leaning on Horens's Hook, on the East River; his left on Bloomingdale, on the North River, stretching, in fact, across the island there, about two miles wide, the English ships occupying the rivers on each flank. In this position there occurred some skirmishing, in which the Americans stood their ground better, but lost two of their best officers, colonel Knowlton, of Connecticut, and major Leitch. The condition of Washington was inconceivably depressing. The time for the serving of the greater part of the troops was fast expiring; and numbers of them, spite of the circumstances of the country, went off. Whilst Washington was therefore exerting himself to prevail on them to continue, he was compelled to weaken his persuasions, by enforcing the strictest restraint on both soldiers and officers, who would plunder the inhabitants around them on the plea that they were Tories. Sickness was in his camp; and his suffering men, instead of hospitals, were obliged to lie about in barns, stables, sheds, and even under the fences and bushes. He

wrote again to congress on the 24th in a state of despair. He complained that the Sons of Liberty, who had boasted of flying by thousands to the salvation of their country, had soon cooled; that nothing but good pay would keep an army together. He called on them to place their army on a permanent footing; to give the officers such pay as should enable them to live as gentlemen, and not as mean plunderers, as they did. He recommended that not only a good bounty should be given to every non-commissioned officer and soldier, but the reward of a hundred or a hundred and fifty acres of land, a suit of clothes, and a blanket. Though congress were loth to comply with these terms, they soon found that they must do so, or their soldiers would go over to the royal army.

Before lord Howe advanced further, he received a deputation from the congress. He had sent the captured American general, Sullivan, on his parole to Philadelphia to endeavour to induce the congress to come to terms, and save the further effusion of blood. He assured them that he was not at liberty to treat with them as a congress, but he would willingly meet some of them as private gentlemen, having full powers, with his brother, general Howe, to settle the dispute betwixt them and Great Britain, on advantageous terms: that, on finding them disposed to agree to honourable conditions, he would seek for the acknowledgment of their authority to treat with him, so as to make the compact valid. This offer, under the circumstances, appeared very generous to many of the members, and occasioned a good deal of hesitation; but the democratic portion of the congress contrived to harden the rest, and they replied by Sullivan that, as a free and independent body, they could not treat with him except in their public character, as the representatives of the nation: but that, always anxious to secure peace and goodwill, they would appoint a deputation to hear the terms he had to propose; that any proposals for peace must be in writing, and addressed to them in their legislative capacity, and as an independent people.

The delegates appointed were sufficiently indicative of the little good that was to be hoped from the interview. They were Dr. Franklin, John Adams, and Edward Rutledge. Franklin, as we have seen, had returned a most insulting answer to lord Howe's private letter. The pride of the philosopher, mortally wounded by his sharp overhauling in the royal council, for his share in the secretion and transmission of Mr. Whateley's private papers, now showed itself in gratuitous sarcasms on England and his lordship. The pride of England, her folly, her lust of conquest, of dominion, and of the monopoly of trade, were to bring her into ruin and humiliation. It was in vain that lord Howe assured the deputies that England was disposed to forget all, to pardon all, and to repeal all the obnoxious taxes, and that inexpressible calamities would be avoided by the colonies simply returning to their allegiance. The deputies replied, that the only terms on which America could make peace was as independent states. This put the matter beyond accommodation. Lord Howe expressed his unforgotten regret, and Franklin his opinion—that, having failed in accomplishing a reconciliation, the thing his lordship ought to do was to relinquish so odious a command, and return to a more honourable private station.

On the 12th of October general Howe, who would have been better employed in driving the enemy before him than in waiting for his brother's useless negotiations, sent a considerable part of his forces, with flat-bottomed boats, through Hill Gate into the Sound, and landed them at Frog's Neck, about nine miles in the rear of Washington's position, thus cutting off all his supplies from the country. The ships ascended higher up the North River, cutting off the retreat into the Jerseys. Had Howe, instead of landing at Frog's Neck, done so at Pell's Point, he would have rendered Washington's retreat nearly impossible. But this was neglected till the 18th of October, by which time Washington, finding that he was getting gradually hemmed

quarters of a mile of the American lines. There Howe, after surveying the defences, determined not to attack the centre, but a position on the right, beyond the Bronx, where Washington had posted four thousand men.

Will it be believed that the central lines from which Howe turned away consisted only of the stalks of Indian corn, which had been hastily torn up from the fields, and reared with the roots upwards, and the lumps of earth adhering to the roots! Had Howe no telescope? Were there no military eyes sharp enough to detect such a flimsy defence? Had Howe charged that barrier of mere corn-stalks, he would have cut Washington's army in two, and the whole must have been dispersed immediately. Howe



GENERAL VIEW OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK, 1776.

in, and Lee, who had now joined him from Sullivan's Island and the Carolinas, insisting that nothing but instant retreat could save them, they therefore made a rapid retreat into the open country called the White Plains. They had much difficulty in carrying away their artillery; and the whole of it must have been taken, had Howe shown any ordinary activity.

Betwixt this time and the 21st there was considerable skirmishing, which compelled Washington to retire further into the White Plains. Howe encamped at the village of New Rochelle, on the shore of the Sound, and Washington entrenched himself on a chain of heights extending about twelve miles in length, with the river Bronx in front of him. On the 28th, Howe advanced to attack him in his entrenchments. His army was disposed in two columns, the left headed by himself, the right by Clinton. The English drove the outposts before them till they came within three

had thirteen thousand effective, well-disciplined men. Washington had about eighteen thousand men, without discipline or courage. As it was, Howe attacked the strong position on the right. He crossed the Bronx, mounted the hill, and drove the Americans from the ground. But that night—a very stormy one—the English troops had to remain under arms, and the next day encamped, part on one side of the Bronx, part on the other. On the 30th, Howe was reinforced by four fresh battalions, and determined to attack the enemy's lines the next morning; but the weather was unfavourable. As soon as the weather cleared up, and Howe prepared to attack Washington's lines, he found that he had retreated across the Croton, burning all the houses in the White Plains as he went, and had secured himself behind the Croton in a very strong position, with his rear defended by woods and hills.

Howe had allowed every opportunity to escape him.

annihilating the American army, and he now turned back to invest Fort Washington, on York Island, where Washington had imprudently left a garrison of three thousand men, including the works on Harlem Heights. This consisted of Macgaw's and Shea's Pennsylvanian regiments, Rawlin's Maryland rifles, and some of the militia of the flying camp. Greene, who commanded on the Jersey side, was of opinion that the

the fort, were exposed to a most murderous fire. They had eight hundred men killed and wounded; but lord Percy carried the advanced works, and then the garrison threw down its arms and surrendered.

On the 18th lord Cornwallis crossed the North River with six thousand men, and, landing on the Jersey side, attacked Fort Lee, standing nearly opposite Fort



LORD HOWE. FROM AN AUTHENTIC PORTRAIT.

position might be maintained. The situation, indeed, was strong, the fortifications good, though not completely finished, and must be approached under a destructive fire. Yet it was too much isolated from the main body of the army to remain long defended. Washington hastened to examine its condition as soon as Howe fell back upon it, and led over some fresh reinforcements.

On the 15th of November Howe summoned the fort to surrender, on pain of being put to the sword. The next morning four different columns of English and Hessians began to descend the heights. They had serious difficulties to overcome, various creeks and woods to cross, and, as they drew near

Washington. The garrison fled, leaving behind all its tents standing, all its provisions and artillery. Washington was compelled by this to fall back from his position on the Croton, thence to Brunswick, Princeton, Trenton, and finally, to the Pennsylvanian side of the Delaware. Lord Cornwallis followed on his heels. "As the retreating Americans," says Ramsey, in his "History of the American Revolution," "marched through the country, scarcely one of the inhabitants joined them, whilst numbers were daily flocking to the royal army to make their peace and obtain protection." Not only the common people adopted this expedient, but many of the leading men in New Jersey and

Pennsylvania. In fact, the fear of the republicans was taken from their eyes, and they expressed their real sentiments.

Cornwallis penetrated to the remotest parts of east and west Jersey, and everywhere the inhabitants received him as a friend and deliverer. On the 24th of November, lord Cornwallis was approaching Brunswick, when he received orders to halt. Howe, now Sir William Howe, being made a knight of the Bath, as well as Sir Guy Carleton, had a most fatal knack of halting his troops, when just on the point of completely dispersing the enemy. By this means, Washington was allowed to escape across the Delaware. It was not till the evening of the 16th of December that Cornwallis received orders to proceed, and, though he made all haste, he was too late. The rear of the American army quitted Princetown as the van of the English army entered it. Washington himself, with Stirling's brigade, only left Princetown one hour before Cornwallis arrived. Washington, in headlong haste, fled to Trenton, and began ferrying his troops over the Delaware. When Cornwallis reached Trenton, at nine o'clock the next morning, he beheld the last boats of Washington crossing the river. Yet, with such precipitance had the Americans fled, notwithstanding the long halt of Cornwallis, that they had left nearly all their artillery behind them; and so many men had deserted, and so many quitted, their term being up, and no consideration being able to keep them a day longer, that Washington's whole force did not exceed three thousand. Once over the water, the remains of the American troops lost all appearance of an army. They were a mere dirty, worn-out, ragged, and dispirited mob. Washington had taken the advantage of the halt of Cornwallis to collect all the boats from the Delaware for the distance of seventy miles, so that the English could not cross after them. These men, therefore, abandoned themselves to rest, and numbers of them continued to desert, and they were repeatedly pursued and forcibly brought back. Had Cornwallis been allowed to follow them without check, not a man would have been left at the American camp. Cornwallis, being thus brought to a stand, put his army into winter quarters between the Delaware and the Hackensack.

Whilst Cornwallis was pursuing Washington through the Jerseys, Clinton swept Rhode Island of the American troops, and drove commodore Hopkins with some ships up Providence River, where he remained. Rhode Island, however, required a strong body of English soldiers constantly to defend it. Meantime, Sir Guy Carleton having destroyed the American flotilla on Lake Champlain, was daily expected to march from Crown Point and invest Ticonderoga, which was only fifteen miles distant, and where Schuyler lay prepared to abandon it on the approach of the English. But Carleton, who had displayed so much activity and energy, now, like the rest of our generals, seemed at once to abandon them at the decisive point. He descended the Champlain to Isle aux Noix, put his forces into winter quarters there, and proceeded himself to Quebec, to prepare for the next campaign. Thus ended the campaign of 1776. Before quitting the northern operations, we may remark that amongst Carleton's officers in the squadron on the lake was Edward Pellew, destined hereafter to become one of the

most distinguished of English admirals—the future castigator of Algiers, viscount Exmouth. On one occasion, young Pellew observed Arnold on the lake in a boat, and gave chase so spiritedly, that he very nearly captured the American general, who was so closely run, that he had only time to drive his boat ashore, and plunge into the woods, leaving his stock and buckle in the boat, which are yet preserved in the Pellew family. Had he captured Arnold, we should probably never have heard of the surrender of general Burgoyne.

Besides fighting, there had been much anxious thinking, consulting, and contriving, on the part of the American congress and Washington. Congress had been obliged to fly from Philadelphia, and reassemble at Baltimore on the 12th of December. Washington was in constant and anxious correspondence with them. He showed them that numbers were useless without discipline and subordination. From first to last, during the year, there had been forty-seven thousand continentals in the field, besides twenty-seven thousand militia—a greater force than the states ever could afterwards muster; yet they had been beaten in every engagement, and where were they now? Almost totally dispersed. Congress saw the necessity, in addition to their new regulations regarding the army, to invest Washington with almost dictatorial power. He was authorised to displace all officers under the rank of brigadier; to fill up all vacancies; to take for the use of the army whatever he might want, allowing the owners a reasonable price; and to arrest and confine for trial, by the civil tribunals, all persons disaffected to the American cause, or refusing to take the continental paper money.

A committee of congress was sent to camp, to assist him in organising the new regulation of converting the army into eighty battalions of seven hundred and fifty men each. They concluded that Hazen's Canadian regiment should be kept up by recruiting in the states, and be called "Congress's Own." They settled the proportions that every state should furnish; the men to be enlisted for the war, each of them to be entitled, at the end of the war, to one hundred acres of land; colonels, five hundred; and inferior officers, a number of acres according to scale of rank. The articles of war were revised, and made more strict; and national foundries and laboratories, for the manufacture of military stores, were established at Carlisle, in Pennsylvania, and Springfield, in Massachusetts. A clothier-general for the army was appointed. Meantime, every exertion was made in the different states to enlist troops. Massachusetts, contrary to the remonstrances of Washington, who regarded the plan as encouraging men to stand out for still higher terms, offered sixty-six dollars bounty, and eight dollars to every one who procured a recruit. General Mifflin made a tour through Pennsylvania, putting forth all his persuasion, to induce men to come in and defend their country and their homes. By this means, Washington soon saw his army raised from a few miserable, half-starved fugitives, to seven thousand men.

At the very time that Washington was flying before the British army, congress, putting a firm face on the matter, went on legislating as boldly as ever. Around them defection showed itself as alarmingly as the weakness of

their arms. The speedy triumph of the mother country was prognosticated on all sides, and appeared certain. People in New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, flocked in to accept the terms of Howe's proclamation. Tucker, president of the late New Jersey convention, made his peace with England. Allen and Galloway, late delegates from Pennsylvania to congress, did the same. For ten days after the proclamation, from two to three hundred persons a-day came in and took the oaths. The great body of Quakers in Pennsylvania, who were always for peace, and favourable to the mother country, exerted themselves to induce people to give up the contest, and it was on these grounds that Putnam and Mifflin strenuously recommended the removal of congress thence to Baltimore. In Maryland, the same falling away from the republican cause was going on. Most of the towns in the Jerseys sent deputations to the king's commissioners, expressing their ardent desire for peace and reconciliation.

In the back settlements, the British having withdrawn their frontier guards, and warned the well-affected to remove with their property, left the Indians to indulge their intense hatred of the American settlers, who had always treated them as wild beasts, or as they treat their slaves now. The Americans accuse the English of exciting the Indians to outrage; but on this head, it is only lamentably too true, that both sides in this unnatural war stimulated these savages against each other. The Creeks and Cherokees were soon on foot, invading Virginia and the Carolinas, burning, destroying, and scalping, in their usual style; but the militia of those states soon succeeded in driving them back, and retaliating by laying waste their fields, burning their dwellings, and driving them into the woods.

Whilst these things were progressing, congress was steadily at work. They established articles of confederation and perpetual union between the several states. These articles were a supplement to and extension of the declaration of independence, and were sixteen in number:—1st. That the thirteen states thus confederating should take the title of the United States. 2nd. That each and all were engaged in a reciprocal treaty of alliance and friendship for their common defence, and for their general advantage; obliging themselves to assist each other against all violence that might threaten all or any of them on account of religion, sovereignty, commerce, or under any other pretext whatever. 3rd. That each state reserved to itself alone the exclusive right of regulating its internal government. 4th. That no state in particular should either send or receive embassies, begin any negotiations, contract any engagements, form any alliances, or conclude any treaties with any king, prince, or power whatsoever, without the consent of the United States assembled in congress; that no person invested with any post in the United States should be allowed to accept any presents, emoluments, office, or title, from any king, prince, or foreign power; and that neither the general congress, nor any state in particular, should ever confer any title of nobility. 5th. That none of the said states should have power to form alliances, or confederations, even amongst themselves, without the consent of the general congress. 6th. That no state should lay on any imposts, or establish any duties, which might affect

treaties to be hereafter concluded by congress with foreign powers. 7th. That no state in particular should keep up ships of war, or land troops beyond the amount regulated by congress. 8th. That when any of the states raised troops for the common defence, the officers of the rank of colonel and under should be appointed by the legislature of the state, and the superior officers by congress. 9th. That all the expenses of the war, &c., should be paid out of a common treasury. Other clauses defined the functions and powers of congress, and the 14th offered to Canada admission to all the privileges of the other states, should she desire it; but that no other colony should be admitted without the formal consent of nine of the states composing the Union.

After thus settling the form and powers of the constitution, they voted eight million of dollars to be raised as a loan, and ordered a fresh issue of paper money. But, above all, they laboured to acquire aid from abroad, without which it was quite clear that they must yield to the superior military force of the mother country, and return to their obedience on humiliating terms. There was a depressing gloom over all the American states—an idea that the British power was too mighty to be coped with, and that the contest was approaching its close. Washington alone stood firm in his resolution, though a fugitive before the enemy. He declared that, let it come to the worst, he would only retire from post to post as he was compelled, and that at the last he would still maintain the war from beyond the Alleghany mountains. The only other firm party was the congress. They sent off emissaries to different powers on the continent of Europe, pointing out the fine opportunity of now humbling the proud heart of England, by helping to rend from her her magnificent colonies. To France it was proposed by members of congress to offer all the advantages which England had ever enjoyed; the monopoly of their trade, and an alliance offensive and defensive, by which, in any future struggle with England, France would have the support of America. Such was the dread of again submitting in shame after so many taunts and so much high language, that these councillors would have run the states into tenfold more evils than those from which they had endeavoured to escape. The cooler heads, however, suggested that the most attractive thing to France would be to see England humbled, and that, if this would not move the French to help them, nothing would.

For this purpose, in addition to Silas Deane, who was already in Paris, Dr. Franklin and Arthur Lee were dispatched to that capital to obtain aid with all possible speed. These gentlemen set sail in the beginning of November, though in much apprehension of being intercepted by the English cruisers, but managed to reach Quiberon Bay in safety, and Paris before the end of the year.

In England, the successes of the British arms had greatly encouraged the government. The parliament met on the 31st of October; and the king, in his speech, informed the two houses that the Americans had been driven out of Canada; that that colony remained firm and loyal; but that the Americans had now carried their madness and malignity to such a pitch, that they had formally thrown off the allegiance of England, and had declared the colonies independent

states. He said this was a circumstance rather to be rejoiced at, as it left us in no perplexity as to the mode of dealing with them, and as it took totally away the arguments of those gentlemen at home who had hitherto defended them against all charges of such a design. He dwelt on the insulting manner in which the Americans had rejected all offers of conciliation, and appealed to the world whether the progress which the colonists had made in wealth and comfort under us were not the best proofs of the generous treatment they had always enjoyed under our administration. He added what could not be true, to his own knowledge, unless his ministers were blinder than all the world besides—that he was on terms of the fullest amity with all the continental powers, and that he had every reason for believing that the peace of Europe would continue to be preserved.

Now, what were the facts? It was well known that America had her agents all over the continent of Europe, soliciting, with the most anxious importunity, and by the most artful representations addressed to the particular passions and grudges of different courts against Great Britain, assistance in one way or another, either by gifts or loans of money, or by impeding the commerce of England, and by creating alarm for her own safety in Europe. Silas Deane had been in France and Italy the whole of the present year, omitting no art or exertion to rouse a hatred of England, and to procure aid, or promises of aid, in those quarters. Commissioners were now dispatched by congress to Vienna, Madrid, Berlin, and the grand duke of Tuscany. William Lee was the commissioner named to Vienna and Berlin; Ralph Izard to Tuscany; and Arthur Lee was ordered to leave Deane and Franklin in Paris, and go on to Spain. We shall presently hear more of the doings of Silas Deane. So successful was Franklin in Paris, that he obtained a gift of two millions of livres from the French king in aid of America, and the assurance that this should be annually augmented, as her finances allowed. The only stipulation for the present was profound secrecy. Franklin had also found the cause of America so popular, that many officers were anxious to engage in her service; and the enthusiastic young marquis La Fayette, notwithstanding the ill news from the United States, engaged to embark his life and fortune with Washington and his compatriots, and immediately hired a vessel to carry him over, where he arrived early in the spring, and became the bosom friend and great adviser of the brave commander-in-chief.

In both houses the addresses on the royal speech produced violent debates. In the commons, lord John Cavendish moved an amendment, in which he charged all the evils of this quarrel on the arbitrary and ill-informed measures of ministers, every one of whose attempts at healing the breach, from their miserable and insufficient character, had only widened it; that the whole proceedings of ministers were calculated to break the spirit of a noble part of the population of the empire, instead of regulating it by just laws. This amendment was seconded by the marquis of Granby, and supported by the usual opposition. Wilkes, who was soon after this time elected chamberlain of the city, with three thousand pounds a-year, ridiculed the reliance of the king and his cabinet on the friendly assurances of France

and Spain; and colonel Barré positively declared that we were menaced with an early war by both of these countries. Fox declared that it was manifestly the interest of France and Spain to see America independent; and the American patriots were lauded to the extreme, as everything that was noble, and the people as everything that was virtuous and simple-minded.

In the house of lords the marquis of Rockingham moved a similar amendment, and ministers, in reply, reminded the opposition how long and warmly they had asserted that the Americans were not aiming at independence, and declared that matters never could have reached this length had not the colonists been encouraged by the indiscretion of the members of parliament. Both the amendments were rejected by large majorities. On the 16th of November lord John Cavendish produced the proclamation published in America by lord Howe. As it had not been published here in the *Gazette*, or in any home newspaper, he declared it must be a forgery. Lord North assured him that it was a genuine document, and had been duly published at New York. On this lord John Cavendish declared that it was an insult to parliament to send out commissioners with great power to the colonies without consulting it, and to leave it for the first time to discover the fact from a common newspaper; that ministers, when they had some measure to carry which would render parliament odious to all parts of the empire, brought the measure there and forced it through, letting all the odium fall on the head of parliament, but when they had some measure of mercy or conciliation to propose they kept all the merit of it to themselves. He condemned, moreover, the conciliatory measure as narrow and insufficient, and moved that a committee of parliament should be formed to revise all the acts of parliament by which his majesty's American subjects felt themselves aggrieved. Ministers replied by declaring that the Americans spurned, and would spurn, all our efforts at reconciliation; that the congress and a certain set of demagogues held the American people in the most odious thralldom; that liberty was become a mere name there, except to the domineering section; that the freedom of the press and of speech was trampled upon; that the property of all citizens desirous of maintaining their connection with the mother country was maliciously usurped or destroyed, and the possessors of it crammed into prisons, which were dens of misery and disease. Lord John's motion was rejected by one hundred and nine votes to forty-seven.

Lord North now moved, in a committee of supply, for forty-five thousand seamen for the service of the following year; and in a warm debate, in which Mr. Luttrell made a severe charge of mal-administration at the admiralty, and of the most shameful corruptions and peculations in that department and in the commissariat, he called for the production of the necessary papers to enable him to substantiate these charges; in fact, the villanies practised in those departments could not be exceeded by even the astounding ones laid open in our own times. The abominable frauds, and embezzlements, and diabolical contracts for furnishing the army and navy with both arms, boots, and food, fell as usual with a frightful misery on our brave soldiers and sailors. Even Wedderburn, lord North's

solicitor-general, was forced to confess that, as regarded our army in America, "the peculation in every profitable branch of the service is represented to be enormous, and, as usual, it is attended with a shocking neglect of every comfort to the troops. The hospitals are pest-houses, and the provisions served out are poison. Those that are to be bought are sold at the highest prices of a monopoly."

Yet the whole demand for sailors was carried, and the demand of inquiry as absolutely rejected. Parliament went on and voted three million two hundred and five thousand five hundred and five pounds for the expenses of the navy; four thousand pounds for Greenwich Hospital; five hundred thousand pounds for the discharge of the debts of the navy. For the army, including some new contracts with the German princes for men to serve in America, three million pounds. What was still more disgraceful was that, amid all these charges on the public purse, when, altogether, four millions were demanded for the navy, nearly as much for the army, when it was deemed necessary to impose a tax on male servants, a further stamp on deeds, an auction duty, and to add five millions to the funded debt, the king came again with a fresh demand for six hundred thousand pounds for debts on the civil list. It was pretended that extraordinary calls had been made on the royal purse by the suffering royalists in America; but it was notorious that the royal household continued in the same condition of reckless waste and extravagance as it was when the former half million was voted for the same purpose. The unfortunate king, simple and even parsimonious in his own habits, had no more power to see, or, if seeing, to crush the waste amongst his servants, and the gross impositions of his tradesmen, than he had over the management of his diplomatic servants, who had driven his transatlantic subjects to rebellion. Lord North, who was in the habit of letting out strange truths, confessed that there were persons connected with the royal household who kept thirty or more male servants! Yet the commons granted this sum; and, by way of preventing the king falling into fresh difficulties, added an additional one hundred thousand pounds a-year to the civil list. The matter, however, did not pass without a plain reminder to his majesty. The rough-spoken Sir Fletcher Norton, the speaker of the commons, when presenting this bill for the increase of the civil list to the king, as he was seated on his throne, surrounded by the chief officers of state, said, "Sir, in a time of public distress, full of difficulty and danger, under burdens almost too heavy to be borne, your faithful commons postponed all other business, and granted your majesty not only a large present supply, but a very great additional revenue—great beyond example—great beyond your majesty's highest wants!" Unfortunately, such reflections were lost on such a mind as that of George III. Having passed these votes, parliament was prorogued on the 13th of December till the 21st of the following January.

But whilst England had been thus preparing for the augmentation of the navy, made necessary not only by the great demand for men-of-war on the coast of America, but by the aspect of France and Spain, notwithstanding the assurances of the royal speech, America had been aiming a blow at the efficiency of that navy, which must for years, if successful, have prostrated our whole maritime forces, and

exposed our shores to the easiest invasion. This intended blow was nothing less than the destruction of our great naval dockyards and arsenals, and military storerooms, at Portsmouth and Plymouth. The great agents in this infamous design were Silas Deane and Dr. Franklin. Franklin has been declared innocent of any share in this atrocious plot; but there is, on the contrary, reason to believe that the idea of it originated in his scheming and fertile brain. What else, indeed, mean his expressions in a letter, some months before, to Dr. Priestly:—"England has begun to burn our seaport towns, secure, I suppose, that we shall never be able to return the outrage in kind." It has been urged that no trace was ever found of Franklin's connection with the actual incendiary, and that he was but just arrived in France from America. But these are puerile arguments. Franklin could just as well promote the scheme from America by letter, or by instructions to Deane before leaving.

The idea, indeed, of destroying our dockyards was not new: it had long been entertained by France. So long ago as 1764 lord Rochford, our ambassador at Paris, announced, in a most secret letter to lord Halifax, that he had discovered a correspondence betwixt Choiseul, the French minister, and Grimaldi, the minister of Spain, for burning our dockyards.

Rochford stated that the scheme was conducted by two French engineers, who had been for some time, and were then, in England; that these men had bribed a number of people—some of them English—to assist them in the undertaking: that, betwixt the 1st and the 15th of November, the dockyards and shipping of Portsmouth and Plymouth would certainly be destroyed; that they had invented a peculiar kind of combustible for the purpose, and would avail themselves of the dark nights of that season. Lord Rochford added that he had made himself assured of the fact that Choiseul, the French minister, had informed Grimaldi that all was ready for this diabolical attempt, and that Grimaldi's answer was, "the sooner it was done the better."

This information put the English government into a great consternation; the utmost vigilance was exerted to detect traces of this complot, and to prevent its execution, and the consequence was, that the design was abandoned. Five months later, lord Rochford was able to inform his government that an Englishman, named Milton, was said to have originated the scheme; that he had been secreted for three days in the house of prince Masserano, the Spanish ambassador in London, who had managed to smuggle him over to France; and that Masserano was getting over the other conspirators.

The English government, not, however, being able to discover sufficient evidence to bring the matter thoroughly home to the French and Spanish governments, and anxious to avoid a war, let the affair remain secret. But these letters of lord Rochford have of late years been published by archdeacon Coxe in his "Memoirs of the Bourbon Kings of Spain," and Segur has, moreover, given us proofs that Louis XV. of France had always men employed by himself, and corresponding solely with himself, in England, whose business it was to furnish him with all plans necessary for invading the country, and previously destroying its dock-

yards. At his death these plans, accompanied by a mass of correspondence, were found by his successor, Louis XVI., in long tin cases in his cabinet at Versailles. All of them were destroyed except one, which was preserved, as containing the most complete plan for reducing England. Amongst the most active of these secret agents of Louis XV. was said to be the celebrated chevalier D'Eon, who was some time ambassador here, and for many years resident in this country, and who is supposed to have died here. This so-called chevalier was, in truth, a woman dressing and living

her, for she affected a great regard for England to the last, and a preference for living in it.

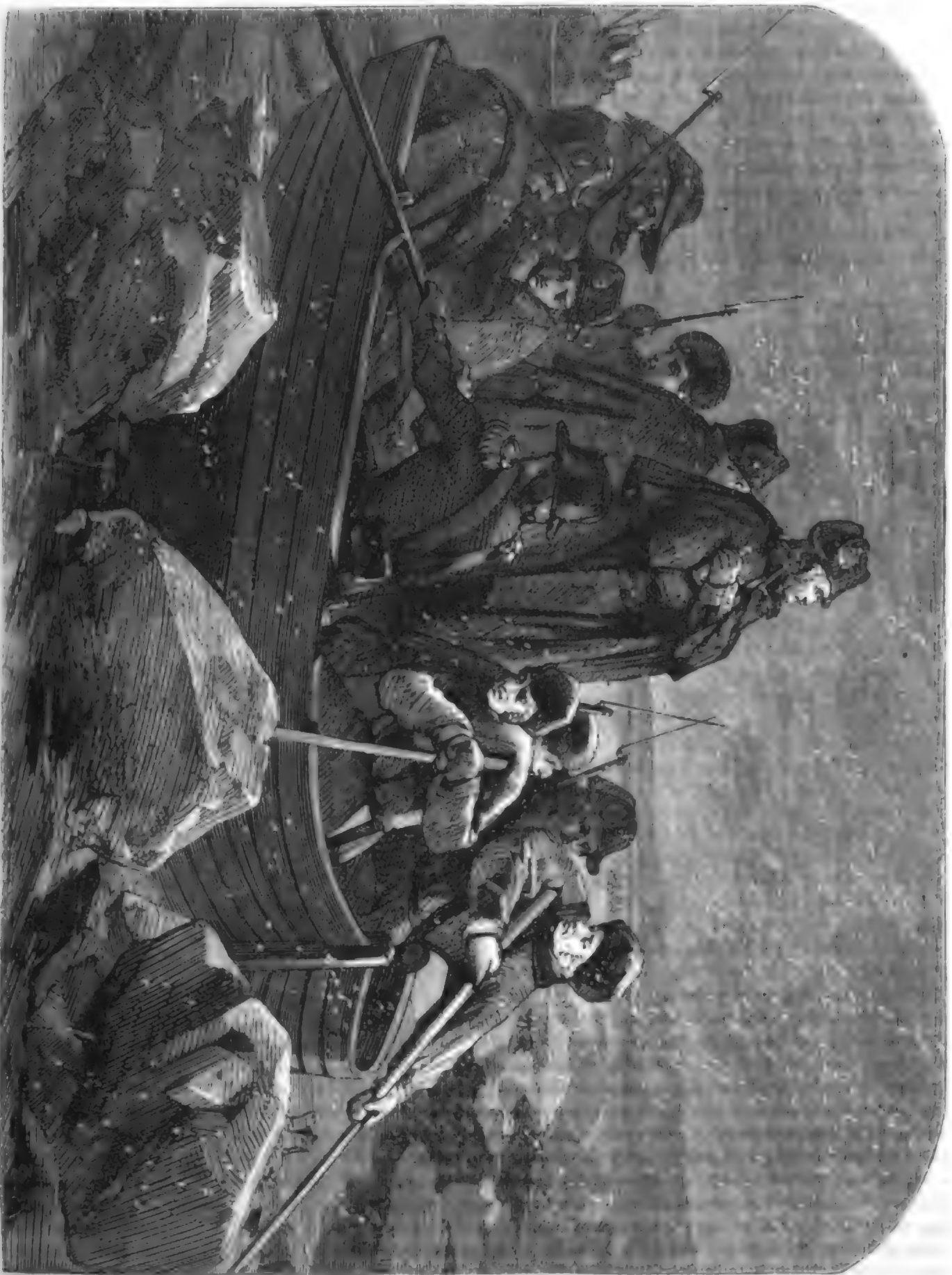
Since the Americans had arrived at the court of France, these atrocious designs had been renewed, and on the 7th of December of the present year the rope-house of the royal dockyard at Portsmouth was found to be on fire. By active exertions it was got under, after it had destroyed that building, and was imagined to be an accident. But, on the 15th of January, 1777, one of the officers of the dockyard found a machine and combustibles concealed in the



DELAWARE WATERGAP. A RIVER SCENE.

as a gentleman, and who was not only doctor of civil law, advocate of the parliament of Paris, censor of *belles lettres* and history in that capital, but had been secretary of embassy to the duc de Nivernois in London, afterwards herself minister-plenipotentiary here, and, still more extraordinary, a captain of dragoons, and aide-de-camp to marshal Broglie, and had routed troops of Prussians at the head of her regiment. This woman, whose real name was Charlotte Genevieve Louise Auguste Timothée D'Eon du Beaumont, was known to maintain a private correspondence with Louis XV., was pensioned by him, sent on embassies to the courts of Russia and Austria, and honoured with the cross of St. Louis. Her sex was discovered in London, and she was compelled to resume female attire; but it would seem that she had a garb of duplicity that never was drawn from

hemp in the hemp-house of the same dockyard. It was now clear that the previous fire had been the work of an incendiary, and that, notwithstanding the vast quantity of hemp in the house, this second attempt had failed. Suspicion now fell on a moody, silent artisan, who, on the day of the fire, had been looking about the dockyard, and who, by some chance, had got locked up in the rope-house the night before. His name was not known, but the fact only that he was a painter, and had been called John the Painter. Government immediately offered a reward of fifty pounds for his apprehension; the same sum, with a strange simplicity, being offered to him if he would surrender himself for examination. Nothing, however, could be learned of him in Portsmouth or the country round; but fresh fires were now breaking out at Plymouth dockyard



WASHINGTON CROSSING THE DELAWARE

and on the quays of Bristol. At Plymouth, the fire was instantly checked, and the perpetrator was nearly seized. At Bristol the fire was laid near a narrow, deep creek, crowded with shipping, and which was nearly dry at low water, so that it was impossible to get the shipping out. Six or seven warehouses were destroyed, but the shipping escaped. In another house at Bristol combustibles were discovered, and the alarm became general that the American incendiaries, having failed to burn New York, were come hither to burn our dockyards and maritime houses.

Fortunately, in the beginning of February, a man was apprehended for the perpetration of a burglary at Odiham, in Hampshire; and, by the activity of Sir John Fielding, the London magistrate, he was identified as John the Painter. When brought before Sir John and other magistrates in town, the man conducted himself with great tact and cool address. Though closely examined and cross-questioned by some of the members of the privy council, by lords of the admiralty, and other officers of the board, he maintained the scrutiny without betraying any embarrassment, or letting anything escape him that could in any degree criminate him. One thing, however, did appear—that he had passed some time in America, and in Virginia and New England, the very hotbeds of the rancour against England.

This furnished a clue to further developments. Lord Temple knew another painter of the name of Baldwin, who also had passed some time in America, and he suggested that Baldwin should be employed to worm the secret from the prisoner. The policy was much fitter for the meridian of Spain or Italy than of England; but at that time, and under the seriousness of the circumstances, was not likely to be rejected. Baldwin was called into the magistrates' room, and asked, in the presence of the culprit, whether he had ever seen him. Baldwin replied that he had not, on which John the Painter made him a bow in acknowledgment of his useful negative evidence. Baldwin was allowed to have some conversation with John the Painter in the next room, when they talked of their travels, and, on the strength of this, Baldwin visited him in prison, pretended to sympathise with him, won his confidence through the freemasonry of their trade and common wanderings, and finally drew the whole of his secret from him.

The statement which Baldwin made on oath was this: That the prisoner confessed that his name was James Aitkin; that he was a native of Edinburgh, but had travelled in various countries, and enlisted into and deserted from various English regiments for the sake of the bounty; that sometimes he worked as a painter, but more frequently subsisted by thieving; that in America he conceived the design of assisting the Americans by burning our dockyards and shipping, and our principal cities and trading towns; that for this purpose he had gone to France to Silas Deane, who was well known to be on a tour in Europe for the purpose of engaging the continental monarchs to declare against England. "Don't you know Silas Deane?" he asked Baldwin. "What, no! not Silas Deane? He is a fine, clever fellow, and I believe Benjamin Franklin is employed on the same errand."

Silas Deane, John the Painter declared, according to

Baldwin's evidence, had encouraged him to set fire to the dockyards of Plymouth and Portsmouth, Woolwich and Chatham, as the most effectual means of disabling Great Britain; that he gave him bills to the amount of three hundred pounds on a merchant in London, and promised to reward him according to the amount of service he should do to the American cause; that he procured a French passport, landed at Dover, and proceeded to Canterbury, where he contrived the machine which had been found in the hemp-house at Portsmouth; that he had been obliged to burn the bills, for fear of discovery; that he got into a quarrel with a dragoon at Canterbury on politics; at Portsmouth his landlady had turned him out of his lodgings for the trouble he gave her in compounding his combustibles; that he easily got into the dockyard, and also managed to be locked up one night in the hemp-house. There his matches had proved bad, but he succeeded better at the rope-house, and leaving Portsmouth in a countrywoman's cart, he had the satisfaction of seeing the dockyard in flames as he looked back—"the very elements seeming to be in a blaze!"

The truth of Baldwin's statement was confirmed by the dragoon with whom he had quarrelled at Canterbury; the woman at whose house he had lodged at Portsmouth; a boy, who had made a canister for part of his machinery found in the hemp-house, and who swore to it; by the man who let him out of the rope-house; the woman in whose cart he had ridden; by a woman who had sold him matches at the time; by various persons who had seen him about the yard; and by his bundle, which he had told Baldwin that he had left at Portsmouth, containing his passport and other articles, all which were found.

On such a striking amount of circumstantial evidence there could be no hesitation in condemning him. He attempted to deny nothing, assuming that nothing was proved against him. When asked if he would call any witnesses in his favour, he replied, "To what end? Till something is proved against me, I have nothing to defend. I am ready to live and die according to law." But he did not fail to remark on the manner in which he had been entrapped by Baldwin. "Whether," he said, "it be a false accusation, or a betraying of trust through the treachery of the man's heart, I should like that your lordship would take it into your consideration whether such a person has a right, in the sight of God, and according to the laws of this kingdom, to give evidence against me, or, if he has, whether such evidence ought to be regarded?" When the judge, in passing sentence, gave him no hope of mercy, he replied, "I do not look for any, my lord;" and when he added, "I have now only to pronounce the painful sentence," he remarked, "joyful!"

Before his execution he freely confessed the truth of the charges against him, only denying the burning Deane's bills for three hundred pounds. That which he did burn, he said, was his indenture, to prevent the discovery of his real name. He confessed to having twice attempted to fire the dockyard at Plymouth, and to burning the warehouses at Bristol, having in vain endeavoured to deposit his combustibles on board the ships. He, moreover, stated that he had a recommendation from Silas Deane to Dr. Bancroft, in London, to whom he had

declared that he would do all the harm he could to this kingdom; that the doctor did not approve of his conduct, but had, at his request, promised not to betray him.

John the Painter was hanged at the dock-gate at Portsmouth, on a gallows sixty feet high, and, according to the spirit of the times, was suspended in chains near the spot. His immediate instigator, Silas Deane, now one of the ambassadors of America at Paris, continued his campaign against England by a tour amongst the crowned heads with the aims of an assassin rather than the honourable zeal of a patriot.

The first parliamentary business of 1777 was, immediately after the Christmas recess, to bring in a bill to empower the admiralty to grant letters of marque and reprisal against the privateers which, under American colours, were swarming amongst our West Indian Islands, and also in the narrow seas nearer home. Many of these privateers were Americans, but more were French, who had taken out papers and commissions from the American revolutionary government, and so played a double game. When they encountered merchantmen, they hoisted American colours, and plundered in the name of congress; but, if they met English men-of-war, they hoisted French colours, and no war being proclaimed between England and France, thus sheltered themselves. The ports of the West Indian Islands, that we had been weak enough to return to France at the end of the war, afforded them every opportunity of carrying on their base trade, by which they were making large fortunes; and so little did France and Spain regard the conditions of the peace, that they allowed them to sell their prizes in their ports. This bill was passed, and immediately followed by another, to enable the king to deal with such persons as should be charged with the crime of piracy or high treason, committed on the high seas or in America. This bill went, in fact, to set aside the *habeas corpus* act, and enable the king to detain any persons taken in the American war, or on the sea, or even in England, on such charges, in what place, and for what term he pleased, without trial. In its original shape, it was a most objectionable and despotic bill, which would have placed not merely pirates and rebels, but any person whatever, at home as well as out of the kingdom, at the mercy of the crown and the ministers. Charles Fox very justly said, "Ministers may take it into their heads, in the fulness of their malice, that I have served on Long Island under general Washington. What would it avail me, in such an event, to plead an *alibi*—to assure my old friends that I was, during the whole of the campaign, in England—that I never was in America, or on any other sea than that betwixt Calais and Dover?—that all my acts of piracy were committed on the mute creation? All this may be very true, says a minister, or a minister's under-trapper, but you are, for the present, suspected, and that is sufficient. I know you are fond of Scotland. This is not the time for proofs. You may be, and very probably are, innocent. I will send you, under the sign manual, to study the Erse language in the Isle of Bute; and, as soon as the operation of the bill is over, you will be at liberty to return, or go whither you please." The bill was finally restrained in its operation to acts and persons beyond the bounds of the kingdom, and so passed.

On the 8th of May ministers moved for more money for the insatiable landgrave of Hesse, whose troops were at this very time exhibiting the most scandalous state of defiance of discipline, of consequent inefficiency, and of plunder of the inhabitants of America. This grant was violently opposed, but carried, but only by a majority of eight. All parties now began to denounce the shameless rapacity of these German princes. On the very next day, the 9th of May, the friends of the royal dukes of Cumberland and Gloucester called for an augmentation of their allowances. They represented that the king had since his accession, besides his eight hundred thousand pounds a-year, had now had one million one hundred thousand pounds to discharge his debts. He had just now received a grant of an additional one hundred thousand pounds a-year, and yet he left his brothers, because they had offended him by their marriages, in a condition of comparative poverty. Very severe comments were made on the eternal quarrels and enmities of the royal family, continuing from reign to reign. The court party, however, mustered against this motion, made by Sir James Lowther, and it was rejected. The same court party then made a determined attack on the speaker, Sir Fletcher Norton, for his honest speaking to the king, but they were soon compelled to lower their tone. Such was the notoriously scandalous management of the royal household, at once shabby and extravagant; such the notorious corruption, embezzlements, and abominable contracts by which the whole management of the government was disgraced, that it was thought best to get rid of these questions as fast as possible. Numbers of rubicund gentlemen who sat in the house of commons, and always voted for ministers, had obtained contracts for victualling the army and navy, which they had executed in such a manner as to be most profitable to themselves, but most deadly to our poor soldiers and sailors, who had to eat their meagre, sapless beef, their carrion pork, and their mouldy, worm-eaten biscuits. These comfortable gentlemen were declared to be the real destroyers of more of our soldiers and sailors than all the arms of the Americans, or the inclemencies of the climate and the exposures in the field. So far from driving the speaker from the chair, the house found it necessary to vote him its thanks, and the city of London voted that his speech to the king should be entered on their journals; that the freedom of the city should be presented to him in a gold box valued at fifty pounds.

Nor did Chatham, ill as he was, allow the session to pass without making one more energetic protest against the continuance of the war with America. On the 30th of May he moved an address to his majesty for the immediate cessation of hostilities. Notwithstanding all that had been said on our successes over the Americans, Chatham contended as positively as ever that we could never conquer them. "You have," he said, "ransacked every corner of Lower Saxony, but forty thousand German boors never can conquer ten times the number of British freemen. You may ravage, you cannot conquer—it is impossible—you cannot conquer America. You talk of your numerous funds to annihilate the congress, and your powerful forces to disperse their army; I might as well talk of driving them before me with my crutch! But what would you conquer?"

The map of America? I am ready to meet any general officer on the subject" (looking at lord Amherst)—"What will you do out of the protection of your fleet? In the winter, if together, they are starved; and if dispersed, they are taken off in detail. I am experienced in spring hopes and vernal promises. I know what ministers throw out; but at last will come your equinoctial disappointment. You have got nothing in America but stations. *You have been three years teaching them the art of war. They are apt scholars*; and I will venture to tell your lordships that the American gentry will make officers enough fit to command the troops of all the European powers."

Events in America at this very moment were justifying every one of these words. Chatham assured them that they were, whatever France might say, or the king and his ministers might believe, on the very edge of a war with that country. Why, she was secretly helping the Americans, and receiving their trade in return. But, at the same time, he prophesied what came true with terrible reality—that France, by helping to snatch America from us, was committing suicide herself—at least, on all her old institutions and maxims of administration. On the full meaning of Chatham being doubted by lord Weymouth, he repeated that he meant repeal of every oppressive act passed since 1763. He would have the Americans placed on the same footing as before that period; and he concluded by saying that if it were asked why we should concede to the Americans, who conceded nothing, he would say that we ought to concede, because we had been the aggressors from the beginning.

But lord Lyttleton replied that there was "nothing to make us doubt of reducing the rebellion of the Americans; that anarchy was universally prevalent there; that treachery, cruelty, and oppression were perpetrated by the republicans on the royalists; that every law was trampled under foot by ambitious faction; every prison filled with those who would not join in the scheme of congress; and other loyal Americans were driven into exile and despoiled of their property. This could not last: this state of anarchy would swallow up those who made it." Chatham's motion was rejected by ninety-nine votes against twenty-eight.

The affairs of the East Indies occupied a prominent part of the attention of the present session, which we reserve to our general notice of India, and parliament was prorogued by the king on the 6th of June, in a speech, in which he indulged the fallacious hope that the American insurrection would be terminated in the present campaign. But Chatham's prognostics were at the very time realising themselves. Had the Howes had the necessary qualities of commanders in such an important cause—had they pursued and dispersed the American army, as they ought to have done on defeating it, and as they might readily have done; and had the English government instantly, whilst in this favourable position, repealed all the obnoxious statutes, they would have thrown the congress and Washington so completely into the wrong, that it would have been impossible for them to have made head again. But neither the generals nor the government of that day had the capacity for such strategic and statesmanlike policy. The generals went comfortably into winter quarters, leaving the embers

of war to rekindle and spread; and the government, deaf to the warnings of Chatham, still stolidly refused justice whilst rigorously enforcing their injustice. And, indeed, when Chatham gave his last Cassandra-like remonstrance, it was already too late. We had already taught the Americans the art of war. Washington was no longer contented to stand on the defensive; happy if he could preserve his soldiers from running off without fighting at all. His circumstances were desperate, and the energy which springs from despair now urged him to measures of daring and wakefulness just as the English generals, like northern bears, were entering on their winter's sleep. Benedict Arnold had paid him a visit in his wretched camp beyond the Delaware, and probably from their united counsels sprang a new style of movement, which confounded his unsuspecting enemies.

The army of lord Cornwallis, which had so triumphantly pursued Washington through the Jerseys, supposing the Americans now put beyond all possibility of action, if not wholly dispersed, lay carelessly in their cantonments on the left bank of the Delaware. The two main outposts, Trenton and Bordentown, were intrusted to bodies of Hessians. At Trenton lay colonel Rahl, and at Bordentown count Donop. As Christmas was approaching (which the Germans kept to an entire abandonment of all every-day concerns, and spent in much feasting and carousing), they had especially abandoned all discipline. The British officers, too, had quitted, for the most part, their regiments, and had gone to enjoy the Christmas at New York, where general Howe was keeping up great hospitality, imagining the war to be fast drawing to a close.

But if the English paid no attention to Washington, he was paying every attention to them. General Lee, who had, from his enormous conceit, always been a thorn in Washington's side, had recently shown him the necessity of vigilance—that self-sufficient officer, who had never ceased to contend with Washington for equality or even superiority, not to criticise his conduct to congress, being taken by surprise. When Washington was compelled to fall back from New York, and retreat into the Jerseys, he had sent dispatch after dispatch to general Lee, who was slowly on his march from the Hudson to the Delaware, to join him with all speed. Lee, so far from quickening his movements, had retired three miles out of his camp—though he was within twenty miles of the enemy—to pass the night, and was actually writing to congress to censure the movements of Washington, when colonel Harcourt, afterwards lord Harcourt, informed of the fact, rode suddenly up with a party of dragoons, and made him prisoner.

Washington was as watchful as Lee and the English army were remiss. Instead of his army having gone to pieces, it had now received considerable reinforcements. Lee's division, now under command of general Sullivan, had joined him at once. General Heath had marched another body of troops from Peek's Kill, and the united exertions of civil and military officers had raised his force to about seven thousand men. With these he determined to take advantage of the carelessness of the English and German commanders, for the preservation of Philadelphia, and the recovery of the Jerseys, by sweeping, at one stroke, all the British cantonments from the Delaware. His plans

arranged, he set out on the evening of Christmas-day, and crossed the river at Mackoukey's Ferry, nine miles above Trenton, to attack that fort. The river was so encumbered with ice, that he found it a most arduous undertaking, but he accomplished it with the division immediately under his command—two thousand four hundred in number. Irvine was to cross at Trenton Ferry, to secure the bridge below the town, and prevent the retreat of the enemy that way; and general Cadwallader to pass at Bristol Ferry, and attack the fort at Burlington. But these two generals could not get across for the ice, and that part of the scheme entirely failed.

But Washington, through a snow storm, continued his march through the night on Trenton, and reached it at about eight o'clock in the morning. A trusty spy had informed him, over night, that he had seen the soldiers, both British and Hessians, asleep, steeped in drink. The Hessians had been, from the first of their encampment there, more busy plundering the people and insulting the women than paying much attention to discipline, by which they had wonderfully revolted the minds of the people. When he arrived, the soldiers still lay sunk in their Christmas debauch; and it was only by the first crash of the cannon that they were roused. When they ran to arms, Washington had already invested the town. The brave general Rahl, in his endeavour to form his drunken troops, and lead them on, was mortally wounded by an American rifle almost at the first discharge. The light horse and a portion of the infantry, who fled on the first alarm, escaped to Bordentown. The main body attempted to retreat by the Princetown Road, but found it already occupied by colonel Hand and his regiment of Pennsylvanian riflemen. Thus cut off, ignorant of the force opposed to them, and without enthusiasm for the cause, they threw down their arms and surrendered. About a thousand prisoners and six cannon were taken. The Americans had two killed, two frozen to death, and a few wounded, in assaulting the artillery—amongst them James Monroe, then a lieutenant, and afterwards president of the United States. Had the Hessians, who surrendered, not been confounded, they might have taken the same road to Bordentown; and had not count Donop, who commanded them, been led away by a false alarm, they might have easily, by a march of only six miles, have been at Trenton, and recovered the prisoners, driving Washington into the Delaware, to the total loss of his men. But Washington had engaged his attention by sending, the day before, all the boys and vagabonds that he could collect down the banks of the Delaware, opposite to Bordentown, and Donop, imagining them a body of the enemy, was gone in quest of them, and was eighteen miles from Trenton.

Washington did not wait for the return of Donop, especially as general Leslie lay at Princetown, about fifteen miles above Trenton, with a strong force. As soon as he had refreshed his men, he recrossed the Delaware, carrying with him his prisoners, the stores he had taken, and the six field pieces that he brought with him.

This spirited and successful action had a wonderful effect on the American mind. It revived the courage of their troops, which had sunk very low after so many defeats. It

inspired them and the public at large with confidence in the talents and daring of their commander-in-chief, who was now eulogised as another Fabius. To make the most of their success, Washington sent his prisoners to Philadelphia, where they were paraded through the streets in a kind of triumph. Many of Washington's troops were now at the end of their term, but he kept them with him by a bounty of ten dollars per man.

Such was the confidence inspired, even in himself, by this success, that, being immediately joined by three thousand six hundred Pennsylvanian militia, he determined to cross the Delaware, as it was now strongly frozen over. He sent over Irvine, Cadwallader, and Mifflin, with nearly four thousand men, and following them on the last day of the year 1776, he took post at Trenton, which had not yet been re-entered by the British. But general Grant had already joined general Leslie at Princetown, with a strong body of British and Hessian troops; and general Howe, on the news of the new life in the American army, had detained lord Cornwallis, who was on the point of leaving for England. He hastened to Princetown, and took the command of the whole force, concentrating all the troops on the Delaware shore.

On the 2nd of January he marched from Princetown for Trenton, drove in the enemy's outposts, and reached Trenton by five o'clock the same afternoon. Washington retired as he approached across the Assumpinck, a creek, as the Americans call it, that is, a small rivulet, which runs through the town. The British, on arriving at the fort and bridge of the Assumpinck, found both guarded by artillery, and Washington posted on some high ground beyond. Cornwallis cannonaded the bridge and forts, and his fire was briskly returned. He then encamped for the night there, intending to force the creek the next morning; but Washington did not wait for him. With his raw militia only a few days in camp, he had no chance of resisting Cornwallis's army, and yet—a thaw having taken place—it was impossible to cross the Delaware. He called a council of war, and it was concluded that, from the great force of Cornwallis in front, the rear could not be very strong. It was therefore determined to make an attempt to gain the rear, beat up the enemy's quarters at Princetown, now, as they supposed, nearly deserted, and, if they could succeed, fall on the British stores and baggage at Brunswick. Their own baggage was, accordingly, sent quickly down the river to Burlington, the camp-fires were replenished, and small parties being left to deceive the enemy by throwing up entrenchments, Washington, about midnight, silently decamped by a circuitous route towards Princetown.

At dawn they encountered two out of three English regiments, which had been at Princetown, on the march. These were the 17th and 55th, hastening to join Cornwallis at Trenton. They imagined the Americans, owing to a thick fog, to be a body of Hessians; but, on discovering the mistake, a sharp fight took place, and for some time the two British regiments withstood Washington's whole force. Colonel Mawhood, the English commander, posted his force advantageously on a rising ground betwixt the Americans and Princetown, sent back his baggage wagons, and dispatched messengers to bring up the 40th regiment, still in Princetown, with all speed. He then charged the American

van with fixed bayonets, and drove them back upon a ravine in their rear. In endeavouring to reorganise his broken lines at this point, the American general, Mercer, was mortally wounded, and taken prisoner. At this crisis Washington galloped up to restore order, brought up fresh forces, and charged gallantly on the English at the ravine. The slaughter at this place was severe; nine of Washington's officers fell, and he himself ran the most imminent hazards. The 40th not arriving, Washington managed to force his way betwixt the two English regiments. The 17th continued its march for Trenton; the 55th fell back upon Princetown, where the 40th, which had defended itself in the college, after losing a considerable number of prisoners, joined the 55th, and retreated upon Brunswick.

In this engagement the English lost three hundred prisoners, chiefly through the slow work of defending the baggage train, besides a good many killed and wounded. The Americans admitted the loss of a hundred, besides the officers already mentioned; but there is every reason to believe that their loss was far heavier. Washington found no rest at Princetown. Cornwallis no sooner heard the cannonading near Princetown than he immediately comprehended Washington's *ruse*, and, alarmed for his magazines at Brunswick, he hastened in that direction. Washington, aware of his approach, found it necessary to relinquish the attempt on Brunswick. His troops were exhausted; all had been one whole night without sleep, some of them longer; many of them had no blankets, many were barefoot, all very thinly clad. He therefore hastened across Millstone river, broke down the bridge behind him to stop pursuit, and posted himself on the high ground at Morristown, where there were very strong positions. Here he received additional troops, and entrenched himself.

Cornwallis, not aware of the real weakness of Washington's army after all its additions, again sat down quietly for the winter at Brunswick. For six months the whole British army now lay still. Howe, in comfortable quarters at New York, once more, instead of pursuing the advantage over the Americans, and completing their entire dispersion, which he might easily have done, pleaded the severity of the weather, and allowed Washington and the congress to repair all their damages, to obtain fresh troops, fresh arms, and to revive the spirit of the American public at leisure. The weather, which was too severe for the luxurious, ease-loving English commander, was life-giving to the American commanders, whose soldiers had scarcely a coat to their backs, or a shoe to their feet.

Washington lost no time in scouring all quarters of the Jerseys. He made himself master of the coast opposite Staten Island, and seized on Newark, Elizabeth Town, and Woodbridge. The inhabitants had been plundered by the Hessians and English, and now they were plundered again by their own countrymen for having received the English well. Washington exerted himself to suppress this rancorous conduct of the New England and Virginian troops, and issued a proclamation absolving the people of their oaths to the English, and promising them protection on their taking a new oath to congress. The people of the Jerseys gladly accepted this offer. Some delegates in congress protested

against this as an invasion of the civil power on the part of the commander; but congress at large supported Washington in it, and it worked well. Some of the loyalists, secretly availing themselves of the privilege, still professed to be good friends of England, and thus acted as spies at the English cantonments, and at Howe's head-quarters at New York.

And still Howe slept on at New York, and Cornwallis at Brunswick! Howe had a good army and a powerful fleet at command, all lying within a short distance of Washington's camp. The royalist native troops were impatient to follow up the winter campaign, and disperse the last traces of the enemy. There were several thousand of ardent royalists in arms in the New York state, under governor, now major-general, Tryon. They kept up communication with the royalists in other states, in Maryland and Delaware especially, who threatened to rise *en masse*, but no encouragement was given them. "In all these transactions," says Stedman, "there was something inexplicable to the rational part of mankind, who could not, by any well-founded arguments, defend the manner in which the troops were cantoned. They could not account for so slender an establishment being left at the two barriers, Trenton and Bordentown. The neglecting to fortify these posts nearest to the enemy, and most in danger, seemed to them unpardonable; the placing the British in the greatest number farthest from the enemy, in the rear of the Hessians: the not retaking instantly the posts on the banks of the Delaware, which posts covered the whole province of Jersey—all these circumstances were generally animadverted on with much severity."

But, during this long fatal lethargy of six months of the British commander, Washington and the congress were busily at work, and that under difficulties and discouragements of which, had the English had but a tenth share, would have sunk them for ever. Washington early took measures to protect his troops from the weather. He erected huts, store-ports, mills for grinding corn, and magazines for the twenty thousand stand of arms and one thousand barrels of gunpowder on the way from France. His right lay at Princetown, under Putnam; his left in the Highlands, under Heath; and he had parties out continually to cut off the supplies going to the British quarters at Brunswick and Amboy. Winter could not render him torpid. He had not been nurtured in the aristocratic effeminacies of England, but in hardships, as a backwoods land-surveyor, and an officer in the provincial army. He posted his forces to make the greatest possible show, though, in reality, he had only the shadow of an army. Recruits came in slowly, and he was frequently obliged to depend on raw levies of militia.

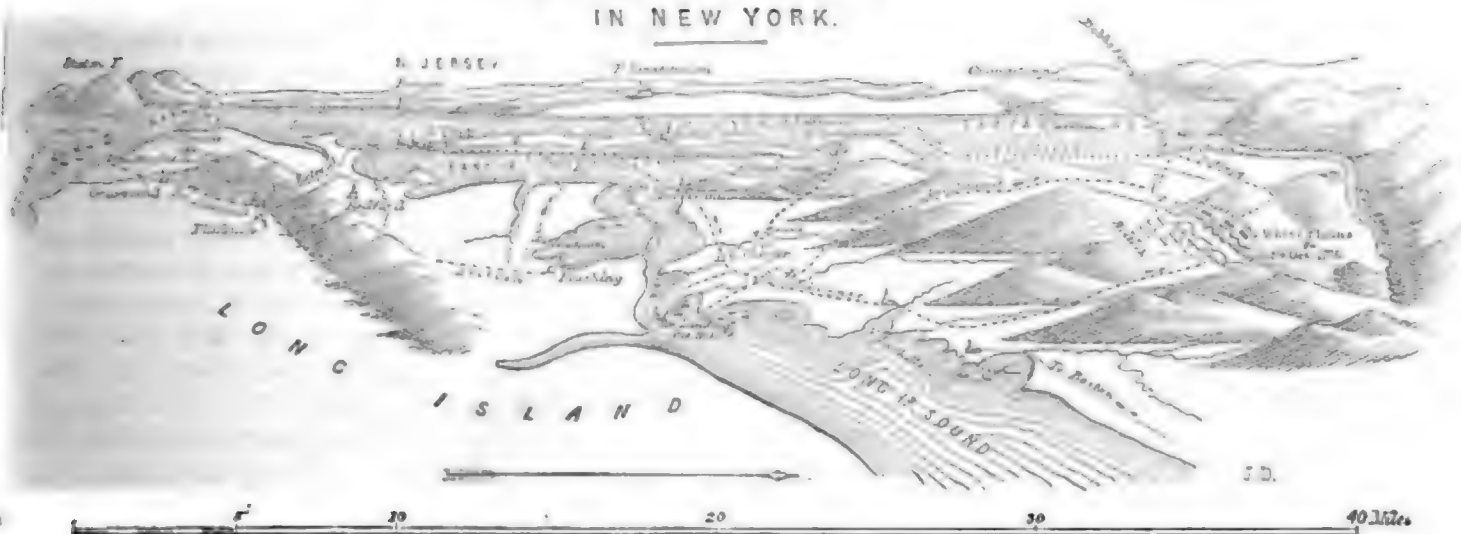
Washington employed himself actively also in reforming the hospital department. Inefficient surgeons were summarily dismissed, and more trustworthy ones appointed. The smallpox had committed terrible ravages in the American army, and he had all the new recruits inoculated. These reforms were not carried through without much struggle and remonstrance. The dismissed officers appealed to congress, and demanded inquiries; but congress stood firm to their commander. Stirling, Mifflin, St. Clair, Stephen, and Lincoln, were made major-generals; and

Lincoln, who had several times hastened to Washington's assistance, was promoted over the heads of all the brigadiers, having risen from the ranks of the Massachusetts militia. Eighteen more brigadiers were appointed; amongst them, Clinton, Cadwallader, Hunt, and Reed, who had resigned his post as adjutant-general, and was succeeded in it by Timothy Pickering. Four regiments of horse were enlisted, and commanded by colonels Bland, Baylor, Sheldon, and Moylan. The quarter-master's and the commissary departments were reformed and strengthened.

There were many difficulties betwixt the Americans and English in respect to the exchange of prisoners. The British, during the war, had taken about five thousand,

abominable prisons. Colonel Campbell's place of confinement was a loathsome dungeon in the common gaol at Concord. They drew on the walls of his apartment rude sketches of the gallows, as the object on which they meant him to terminate his life. On the 14th of February of this year (1777) he managed to get a letter to general Howe, in which he stated that he was lodged, in the depth of winter, with the frost and snow in the extreme, in a dirty, unglazed dungeon, of twelve or thirteen feet square, and shut out from the adjoining yard by two doors, with double locks and bolts; and mentioning other severities and privations to which he was subjected, too disgusting to be quoted. "The attendance," he wrote, "of a single servant is also denied me, and

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IN NEW YORK.



and the Americans three thousand, prisoners. At first, the English refused all exchange, on the ground that the Americans were rebels; and this determination was much strengthened by the refusal of congress to fulfil Arnold's agreement at The Cedars. A further obstacle arose from the capture of general Lee, who, having taken service in the American army before the resignation of his commission in the English service, was regarded as a deserter. The Americans offered six Hessian field-officers in exchange for him, but Howe did not feel at liberty to give up Lee, though he at length prevailed on his government to regard him as a prisoner of war. The Americans had declared, that, if Lee was shot as a deserter, they would treat the six Hessian officers the same. Whilst these matters were in discussion, not only the six Hessian officers, but colonel Campbell, an English officer, who had been taken at Boston, when he entered there unaware of the departure of Howe, were put into close prisons, and treated with singular severity. In fact, colonel Campbell, who had been left at Boston to the mercy of the fanatic New Englanders, had been treated in a manner contrary to all the laws of war, or the customs of civilised nations. Campbell, when taken, had three hundred men with him, and, consequently, several officers. The council of Boston had stripped both officers and men of their property—of the very necessities of life. They had taken their side-arms, and sold them, and confined them in most

every visit from a friend positively refused; in short, sir, was a fire to happen in any chamber of the gaol, which is all wood, the chimney-stacks excepted, I might perish in the flames before the gaoler could go through the ceremony of unlocking the doors; although, to do him justice in his station, I really think him a man of humanity."

Howe dispatched this letter to Washington, who immediately interfered, as he had done before, on the representation of similar atrocities committed by his countrymen. Howe, on taking New York, had found a quantity of bullets in the military stores cut in half, and a nail driven through each, to make the most frightful wound possible. He sent some of them to Washington, protesting against the use of practices, in modern warfare, of so diabolical a character. Washington replied that, till then, such infernal inventions were unknown to him, and, denouncing them in the language of an honourable nature, he pledged himself to prevent further use of them. On the present occasion he at once wrote to the council at Boston, informing them that general Lee was merely confined by the English in a commodious house, with genteel accommodations, and requiring that colonel Campbell and the Hessian officers should have equally good treatment. The matter was one of sound policy as much as of humanity, for the British held at the time three hundred American officers, whilst they held only about fifty English ones. The Americans endeavoured to lessen the disgrace of

this barbarity, by complaining of the miserable treatment of the American prisoners at New York; but the truth appears to have been, that the English and Hessian prisoners came into the hands of the Americans better clothed and fed to begin with, and the American prisoners came half naked and half starved; and Howe, in his carelessness, had too much trusted these unfortunate men to the tender mercies of their countrymen—the Tories of New York. Howe earnestly disclaimed all knowledge of this ill treatment (it is certain that neither the British nor American commanders would sanction any cruelty); but, such was the rancour betwixt the republican and royalist Americans, that no opportunity of injuring one another was ever omitted. Congress, on its part, was, moreover, obstinately averse to exchange of prisoners. The American historian, Hildreth, says:—"Every prisoner sent in to New York was a recruit to the British army, while those received in return were men whose term of service had expired. This consideration of policy had more weight than pity for the suffering prisoners, whose protracted detention was, however, none the less ascribed to the impracticability and obstinacy of the British commander." Even Washington added to the difficulty, for he refused to give up an equal quantity of healthy and well-dressed Hessians and British for the same number of his own squalid and ragged soldiers. It was at this time that the states invented their national flag of thirteen stars and the like number of stripes for the thirteen states.

Meantime, their emissaries were both busy and successful at the court of France. The French, still smarting under the loss of the Canadas, of Nova Scotia, and other territories, saw with delight the colonies in arms against the mother country. Though the government still professed most amicable relations towards Great Britain, it winked at the constant sale of the prizes taken by American privateers, or those who passed for such, in their ports. The government had, as we have seen, supplied the insurgents with money and arms. It was now arranged betwixt Silas Deane and the French minister, Vergennes, that the supplies of arms and ammunition should be sent by way of the West Indies, and that the congress should remit payment in tobacco and other produce.

Franklin and Deane were now in constant communication with the French ministers, though they had as yet no public recognition; but France was busily clearing her way for the war, and preparing to ship over troops to America. The French government supplied the American agents with money for their purchases of arms and necessary articles for the troops, also to be repaid in tobacco. Two of the ships sent off with such supplies were captured by the British men-of-war; but a third, loaded with arms, arrived safely. The emissaries sent to other countries of Europe were wholly unsuccessful; Lee was not even allowed to cross the Spanish frontiers, and his errand was equally fruitless at Berlin.

To procure the money which they could not draw from Europe, congress made fresh issues of paper money, though what was already out was fearfully depreciated. They voted a loan also of five million of dollars, at four per cent. interest. They authorised a lottery to raise a like sum, the prizes to be payable in loan-office certificates. These measures only precipitated the depreciation of the govern-

ment paper: people refused to take it; and Washington, to prevent the absolute starvation of the army, was endowed with the extraordinary power of compelling the acceptance of it, and of arresting and imprisoning all maligners of the credit of congress. Congress went further, and passed a resolution that their bills ought to pass current in all payments, trade, and dealings, and be deemed equal in value to the same sum in Spanish dollars; and that all persons refusing to take them should be considered enemies to the United States; and the local authorities were called upon to inflict forfeitures and other penalties on all such persons. Still further: the New York convention having laid before congress their scheme for regulating the price of labour, produce, manufactured articles, and important goods, it was adopted. But these arbitrary and unscientific measures the traders set at defiance, and the attempts to enforce them only aggravated the public distress. Loans came in slowly, the treasury ran low, the loan offices were overdrawn, and the issue of bills of credit was reluctantly recommenced: ten additional millions were speedily authorised, and as the issue increased, the depreciation naturally kept pace with it. The commissioners in France were instructed to borrow money there, but the instructions were more easily given than executed.

Meantime, a considerable number of French officers, who had been engaged by Silas Deane, had arrived in America. Amongst these were Du Portail, La Radière, and Du Gorion, engineer officers of merit, who were now placed at the head of the engineering department. The Pole, Kosciusko, was appointed engineer to the northern army; Pulaski, another Pole, who had acquired distinction in the resistance of Poland to Russia, Prussia, and Austria, had also arrived and been engaged. But the greater number of the foreign officers engaged by Deane, under extravagant promises, were persons far more remarkable for their self-conceit, their insatiable demands of high pay, honours, and rewards, than for their talents. La Fayette was a striking exception. With all the vanity of a Frenchman, and with but an ordinary amount of talent, La Fayette early imbibed a genuine enthusiasm for liberty, and thus, by his name and station, far more than by his abilities, conferred the greatest benefits on the cause of freedom both in America and afterwards in his own country, France. His father had served with distinction in the German wars; and, at the age of sixteen, La Fayette was married to a daughter of the great house of Noailles. Through his hereditary property and that of his wife, he had an income of nearly two hundred thousand livres a-year—a brilliant one for a French noble. When only eighteen, he chanced to meet with the duke of Gloucester at Metz, and heard the duke's version of the American revolution, which—the duke being out of favour with the English court on account of his wife—was much in favour of the Americans. La Fayette immediately resolved to go over to America, and embrace its cause. He returned to Paris, and was eagerly caught at by Silas Deane, who had found no person of much rank or station yet willing to listen to his offers. La Fayette was the more desirable, because he wished for no pay. Deane offered him the rank of major-general, which La Fayette accepted, and made immediate preparations for the voyage. He purchased a vessel at Bourdeaux, and, whilst it was loading, he went over to

London, where his relative, the marquis de Noailles, was ambassador—made further inquiries, and, keeping his design to himself, was presented to the king, and was graciously received. He also, at the opera, saw general Clinton, so soon to be his opponent in the field.

On his return to Bourdeaux, he found that his design had been discovered by lord Stormont, the British ambassador, who complained of it to the French court. There was a *lettre de cachet* out for his arrest; and he only escaped by getting across the Spanish frontiers. His vessel met him at Passages, and thence, accompanied by the baron Von Kalb and eleven other officers, he sailed for America, and landed on the coast of Carolina, in the month of June this year. The congress at first objected to his having the rank of major-general, but, as he wanted no pay, they consented. By Washington he was most cordially received at Philadelphia, was invited to take up his quarters at his house as one of the family, which he did, and a warm and ever unbroken friendship grew up betwixt the noble commander-in-chief and the liberty-loving Frenchman; in fact, La Fayette, who always professed a very tender attachment to his wife, certainly showed still more attachment to the cause of liberty, for he left madame La Fayette when she was in an interesting situation to set out on this enterprise.

It was at Philadelphia that La Fayette first saw the American army, and he was not a little astonished at their appearance—with green boughs fastened to their hats, coarse hunting shirts instead of uniforms, and muskets, many of them wanting bayonets, and all of unequal make and size. Such had been the difficulty of raising even such an army, that congress had waved the rule made at first, especially by the New England states, of not admitting negro slaves into the army. They had now great numbers of negro slaves, redemptioners, or indented servants, for whom congress pledged itself to make compensation to their masters.

Such were the difficulties under which congress and Washington had been struggling through this winter to raise and keep together any considerable force; whilst general, now Sir William Howe, had been completely dozing at New York. The first movements of Howe were to execute several detached evolutions. Learning that Washington, in his entrenched camp at Morristown, received the chief of his supplies through a port on the Hudson, about fifty miles above New York, called Peekskill, he dispatched, on the 23rd of March, five hundred men, under the command of colonel Bird, to drive the Americans thence, and bring away the stores. The Americans had about eight hundred men there, who fled at the first approach of the British, but took care to set fire to their store-houses before going off, so that Bird only got possession of an empty station, and returned, without booty, to New York.

On the 23rd of April, Howe sent governor Tryon, supported by general Agnew and Sir William Erskine, to seize another strong depôt of stores at Dornbury, on the western borders of Connecticut. He had two thousand men; and, landing at Camp's Point, between Fairfield and Norwalk, he reached Dornbury in the morning. The Americans this time fled too rapidly to set fire to their stores; but the English had brought no carriages with them to carry them

away, and they, in their turn, set fire to the magazines, and burned one thousand six hundred barrels of pork and beef, six hundred barrels of flour, two thousand barrels of wheat, rye, and Indian corn, two thousand tents, and a great quantity of military clothing—articles of which Washington had the greatest need.

The burning of this great mass of property occupied the troops all that day and the following night. The next morning, having been without sleep for two nights, the British began their retreat. But, whilst they had been burning, the Americans had rallied, and thrown themselves across the track of their return. Arnold, happening to be in that neighbourhood, volunteered his services, and posted himself at the little town of Bridgefield, which they defended with several field-pieces. As this was the only road back to Camp's Point, the English charged and cleared the town, but only after a bloody reception. Arnold nearly lost his life; his horse was shot under him; and, whilst endeavouring to recover his feet, he was attacked by a soldier with fixed bayonet. Arnold, however, with that presence of mind which never deserted him, shot the soldier dead with a horse-pistol, and escaped.

That night, the British, tired out with loss of sleep, lay on their arms in the field; but, on reaching the bridge near the town, they there found Wooster drawn up with his artillery. They, however, were conducted by their guide to a ford, by which means they got betwixt Wooster and Camp's Point. Pursued by Wooster, Sir William Erskine, at the head of four hundred men, was directed to wheel and charge the Americans. He soon routed them, killing general Wooster and several field officers, and many men. The total loss of the English was, in killed and wounded, about one hundred and seventy men; of the Americans, upwards of one hundred. Arnold, for his gallantry, was made major-general, and was presented by congress with a horse fully caparisoned; yet he still complained of junior officers being promoted over his head.

As a retaliation, the Americans sent colonel Meigs over to Long Island, to a place called Sag Harbour, where the English had a great quantity of provision stores, which they learned were very remissly guarded. Meigs, who had been trained under Arnold, conducted the enterprise very adroitly. He passed the Sound in whale-boats in the night, landed without much difficulty before the break of day, and began to fire the magazines. He met with a brave resistance from the crews of the merchants' vessels; but, having two hundred men, and there being no soldiers to oppose him, he destroyed twelve of the trading vessels, took ninety prisoners, and returned triumphantly without the loss of a single man. Another success which greatly elated the Americans, was the capture of general Prescott, much in the same manner as colonel Harcourt had captured general Lee. Prescott had offered a reward for the capture of Arnold; and Arnold, in affected contempt, retorted by offering half the sum for the capture of Prescott. Spies in Newport, where Prescott lay, informed the Americans that Prescott was very careless in his guards, and lodged himself with remarkable rashness at a country house at some little distance from the town. A party was sent out to take him, and succeeded, so that now they had Prescott to set off against Lee.

In the meantime, Washington had quitted his encampment at Morristown, and taken up a strong position at Middlebrook, about twelve miles from Princetown. He had with him forty-three regiments, or rather skeletons of regiments, for the whole amounted to only eight thousand men,

Washington quitted his camp, which had cost him so much labour to create, and descended with his main body to Quibbletown. On seeing this, Howe advanced again, and dispatched several bodies of soldiers by different routes, to get, if possible, betwixt Washington and his old post on the

hills, so as to bring him to an engagement on the plain. To have effected this movement required, however, more rapidity and energy than belonged to Howe. Washington instantly became aware of his design, and retreated with all speed. Lord Cornwallis, who led the British van, notwithstanding, managed to come up with him, and fell upon a division of three thousand strong, advantageously posted, and defended with cannon. Cornwallis's charge, however, threw him into confusion, the route became general, and the British pursued them as far as Westfield, whence, coming to a woody country, and the heat of the day being intense, they halted for the night. This halt was again the salvation of Washington: it enabled him to regain his old fortified post in the hills, leaving behind him part of his cannon, and about two hundred men killed.

Instead of waiting to watch Washington, or leaving any

force for that purpose, Howe now suddenly altered his plans, marched back in reality to Staten Island, and left the enemy in full command of the Jerseys. Neither Washington nor his own officers could now comprehend his designs. It would have been far better to have attacked Washington's camp than for Howe to have cooped up his forces in the heat of the season in the vessels lying off Staten Island. Had Howe captured or broken up Washington's army, the greatest difficulty of the war would have been over. As it was, some thought he intended to ascend the Hudson, in order to meet and support general Burgoyne, who was descending from Canada by the fort of Ticonderoga towards Albany, by which he would have secured the second great enterprise in the campaign, and have then left only Washington to encounter the whole momentum of his forces.

But, embarking his army on the 5th of July, he left general Clinton at New York with seventeen battalions, a body of loyal American militia, and a regiment of light horse. He set sail on the 23rd of July, and stood out to sea. Washington, now supposing that he meant to make an attempt on Boston, moved slowly towards the Hudson; but he had soon information that caused him to retreat again



HEAD-QUARTERS OF GENERAL PRESCOTT.

divided into ten brigades. On the 13th of June, Howe at last marched out of New Brunswick to attack him.

On this, Washington called to his assistance a great part of the troops in the highlands, the whole force of the Jersey militia, whilst Arnold, who had the command at Philadelphia, was actively engaged with Mifflin in preparing defences for the Delaware. The object of Howe was to draw Washington from his entrenchments, certain that, on fair ground, it would require little exertion to totally dissipate his army; therefore, after marching up almost to the American lines, he commenced a retreat, evacuated even New Brunswick, and fell back to Amboy. Washington fell into the snare; he sent a strong force in pursuit of Howe, who, keeping up the ruse, threw a bridge over the narrow strait which divides Staten Island from the mainland, and sent over part of his baggage and a number of troops. Satisfied then that Howe was bent on resuming his old quarters at New York,

towards the Delaware; and, news coming that Howe had been seen off Cape May, he advanced to Germantown. Instead of entering the Delaware, however, the British fleet was presently seen steering eastward, and all calculations were baffled. Washington, now believing that he was intending to return to New York, proceeded to Philadelphia, and had an interview with the congress.

Howe's real intention had been to enter the Delaware, and proceed up it direct to Philadelphia; but, understanding that the Americans had placed enormous impediments in the river, he stood away for the mouth of the Elk, in Chesapeake Bay. He was tediously detained by contrary winds always prevailing there on that course in that season, and it was the 28th of August before he entered the Elk, and reached the Elk head, where he landed his troops. On the 2nd of September he commenced his march for Philadelphia. He soon came upon a body of Washington's army at Iron Hill, which he charged and drove from the hill. On the 11th he came in sight of Washington's main army, strongly posted and fortified on the forks of the Brandywine river. Here Howe's dispositions were excellent. He sent forward, under general Knyphausen, the second division, consisting of two English brigades and the Hessian troops, accompanied by a corps of riflemen, who advanced to a ford called Chad's Ford, and drove a detachment of Americans across it. Howe then advanced, and, planting his cannon along the bank of the river, he engaged the Americans in a brisk cannonade across the stream. Meantime, lord Cornwallis was silently marching in the rear of Howe's troops, round to another ford at the forks of the Brandywine, which he crossed, and took Washington's army in the rear. On firing his signal gun, the Americans were thrown into consternation, and at the same moment Knyphausen dashed across Chad's Ford, and drove the surprised Americans from their batteries and entrenchments at the point of the bayonet. The batteries were instantly turned against them, and Cornwallis, who had been checked by a division under general Sullivan, coming up, there was a general route. The Americans fled in utter confusion, having lost three hundred, six hundred wounded, and four hundred taken prisoners. The English had one hundred killed and four hundred wounded.

But Howe, instead of pushing on after Washington, committed his invariable blunder. He encamped on the field; allowed Washington to pass the night undisturbed at Chester, and then marching to Philadelphia, to have two whole days there to collect and send away his scattered troops, his ammunition, and stores. Howe was always within reach of victory, but never put out even a hand to seize it, and to close the business. A Clive or a Wellington, and it would only have been an affair of a few weeks.

At this battle of Brandywine, the marquis La Fayette commenced his American campaign. He was wounded in the leg, and very near falling into the hands of the English, and thus soon closing his volunteer partisanship. Being conveyed to Bethlehem, to a Moravian settlement, where he remained six weeks till his wound was cured, he employed the time in listening to the peaceful doctrines of the Herrnhuters, and in planning schemes of the most romantic extravagance, and of a most unpracticable kind. These were

no less than to have a descent made on the English West Indian Islands by the French under American colours, for which purpose he wrote to the French commander of Martinique; to have an invasion of the English East Indian territories by the French, also under American colours. This invasion was to set out from the Isle of France; and for this purpose he wrote to M. Maurepas, the prime minister of France. It is difficult to decide whether these proposals show more forcibly the impracticable wildness of La Fayette's ideas, or his obtuseness to honourable principle, seeing that France all this time was at peace with England.

The result of the battle of Brandywine was most mortifying to the American congress. This body and the board of war had adopted the policy of inquiring into the conduct of every officer who suffered defeat. They had just recalled general Schuyler and all the officers of the northern army; they had appointed an inquiry into the failure of Sullivan on Staten Island, and they now charged him with the cause of ~~the~~ defeat, demanding his suspension; but Washington declared that he could not be deprived of his services, and the attempt was abandoned. But their anger fell on Deborre, a foreign officer, whose body of Marylanders, one of Sullivan's brigades, was the first to give way. Deborre, who had been wounded in his endeavours to stop his flying men, threw up his commission in indignation, declaring that if the Americans would run, he would not bear the disgrace for them. Pulaaski, who was a volunteer on this occasion, on the contrary, was rewarded for his exertions in recalling the fugitive soldiers by the commission of brigadier-general. The evening after the battle, a party of British entered Wilmington, and made prisoner Mackinley, the president of Pennsylvania, and seized a vessel, on board of which were the public records and money, and much private property.

But, scarcely had Howe posted himself at Wilmington, when Washington re-crossed the Schuylkill and marched on the British left, hoping to get into Howe's rear, and imitate the movement of Cornwallis at the Brandywine, which had been so effectual. Howe, aware of the movement, however, reversed his front, and the Americans were taken by surprise. In this case, Howe himself ought to have fallen on the Americans, but a storm is said to have prevented it, and Washington immediately fell back to Warwick Furnace, on the south bank of French creek. From that point he dispatched general Wayne to cross a rough country, and occupy a wood on the British left. Here, having fifteen hundred men himself, he was to form a junction with two thousand Maryland militia, and with this force harass the British rear. But information of this movement was given to Howe, who, on the 20th of September, sent major-general Greig to expel Wayne from his concealment. Greig gave orders that not a gun should be fired, but that the bayonet alone should be used, and then, stealing unperceived on Wayne, his men made a terrible rush with fixed bayonets, threw the whole body into consternation, and made a dreadful slaughter. Three hundred Americans were killed and wounded, about a hundred were taken prisoners, and the rest fled, leaving their baggage behind them. The English only lost seven men.

Whilst Washington manœuvred to prevent Howe crossing the Schuylkill above him, the English general crossed below on the 22nd of September, and thus placed himself betwixt Philadelphia and the American army. It was now necessary for Washington to fight, or give up that city; but the condition of his troops, deficient in clothes and shoes, owing to the poverty of the commissariat department, with wretched arms, and fatigued by their recent exertions, forbade all hope of maintaining even the defensive. He therefore fell back, and Cornwallis, on the 27th, advancing from Germantown, entered Philadelphia amid the welcomes of the loyal inhabitants. The Americans had vowed that they would not surrender the city without setting fire to it; but they contented themselves with the removal of the

camp, Hamilton, to demand a plentiful supply of blankets, shoes, and clothing for his army, which he rigorously enforced, being empowered with authority from congress to that effect. Amongst the multitudes who welcomed Howe to Philadelphia was Duché, the late chaplain of congress, who wrote to Washington, advising him to give up the ungodly cause. Cornwallis occupied the city with four regiments, but the body of the British army encamped at Germantown, ten miles distant.

But, though the Americans had evacuated the city, they still held the command of the Delaware below it, and thus cut off the supplies of the British army by sea, and all communication betwixt the army and the fleet, except by the circuitous course of Chester, liable to capture by the enemy.



GENERAL BURGoyNE ADDRESSING THE INDIANS.

hospitals, the magazines, public stores, and much private property. The quakers, loyal to the extreme, were not to be compelled, by all the threats and coercions of congress, to support a war which, in their consciences, they did not approve. The leaders amongst them had been put into arrest on the approach of Howe, and twenty of them were sent close prisoners to Staunton, in Virginia, before Cornwallis's arrival; but the people at large still received the English cheerfully.

The congress retired to Lancaster, and next to York, beyond the Susquehanna, in their anger authorising Washington to seize, try by court-martial, and put to death, all persons within thirty miles of any town occupied by the British, who should pilot them by land or water, give them any intelligence, or furnish them with provisions, arms, forage, fuel, or stores of any kind. Before quitting Philadelphia, Washington ordered his youthful aide-de-

Franklin, before leaving for England, had exerted his ingenuity to defend the mouth of the Delaware. He had had three rows of chevaux-de-frise, composed of immense beams of timber, bolted together, and bristled with strong iron spikes, sunk in the river a little below the confluence of the Schuylkill. The lowest of these obstructions was defended on the Jersey side at Billingsport by extensive but unfinished works, and the upper ones were defended by several floating batteries and armed vessels. On a low, flat island, called Mud Island, near the Pennsylvanian bank of the river, were thrown up other batteries. On the Jersey shore opposite lay a fort called Red Bank, and under its cover were fourteen row-galleys, each carrying one piece of ordnance, two floating batteries carrying nine guns each, several rafts with guns upon them, and a number of fire-ships.

Within a few days of taking Philadelphia, lord Howe



NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS PRESENTED AT THE ENGLISH COURT.

raised three batteries on the side of the river. The two American frigates lying in the river, and a flotilla, commanded by Hazelwood, came up, and opened a fierce cannonade, not only on the batteries, but on the town. The tide receding, the Delaware, one of the frigates, was left aground, was stranded, and taken; and the crews of the flotilla were so much discouraged, that many of them deserted. But Hazelwood undauntedly prepared, with the other frigates, the galleys, and flotilla, to make a desperate resistance.

These defences of the river had received the anxious support of Washington. On the 3rd of October he issued from his camp on the Schuylkill, about fourteen miles from Germantown, having heard that two British detachments had been withdrawn thence to attack the forts on the Delaware. He had been reinforced by militia from Maryland and New Jersey, and determined to surprise the English camp at Germantown. Two columns of continental troops, led by Greene and Sullivan, were to gain the front of the British, and attack it; whilst two other columns of militia were to attack the rear. This force marched all night, and entered Germantown about sunrise, and all seemed likely to favour their enterprise. A fog prevented the discovery of their approach. But, at the first surprise, colonel Musgrove threw himself into a storehouse, belonging to a Mr. Chew, with five companies of his regiment, and kept up such a fire from the windows as checked the assault of the Americans, and gave time for the rest of the British force to get under arms.

The village of Germantown consisted of one long street, said to be about three miles long. Across this street the British army had encamped, and stoutly resisted the advance of the Americans. Musgrove was summoned to surrender; but he continued his fire from the house without taking any notice, and, before artillery could be brought up to batter the house, general Greig and brigadier Agnew came up to his assistance. The continental troops in front, led on by Washington himself, made a brisk attack, but were repulsed at all points, and were badly co-operated with by the militia in the rear. Washington was compelled to fall back to his camp at Skippack Creek, leaving behind him about eight hundred killed and wounded, and four hundred prisoners. Amongst several of his officers killed, was general Nash, of North Carolina; amongst the British, fell brigadier Agnew.

On the 8th of October lord Howe ascended the Delaware with the fleet almost as far as Newcastle. There he found that the Americans had raised strong wooden piers to defend the sunken booms which obstructed the passage of the river. A body of sailors were employed to throw up batteries opposite to Mud Island, and on the 21st of October a detachment of twelve hundred Hessians, under count Donop, crossed the Delaware at Philadelphia, and marched down the Jersey shore to attack the fort at Red Bank, whilst the British ships kept up a heavy fire on Fort Mifflin and the flotilla. On Donop's approach, Greene abandoned the outworks of Red Bank, and retired to the main redoubt. The assaulting column was there received by a terrible fire of grape and musketry. Count Donop fell mortally wounded; the next in command, lieutenant-general Musgrove, was killed, and

under a galling fire from the flotilla in the rear, as well as from the fort, the Hessians were repulsed with a loss of four hundred men. Had they been able to stand their ground, they found that they had forgotten their scaling-ladders, and that the whole expedition was therefore worse than useless.

At the same time the fleet had passed the first *chevaux-de-frise*, and the four vessels passed through; but the Augusta frigate and the Merlin sloop ran aground, and were blown up; the rest returned through the opening. The Americans were greatly encouraged by this success; and it was the 10th of November before the English sailors had completed the batteries on Province Island, opposite to Mud Island. On the 15th these batteries began to play on Fort Mifflin, and the fleet also kept up a continued cannonade. The fort began to crumble under the effects of the incessant fire. In vain did the Americans labour to repair the breaches made in the day during the following nights; they were compelled to evacuate, leaving their artillery behind. Two days after the fall of Mud Island, Red Bank being attacked by an overwhelming force under lord Cornwallis, the Americans fled precipitately, burning their vessels and flotillas in the river. The remaining boats were then soon destroyed, and the navigation to Philadelphia was free.

So far, however, was Sir William Howe from availing himself of this opportunity to follow up the attack on Washington, and disperse his army, that he, as usual, thought only of getting into snug winter quarters. On the other hand, Washington, rendered daring by this strange apathy, made a show of beating up Howe's own quarters. He sent earnest summonses to Putnam and Gates to hasten to him with a powerful detachment of the army now liberated from duty in the north, by circumstances soon to be detailed. Putnam had now nine thousand men, besides a numerous militia; but, instead of obeying Washington's summons, he bent on attacking New York. A second and more peremptory summons at length brought Putnam down along with two other brigades from Gates, at the earnest instance of Hamilton, Washington's young and zealous aide-de-camp.

With these troops Washington quitted his strong post at Skippack Creek, and advanced to a still stronger one at White Marsh, only fourteen miles from Philadelphia. On this menace Howe marched out of that city on the night of the 4th of December, and took post on Chestnut Hill, in front of the American camp. A valley and rivulet lying between the hostile camps, neither commander was willing to run the risk of an attack; but, two days after, Howe suddenly marched from the right of Washington's lines to the left, and came opposite to the northern army, strongly posted on a hill. There lord Cornwallis boldly attacked and routed them so completely, that Washington's left was thrown into confusion; and it required only for Howe to make a general advance, and the whole army would have fled. Stedman says that Washington expected nothing less, and was prepared for a hasty retreat; that Howe had only to have attacked the Americans in the rear, by which he would have cut off Washington from his baggage and provisions, which were five miles off. But Howe never saw these opportunities, which were always lying before him.

though his officers and men did. "Our troops," says Stedman, "retired, to the surprise of all who were acquainted with the ground on which Washington was encamped, and the variety of excellent roads which led round to his rear." So Howe, who was certainly intended for a dormouse, or a hibernating bear, rather than a general, lay still; and Washington, again encouraged by such wondrous sloth, suddenly, on the night of the 10th, abandoned his position, and began to cross to the west bank of the Schuylkill. But early in the morning he found himself confronted by Cornwallis, who drove him back to his bridge of boats, and posted himself on some heights commanding it. Washington, believing that Howe was in the rear of Cornwallis, looked for little else than his own destruction; but no Howe was there—he had returned to Philadelphia. Cornwallis was only at the head of a foraging party; Washington got across his bridge of boats to the other side of the Schuylkill, and Cornwallis returned to quarters.

Thus was another glorious chance of the utter dispersion of the American army thrown away on this most incompetent commander; and, as Washington saw that he had nothing to fear during the winter, except from the elements, he determined to encamp himself, so as to keep the British in constant anxiety about him. He selected a strong piece of ground at a place called Valley Forge, covered with wood. He set his soldiers to fell trees and make log-huts, the interstices of which they stopped with moss, and daubed up with clay. As they had plenty of fuel, they could thus pass the winter in some degree of comfort. A great number of his men were on the verge of the expiration of their term, and were impatient to return home; but he persuaded many to remain, and he employed them in throwing up entrenchments on the right of his camp, which was open towards the plain. His left was defended by the Schuylkill, and his rear by a steep precipice descending to the Valley Creek. He began two redoubts, but he soon saw that there was no fear of Howe moving so long as the winter lasted, and he left them unfinished. And thus the winter went over, Howe lying snugly at Philadelphia, enjoying his wine and his cards, and apparently forgetful that there was any such place as Valley Forge within five-and-twenty miles of him.

Whilst these movements had been progressing, very different ones had been in development in the north. The British government, with the fatality which distinguished nearly all its counsels in this war, had thought proper to take the command of the army destined to operate by way of Canada on the northern colonies from Sir Guy Carleton, and to confer it on general Burgoyne. Carleton had now acquired, by long residence and various expeditions, not only a knowledge of the country, but the confidence of the people. Burgoyne, on the other hand, a very brave officer, was ignorant of the nature of the ground over which he had to pass. The campaign had been planned—not by experienced military men on the spot, capable of estimating the difficulties of the enterprise, but in the cabinet at home, directed by defective maps, and still more defective information. It is asserted that the plan of the campaign had been drawn out almost entirely by the king, lord George Germaine, and Burgoyne himself, the two first heads certainly the most unfortunate ones that could have been engaged upon it. The only man

who could have pointed out their dangers—as he had reiteratedly pointed out the very dangers they were about to rush upon—lord Barrington, was kept out of the scheme.

This scheme was to take Ticonderoga, and then to advance upon Albany. Whilst the army was marching to this point, the fleet, carrying another strong force, was to ascend the Hudson, and there meet Burgoyne, by which means the British could then command the Hudson through its whole extent; and New England, the head of the rebellion, would be entirely cut off from the middle and southern countries. The plan was excellent in itself, but demanded, for its successful accomplishment, not only commanders familiar with the country, but the most ardent spirit in them, and the most careful co-operation. Of the most essential of these desiderata there was an entire absence.

Carleton justly felt great mortification at the management of the enterprise being taken out of his hands, and at once resigned his government of Canada; and, though he remained till his successor had arrived, it is not likely that he would take the same interest in the necessary preparations as if he had been intrusted with it. The force destined for this expedition consisted of upwards of seven thousand men, but nearly half of them were Germans. Besides these and the corps of artillery, there were nearly three thousand French Canadians, who were equipped to act as pioneers, scouts, and labourers, to clear the roads through the woods, to complete the fortifications on the Sorel, at Forts St. John and Chamblé, and at the Isle aux Noix. They were, many of them, too, to act as conveyers of the baggage and ammunition with horses and carts. Last of all, according to the unchristian custom of this unnatural war, Burgoyne was attended by shoals of Indians of the neighbouring tribes, who were to scour the woods during march, to give early notice of the approach of an enemy, and to cut off stragglers or advanced posts.

Being conveyed to St. John, Burgoyne there disembarked, and on the 16th of June he commenced his march for Crown Point, the shipping following him by the lake. He had under his command several brave and experienced officers—major-general Philips, brigadier-general Frazer, brigadiers Powell and Hamilton, the Brunswick major-general Reisedel, and brigadier-general Specht. His first business was to take Ticonderoga: but, before advancing from Crown Point, he sent colonel St. Leger to make a diversion, with upwards of seven hundred men, on the side of the Mohawk river. He also there held a council with the Six Nations of Indians, of whom he chose from a crowd of applicants four hundred of their warriors to attend him. He made these warriors a speech, in which he informed them of the principles which guided Christians in making war, and exhorted them to lay aside their cruel practices, which were contrary to these principles. But all who knew anything of the red men knew that they would not pay the slightest regard to these injunctions; that they would pursue their practices of vengeance and scalping without compunction when once they were roused to action. And whilst Burgoyne preached this forbearance to the savages, he took care, in a proclamation, to terrify the colonists into submission by the terrors of the Indian ferocity. Several Indians belonging to these Six Nations had been presented

years before to George II., and had excited great curiosity in England.

On the 1st of July, two days after the issue of this proclamation, Burgoyne appeared before Ticonderoga. The place required ten thousand troops effectually to defend it; but St. Clair, who commanded there, had only three thousand, very indifferently armed and equipped. St. Clair saw at once that he must retire, as the Americans had already done, at Crown Point; but he sought to do it unobserved. The British found that a hill, called Mount Independence, on the eastern shore of the lake, opposite to Ticonderoga, and connected with it by a bridge, was strongly fortified. But there was another hill, called Sugar Hill, commanding both Mount Independence and Ticonderoga, which the Americans had strangely overlooked, as well as a third, called Mount Hope. Major-general Philips the very next day took possession of Mount Hope, and on the 3rd Sugar Hill was occupied. The Americans had believed one of these hills inaccessible to cannon, but now saw those engines frowning from its crest. St. Clair made instant arrangements for evacuation. The only road open to them was to Skenesborough; the means to reach it was by the South River, the mouth of which, with the lake, was closed by immense frameworks of timber sunk in the water, and which were said to have cost the Americans nearly a year's labour. St. Clair ordered all the baggage to be put on board batteaux, under the guard of five armed galleys, the last remains of the American flotilla, and conveyed to Skenesborough, to which place the troops were to march by land. As the Americans had a most destructive and imprudent habit of setting fire to the houses as they passed, by which their own flight was readily traced, St. Clair issued the strictest orders that this should be refrained from, and that they should proceed in profound silence.

Accordingly, in the night of the 5th of July, the flight took place; but the general's orders were immediately disobeyed; the soldiers fired the house which had been occupied by general de Fermoy, and the English were at once apprised of the retreat. The sailors soon broke up the obstructions at the mouth of the river, and a fleet of gun-boats was in instant pursuit. They overtook the Americans near the falls of Skenesborough, and quickly mastered the protecting galleys, and destroyed the batteaux. General Burgoyne followed with other gun-boats containing troops, and at the same time dispatched generals Frazer and Reisedel by land after St. Clair.

General Burgoyne, on approaching the falls of Skenesborough, was received by a sharp fire of artillery, but he rapidly landed, and the Americans soon set fire to their works, and retreated by Wood Creek to Fort St. Anne. From St. Anne, which they also burned, they fled to Fort Edward, nearly the whole of their baggage and artillery falling into the hands of Burgoyne.

St. Clair had marched with such celerity that he reached, before the next night, Castleton, thirty miles from Ticonderoga. But the rear division under colonel Warner halted at Hubberton, six miles short of Castleton. Early next morning, general Frazer found them on a hill. No sooner did they descry him, than one of the regiments turned and fled, leaving most of their officers to be taken prisoners. But the

other two regiments, commanded by Warner and Francis, stood their ground stoutly. Frazer had with him only about eight hundred men, and the Americans were from one thousand two hundred to one thousand five hundred strong. But Frazer advanced up the hill and attacked them briskly. The Americans were protected by a sort of breast-work formed of logs and trees, and they gave Frazer a smart reception. But, calculating on the approach of Reisedel and the Germans, he fought on; and Reisedel soon after marching up with a full band of music, the Americans imagined that the whole body of the Germans was there, and fled on to Castleton as fast as they could. They suffered a terrible loss. Colonel Francis and several other officers were killed, with two hundred men; one colonel, seven captains, ten subalterns, and two hundred and ten privates, were taken prisoners, whilst six hundred wounded dispersed themselves in the woods—many of them to perish there. When Warner joined St. Clair two days afterwards, he had only ninety men remaining with him.

Having heard of the fall of Skenesborough, and fearing to be cut off, St. Clair retired to Rutland, and his route remained unknown for some days; but after seven days' march he joined Schuyler at Fort Edward, on the Hudson.

General Schuyler was hastening to support Ticonderoga, when, on reaching Saratoga, he was met by the news of the succession of defeats. He had, when joined by St. Clair and Long, who had been left to defend St. John in vain, about five thousand men, the whole now of the northern army, but many of these were militia hastily called together—many of them without arms—more, destitute of ammunition, and still more, of discipline. But Schuyler depended much more on the nature of the country which the British would have to traverse from this point than on his men. The whole region betwixt Skenesborough and the Hudson was an almost unbroken wilderness. Wood Creek was navigable as far as Fort Anne; from Fort Anne to the Hudson, over an exceedingly rough country, covered with thick woods, and intersected by numerous streams and morasses, extended a single military road. Whilst Burgoyne halted a few days at Skenesborough to bring up the necessary supplies, Schuyler seized the opportunity to destroy the navigation of Wood Creek, by sinking impediments on its channel, and breaking up the bridges and causeways, of which there were fifty or more on the road from Fort Anne to Fort Edward. At all those points where the construction of a side passage would not be difficult, he ordered trees to be felled across the road, with their heads interlocking, drove off all the cattle, and summoned the New England militia to the rescue.

Up to this point nothing could be more brilliant than the progress of general Burgoyne; nothing so appalling to the American congress, as the news of the successive falls of Crown Point, Ticonderoga, and the other forts. "We shall never be able to defend a post," exclaimed John Adams, "till we shoot a general!" So long as the British troops manœuvred in a country where they could take advantage of their discipline and momentum, they were irresistible; but they were now come to that region of woods and mountains, into which lord Barrington had so urgently and anxiously warned them against following American ridings.

There, discipline ceased to be of any use. Where some thousands of good marksmen could conceal themselves behind bushes, and rocks, and boles of trees, the English soldiers, accustomed to act in bodies, and with ordinary muskets, became only a mark for death. On every occasion where army could fairly come face to face with army, the Americans were scattered like chaff before the wind. To such places only should the English have followed them. Taking steady possession of their towns, and blockading their ports, as Barrington and Barré had so repeatedly demonstrated, the result would have been certain; but to contend with our old muskets against rifles, with our troops almost wholly unaccustomed to rifle exercise, against men who concealed themselves behind trunks of trees, was certain defeat. That had now to be shown.

At this crisis, however, the indignation of the congress had very nearly liberated Burgoyne from all his dangers. They excused their officers of treachery; and the New Englanders, who hated Schuyler, were clamorous against him. Congress recalled all the northern generals, that their conduct might be inquired into. Had this rash order been carried into effect, that army must have been left destitute of adequate commanders, and would have been dispersed with ease by Burgoyne; but the wisdom of Washington stepped in to prevent this. He represented to congress the certain consequence. Mortified as he was by the defeat of the American troops, he never for a moment abated his confidence in Schuyler, and exerted himself to send him reinforcements. Two brigades from the highlands, Morgan with his rifle corps, the impetuous Arnold, and Lincoln, a great favourite with the people of Massachusetts, were ordered to the northern department, and general Gates was appointed to supersede Schuyler.

Burgoyne now issued a proclamation, calling for ten deputies from each township to assemble at Castleton, to confer with governor Skene on measures for the re-establishment of the British authority. Schuyler, on the other hand, issued a counter-proclamation, threatening with the utmost vengeance as traitors all who complied with Burgoyne's propositions. At the same time, Schuyler managed to allow intelligence to fall into Burgoyne's hands which should bewilder him, and make it uncertain whether he should retreat or advance.

Had Burgoyne been well informed, he would have fallen back on Ticonderoga, have embarked on Lake George, and proceeded to Fort George, whence there was a wagon-road to Fort Edward, the place he was aiming at. Instead of this, he determined on separating himself from his baggage and artillery, sending these, under general Philips, to Fort George, and proceeding with the main portion of the army across the rugged country that lay betwixt himself and Fort Edward. On this route they had not only to contend with swamps, swarming with mosquitoes, deep gullies, ravines, and rivulets, but to make temporary bridges to supply the place of those destroyed by Schuyler, and remove the trees felled by him. The weather, to add to their stupendous labour, was intensely hot; yet, surmounting everything, on the 30th of July Burgoyne and his army hailed with enthusiasm the sight of the Hudson, which they had thus reached through a series of brilliant successes.

There only needed now one thing to render the whole expedition triumphant, and place the Hudson from Albany to New York in the absolute power of the British army—that general Howe should have been prepared to keep the appointment there with a proper fleet and armed force. But Howe was engaged in the campaign of Philadelphia, and seems to have been utterly incapable of conducting two such operations as watching Washington and supporting Burgoyne. It was not necessary that he should be in two places at once: but there were forces lying still at New York, and sufficient vessels there to carry them up the Hudson to meet Burgoyne when he reached that river, as, indeed, was attempted when too late. Burgoyne had bravely done his part; but here he was miserably betrayed. As soon as Burgoyne discovered this fatal want of co-operation on the part of Howe, he ought to have retreated to the lakes, but he still determined to advance; and before doing so, he only awaited the coming up of the artillery and baggage under general Philips and of colonel St. Leger, who had been dispatched by the course of the Oswego, the Oneida Lake, and Wood Creek, and thence by the Mohawk river, which falls into the Hudson between Saratoga and Albany. St. Leger had two hundred regulars—Sir John Johnson's royal queen's and Canadian rangers—with him, and a body of Indians under Brandt. St. Leger, on his way, had laid siege to Fort Schuyler, late Fort Stanwix, near the head of the Mohawk. General Herkimer raised the militia of Tryon county, and advanced to the relief of the place, which was held by Gansevoort and Willett, with two New York regiments.

On hearing this, Burgoyne dispatched colonel Baum with two pieces of artillery and eight hundred men—dismounted German dragoons and British marksmen—with a body of Canadians and Indians, and colonel Skene and a party of loyalists for guides to seize cattle, carts, and pioneers in the settlements to the east. They were to surprise Bennington, a place about twenty miles to the east of the Hudson, where the Americans had collected their stores from New England, and, having secured these, to return and carry them to St. Leger. But, of all soldiers, dismounted German troopers were the least fitted for expeditions which required dispatch. They were completely oppressed by the ponderous weight of their equipments in that hot season. The worst British regiment would have marched twice the distance in a day. There were not one-third men enough for the enterprise; and, on the very first day, Baum, ignorant of the language and the character of the people, acting under the advice of colonel Skene, liberated a considerable number of American prisoners whom he took, on condition that they should go home, and not serve against England again. They at once marched to Bennington, gave the alarm, and entered the ranks against their liberators. Baum soon found himself menaced by a superior force from that place, and, halting, sent to Burgoyne for fresh reinforcements. These were sent to the amount of five hundred men, another German detachment under colonel Breyman. Baum, however, found himself surrounded by generals Starke and Warner at St. Corick's Mill, on Walloon Creek, six miles from Bennington, before Breyman came up. They had one thousand two hundred men.

Baum immediately began to entrench himself. It was now the 14th of August; and, heavy rains setting in, the enemies lay still for two days, each expecting reinforcements. On the 16th Starke, a man who had risen from the ranks, being joined by some militia under colonel Simmons, drew out his troops, and led them against Baum's lines. "There they are!" exclaimed the rustic general; "we beat to-day, or Sally Stark's a widow!"

For two hours a fierce attack was kept up on Baum's entrenchments on all sides by the Americans with muskets

During this time, St. Leger had been investing Fort Schuyler. The whole of his miscellaneous force did not exceed six hundred, exclusive of Indians; and on the 5th of August he learned that general Herkimer was advancing to the relief of Ganzevoort and Willett, with one thousand men. He instantly dispatched Sir John Johnson with a party of regulars and a number of Indians to waylay him. Herkimer fell into the ambush, and was himself mortally wounded. He supported himself against a stump, and encouraged his men to fight; but they



AN INDIAN VILLAGE ON THE UPPER MISSOURI.

and rifles. Baum made a most gallant defence, and three times drove them from some high ground which they occupied above his camp. Breyman was now advancing to his aid; and, had he advanced at ordinary speed, he would have been in time, and turned the scale of battle. But he had been twenty-four hours in marching sixteen miles, and came just too late! Baum was picked off by a rifleman, and fell mortally wounded. His German troops retreated into the woods, in the direction of Fort Edward, and were there met by Breyman. He re-organised the fugitives, and commenced his retreat, hotly pursued by Starke and Warner; but he made his way back to Burgoyne, but not until he had fired nearly his last cartridge; and the loss of Baum and himself amounted to about five hundred men killed and wounded.

were surrounded and cut to pieces, and mercilessly tomahawked by the Indians. A successful volley on the part of Willett enabled the prisoners to escape; but they left behind them four hundred killed and wounded. St. Leger, finding that his light artillery made no impression on the walls of Fort Schuyler, and hearing a false rumour that Burgoyne was defeated, raised the siege, leaving behind him his artillery, tents, and stores. His precipitation was occasioned by the more certain news of the approach of Arnold with ten pieces of artillery and two thousand men, who, indeed, reached Fort Schuyler two days after his retreat.

Burgoyne was now in a condition which demanded all the talents of a great general. His forces were greatly reduced; those of the enemy were greatly increased, and he was precisely

in that situation, amongst bogs and wildernesses, which Barrington and Barré had from the first declared would be fatal to any army. He had sent express after express to Howe to urge a movement in co-operation, but no news of it arrived, and every day he was becoming more and more cut off from advance or retreat. The skirmish in which Stark had defeated Baum was, with the American gasconade, sounded abroad as a great victory; and the militia, previously as timid as sheep, were running in from all quarters; the woods swarmed with them. Besides the valour of American troops, the cruelties of the Indians were

guard her safely to the British camp. They quarrelled on their way respecting the division of the promised reward, and settled the dispute by killing the girl. Even in this shape, the story was bad enough; but, as circulated in the version of Gates through the settlements, it was calculated to produce the deepest detestation of such allies of the English. A scathed tree still marks the spot where, according to tradition, the unfortunate girl was killed.

Whilst these circumstances were operating against him, Burgoyne collected his artillery and provisions for about a month, and, forming a bridge of boats, passed his army,



BURGOYNE'S ENCAMPMENT ON THE WEST BANK OF THE HUDSON.

dilated on and exaggerated, to rouse the indignation of the soldiers; there was a case of one Jenny Macrea, which was made much use of. It was, indeed, an atrocious affair; but it was perpetrated by Burgoyne's Indian allies—not on the American republicans, but on his own friends. Her family were loyalists; she herself was engaged to be married to a loyalist officer, yet she was killed by the Indians. Gates sent a fiery remonstrance to Burgoyne, stating, that when this young lady was dressed to receive her lover, a band of Indians burst into the house, carried off the whole family into the woods, and there murdered, scalped, and mangled them in a most frightful manner. But Burgoyne sent him in return a very different version of the story: that the murder was committed by two Indians, sent by her lover to

on the 13th and 14th of September, over the Hudson, and encamped on the heights and plains of Saratoga. With advanced parties in front, to repair the roads and bridges, he slowly descended the Hudson; the Germans advanced on the left by a road close along the river; the British covered by light infantry, provincials, and Indians, by the high ground on the right. Gates had fixed his camp on some heights called Behmus's Heights. These formed the segment of a circle, the convex towards the British, connected with the river by a deep entrenchment, covered by strong batteries. The right was also covered by a sharp ravine descending to the river, and thickly wooded. From the head of this ravine, towards the left, which was defended by a breastwork of logs, the ground was level and partially cleared, some trees

being felled and others girdled. On the extreme left, at a distance of three-quarters of a mile from the river, was a knoll, a little in the rear, crowned by strong batteries. Gates also lay strongly defended by a star redoubt in the centre. Between the armies lay deep ravines, full of woods, and swamps, and shallow waters, thence called Still-water.

Just at this juncture Schuyler had been superseded by his successor Gates, yet he himself remained to give his assistance in the campaign. The day after Gates assumed the command, Morgan had marched in with his rifle corps, five hundred strong, and major Dearborn with two hundred and fifty other picked men. Arnold, too, had returned from pursuit of St. Leger, with two thousand men. The Americans numbered, with militia continually flocking in, little less than eight thousand, whilst Burgoyne's did not exceed half that number. To approach the Americans, it was necessary to cross the low ground, seamed with water courses and rugged with scrub and stones, and to lay down bridges and causeways. This being completed, on the 19th the British army took position in front of the American left, the right wing, consisting in part of Hessians, being commanded by Burgoyne himself, and supported by general Frazer with the grenadiers and light infantry, the front and flank covered by Canadians and Indians. On the left stood generals Reidesel and Philips, across the only good road there was—that running near the river.

Gates, who had the stimulating presence of Arnold, commenced the attack by sending out a detachment to turn Burgoyne's right flank, but they soon perceived the covering division of Frazer, and made a retreat. Gates then put Arnold at the head of a still stronger detachment to fall directly on Burgoyne's position, and a severe fight commenced about three o'clock in the afternoon, which lasted until sunset. Arnold made the most impetuous assaults on the British line to break it, but everywhere in vain, although the whole weight of the attack fell on three or four of our regiments, the rest being posted on some hills, and the Germans on the left at a greater distance. The British had four field pieces; the ground occupied by the Americans—a thick wood—did not allow the use of artillery, but enabled them as usual from behind trees to pick off the English wherever they advanced. The British on the opposite side of this field occupied a thin pine wood. Whenever they advanced into the open field, the fire of the American marksmen from their concealment drove them back in disorder; but whenever the Americans ventured out, the British rushed forward and committed havoc amongst them; so the contest continued till night. Every time that Arnold was beaten back, Gates sent him fresh reinforcements from Behm's Heights, but late in the afternoon the British engaged were reinforced from the German columns, and general Learned was ordered by Gates to lead forward five regiments to support Arnold. A fierce struggle would probably have now taken place, but it was too late—the night parted them. The British remained in the field and claimed the victory; but it was a victory severely won, and far from decisive. The losses on both sides had been from five hundred to six hundred killed and wounded.

The English lay all night on their arms, and, as day dawned, began to entrench their position. If ever a general

needed to push on his advantage it was now. Every day was consuming Burgoyne's stores; every day was augmenting the forces of the enemy. The country was closed to Burgoyne; it was open with all its resources to the Americans. A bold push might have driven the Americans at this moment from their ground; there were circumstances at work in the American camp which favoured the British. Gates, dissatisfied that Arnold had not broken the British lines, took the command of the left wing from him and headed it himself. The command of the right was given to general Lincoln. Stark just now marched in with his detachment flushed with triumph, but the term of the men being up, spite of all endeavours to detain them, they had marched off home on the very morning of the battle. Besides all this, ammunition was falling very short, and, from a recent change in the commissariat, even provisions were deficient. All these circumstances were unknown to Burgoyne, but he knew that every day was ominously consuming his supplies, and yet he lay there, as if paralysed, from the 20th of September to the 7th of October. The reason of this fatal delay is said to have been that Burgoyne had received a letter from general Sir Henry Clinton at New York, informing him that he must expect no co-operation from general Howe, but that he himself would take the responsibility of making a diversion in his favour by attacking the forts Montgomery and Clinton, on the lower part of the Hudson. Burgoyne, on receiving this intelligence, sent Clinton word that he would remain where he was till the 12th of October—a fatal resolve, as not only a calculation of his stores should have shown him, but which the acts of the Americans were certain to render calamitous. Elated at being able to stand their ground in some degree, this novel and almost sole success in the war, had raised their spirits as by a miracle. They sent all over the country the most boastful tidings of their wonderful victory on Behm's Heights. The militia, before timid as hares, became now bold as bull-dogs. They poured in on all sides, and Arnold, ever ready in resources, suggested to Gates an enterprise to be effected while Burgoyne was lying still and consuming his own vitals.

This was to send a part of Lincoln's militia, under colonel Brown, to endeavour to surprise Fort Ticonderoga, Mount Independence, and Fort George, to capture or destroy all the stores there, to hold them in strong force, and thus completely to cut off Burgoyne's retreat by the lakes to Canada. Brown managed at the outlet of Lake George to surprise a sloop there, carrying provisions to Burgoyne. He took possession of Mount Hope and Mount Defensive, made about three hundred prisoners, captured a fleet of batteaux, also carrying provisions; and, being joined by another body of militia under colonel Johnson, he invested Ticonderoga. Being repulsed there, he sailed through Lake George in the vessels he had taken; made a fresh attempt upon Diamond Island, and, being also repulsed there, he set fire to the captured vessels, and returned to the American camp in the rear of Burgoyne. Partial as his success had been, he had, however, opened the route, and whilst he and the rest of the militia were watching Burgoyne, other bodies of Americans were mustering in his track, and the retreat of Burgoyne became an impossibility. His longer stay was impossible.

His provisions were exhausted; his horses were dying for lack of forage, and his situation was most deplorable. The Canadians and loyal Americans lost all heart; and the Indians, finding no plunder, and being sternly forbidden by Burgoyne the luxury of scalping, began rapidly to disappear in the woods.

In this situation the English general determined to attempt—what he should have attempted at first—to force the American lines. Then his troops were full of spirit and good keep, now they were half starved, much reduced in number by the desertion of their allies, and their enemies were as much augmented. To advance or retreat was equally difficult. He could hear nothing of Clinton's movements, for his enemies had possession of the passes, and intercepted all dispatches. They knew that Clinton was advancing, and that determined measures were necessary on their part; but Burgoyne knew it not.

Accordingly, on the 7th of October, Burgoyne drew out one thousand five hundred picked men, and formed them less than a mile from the American camp. They were commanded by himself, Reidesel, Philips, and Frazer. No sooner were they descried, than they were attacked furiously by Poor's New Hampshire brigade. The attack extended rapidly to the right, where Morgan and his rifle corps stole round through some woods, and opened fire on the flank of the column. Other troops rushed out of the American entrenchments, and endeavoured to force their way betwixt the British and their camp; but major Ackland and his riflemen withstood them bravely; yet Burgoyne and his one thousand five hundred men were forced to fall back, leaving their cannon behind them. Morgan and his riflemen were now arriving, under cover of the woods, near the flank of the right wing; and Frazer, perceiving them, advanced to dislodge them. In this he succeeded, but was picked off by the American marksmen, as usual safe behind their trees, and fell mortally wounded.

Gates, during this action, did not appear on the field any more than in the former battle; but Arnold seemed inspired by the furies of war. He galloped hither and thither, shouting, encouraging, dashing on to lead the way, and as the British retired in confusion within their lines, he spurred his horse through one of the sally-ports into the entrenchments. His horse was there shot beneath him, and his column was driven back. Colonel Brooks, at the head of Jackson's regiment of Massachusetts, was more successful. He turned the entrenchments of the German brigade, maintained his ground within the lines, and, to the wonderful relief of the Americans, seized the baggage of the Germans, and an ample supply of ammunition. Thus, once again, were the British destined to be fought with their own powder and ball!

Night closed the scene, leaving Brooks and his detachment lying on their arms within the English lines. The latter had lost about four hundred men killed, wounded, and taken prisoners. They had lost baggage, cannon, and ammunition, thus enabling the enemy to continue the fight. It was necessary to withdraw his troops to a more secure situation, and this Burgoyne did during the night with much industry and address. In the morning he was beheld posted on some high ground in the rear in order of battle. The day was spent in skirmishes. Whilst attempting to reconnoitre,

general Lincoln was severely wounded, so as to be disabled for further service. Frazer was buried on a hill on which he had himself fixed, amid showers of ball from the American lines. The baroness Reidesel, who followed the camp with her young children, and whose quarters were turned into a hospital for the wounded officers, has left a pathetic account of the horrors of that day, and of the retreat which followed it.

Retreat was now inevitable, and Burgoyne determined to attempt to reach Fort George, at the southern end of Lake George. He had but three days' provisions left, and his force was now reduced to three thousand five hundred men, and these had to make their way through a wilderness swarming with active and elate enemies. Gates, aware of the movement which Burgoyne was intending to make, sent troops up the river to occupy the banks of the Hudson, and to guard all passages of escape. To anticipate this event Burgoyne decamped with such speed that he left all his sick and wounded behind him, amounting to about three hundred, whom Gates treated with much humanity. The distance to Saratoga was only six miles, but the rain fell in torrents, the roads were almost impassable, the bridges over the Fishkill were all broken down by the Americans. Burgoyne sent forward detachments of soldiers to repair the bridges and re-open the roads; but they found the woods swarming with riflemen, and that it was impossible to execute the task assigned them. On the 10th, when he arrived at the fords of the Fishkill, he found them obstructed by strong forces of Americans. He soon dispersed them with cannon, but they only retired to the Hudson, where still stronger bodies of troops were posted to oppose his crossing. He might, perhaps, have dispersed these too, but other bodies were seen already in line on the left bank, and to cross there appeared hopeless. So far from that, the Americans were now actively attacking his batteaux on the river, which conveyed all the provisions which he had now left for his army. The plunder of these boats excited the cupidity of the New England militia to a perfect fury. They were not contented to seize and appropriate the boats and their contents, and set up a market for the goods in their camp, but they would rob the American regulars, whenever they could, of their share of the booty, and sell it on their own account. Gates issued a general order on the 12th, "That, seeing so many scandalous and mean transactions committed by persons who sought more after plunder than the honour of doing their duty, it was his unalterable resolution to try and punish to the utmost severity the first person that he saw pillaging the baggage taken from the enemy."

Driven to desperation, Burgoyne now contemplated crossing the river in the very face of the enemy, and fighting his way through, and for this purpose he sent a party up the river to reconnoitre a suitable spot. Once over, he had little doubt of making his way to Fort Edward, and thence to the Canadian lakes. At this moment Gates was informed that Burgoyne had effected his passage, and that he had left only the rear-guard in the camp. He was in full march upon the camp, in the belief that he could seize it with ease, and part of his forces had actually crossed the fords of Fishkill, near which Burgoyne was strongly posted, when a spy or a deserter informed him of his mistake. Had

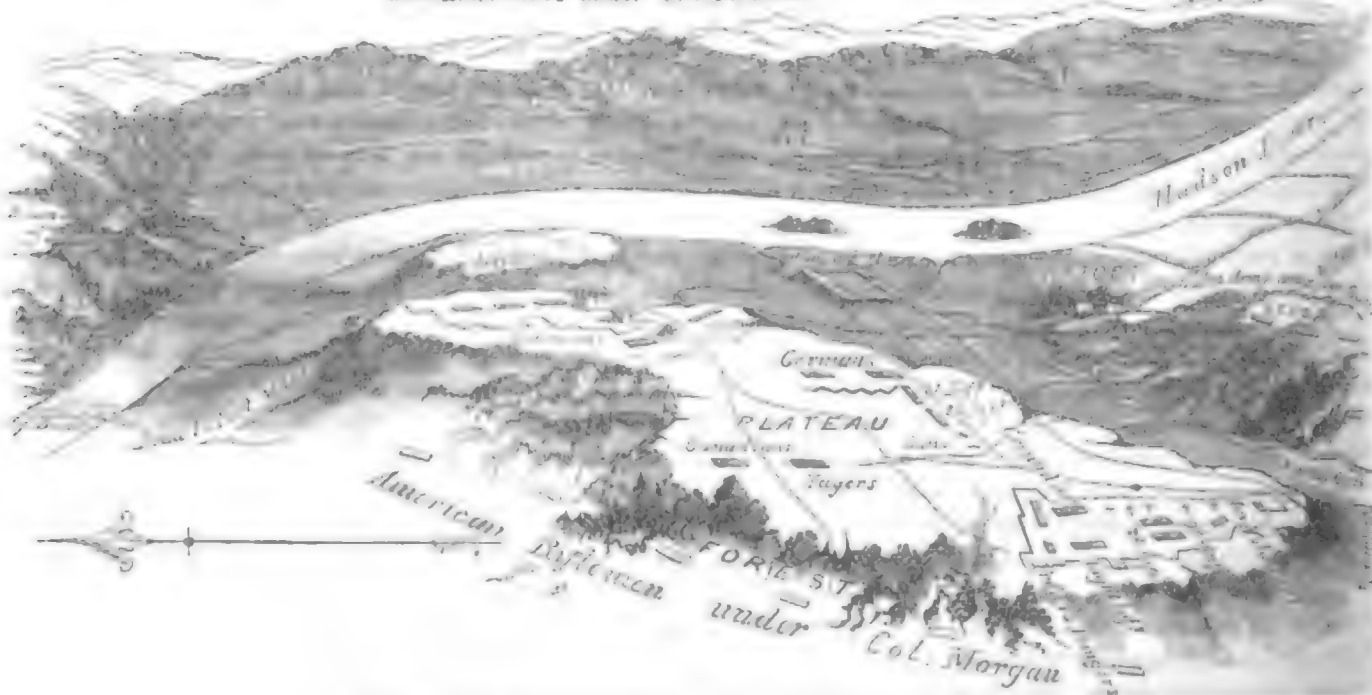
it not been for this circumstance he must have suffered a surprise and a certain defeat, and the fortunes of Burgoyne would probably have been different. He was now on the alert to receive the Americans, and when, to his mortification, he saw them at a signal again retreating, he poured a murderous fire into them, and pursued them in confusion across the creek.

This was his last chance. No news reached him from Clinton; but he ascertained that the Americans had already, in strong force, blocked up his way to Fort Edward. This was decisive. On the 13th he called together a council of war, at which every captain was invited to attend, and the result of the deliberations was unanimously—that they must capitulate. Accordingly, an officer

the banks of the Hudson, and there pile their arms at the command of their own officers; that the troops, of whatever nation they might be composed, should retire in all security and honour to Boston, where they should be provided with all necessary comforts until they embarked for England, under condition of not serving against the United States again during that war; that the Canadians should be allowed to return in all honour to their own country; and that in no case should officers be separated from their own men.

These were not such terms as are usually granted to conquered armies; and the reason was, that Clinton was every day drawing nearer. Scarcely were these terms agreed on, when this fact became known to Burgoyne. For a moment he hesitated whether he should sign the contract:

3000 Americans under Gen. Fellows



PLAN OF THE SURRENDER OF GENERAL BURGoyNE AT SARATOGA.

was sent with a note to the American head-quarters that evening, to propose an interview betwixt general Burgoyne and general Gates. The American general agreed to the meeting at ten o'clock the next morning. There Burgoyne stated that he was aware of the superiority of Gates's numbers, and, to spare the effusion of useless blood, he proposed a cessation of arms, to give time for a treaty to that effect.

Gates replied that he was well aware that general Burgoyne's army was reduced to the last extremity, that it had lost the greater part of its men by repeated defeats, sickness, &c., together with their artillery, horses, and ammunition; that their retreat was cut off, and therefore, he could listen to nothing but an absolute surrender. Burgoyne said he would never admit that his retreat was cut off whilst he had arms in his hands; and Gates, who knew that Clinton was on his march, and might soon alter the whole face of things, was only too anxious to have Burgoyne's army out of the way. After some preliminaries, therefore, to save appearances, on the 16th it was agreed to that the British should march out of their camp with all the honours of war; should deposit their cannon on

but, on consultation with his officers, he felt himself bound in honour to ratify, and accordingly, the next morning, the 17th of October, the deed was signed, and the troops, marching out, grounded their arms. Many of the officers are said to have scarcely been able to pronounce the words of command for that purpose, and the soldiers to have set down their arms with tears. The Germans had taken care not to leave their colours or trophies to the Americans, by cutting them from the staves and stowing them away in Madame Reisedel's luggage. General Gates, unlike the generality of American officers of the time, a gentleman in feelings as well as manners, neither attended the humiliating spectacle nor would allow his own people to be there. He found himself, on its completion, in possession of four thousand muskets, forty pieces of artillery, a small quantity of powder and ball, and not much of the contents of the captured batteaux, the New Englanders having taken good care of that.

No sooner did the garrisons of Ticonderoga and Fort George hear of Burgoyne's surrender, than they abandoned those places, and retired, by the Sorel, to Fort St. John and Montreal. Burgoyne had most earnestly entreated

Carleton to send reinforcements to Ticonderoga, but Carleton refused to send a single regiment, pleading that he had not more troops than was necessary for the defence of Canada with a triumphant enemy so near. On the contrary, the Americans hastened to take possession of them. Putnam, who was watching the movements of Clinton on the Hudson, sent urgent demands for reinforcements for this purpose. The capture of a whole British army, lately the object of so much terror, occasioned to the Americans, especially in New England, which was to have been totally cut off from the other colonies, a wonderful exultation. Gates was declared a far superior general to Washington, who had been chased through the Jerseys, and had lost Philadelphia. Young Wilkinson, who had acted as adjutant-general to the successful army, and who brought the news of their victory to congress, was created at once brigadier-general. But this well-merited promotion was as quickly protested against by no less than forty-seven colonels of the line. These republicans could not comprehend that there is such a thing as genius, which at once raised a man above all his fellows, and which no levelling principles can pull down to the plane of common-place. Wilkinson, whose "Memoirs" give us the best account of these transactions, with as much zeal as magnanimous as the jealousy of the forty-seven colonels was envious, at once abandoned the new honour.

Whilst Burgoyne had been looking in vain for aid from New York, Sir Henry Clinton, at length daring the responsibility of a necessary deed, had set out with three thousand men, in vessels of different kinds, up the Hudson. It was on the 6th of October—ten days before Burgoyne signed the capitulation—that he set out. He had waited in daily anxiety for the much-needed reinforcements from England, before he could do this. He had only seventeen battalions of regulars, a single regiment of light horse, and some provincial militia, to defend New York, in the absence of Howe at Philadelphia, and the brave old general Putnam hovering in the neighbourhood with an army of regulars small but well-trained, and large bodies of militia watching to take advantage of the too accessible condition of New York, and, if possible, to destroy the stores there laid up for the whole British army, both of arms, ammunition, clothes, and provisions. But this government of king George, so high-toned in language and so stubborn in spirit, were as helpless as children in all necessary measures for so important a war. The English government, which had, in days scarcely gone by, equipped hundreds of thousands of men for the campaigns of Marlborough, and raised millions on millions to defend the interests of Austria, now, when a continent of their own was at stake, could let the whole summer pass on without sending reinforcements, and then only furnish a set of raw recruits to fill up vacancies. Could general Clinton have commenced his ascent of the Hudson a fortnight earlier, the result, from what he did accomplish, would clearly have been the rescue of Burgoyne and the brilliant completion of the campaign.

Having reached Verplank's Point, about forty miles above New York, on the east bank of the Hudson, which stands on a peninsula, and had been reconnoitred by lord Ramsden in a frigate, Clinton landed, and spent the night of the 6th. There was a battery and a breastwork manned by Americans,

who fled at his approach. Leaving one thousand men there, he crossed to the other bank with his remaining two thousand, and landed them at Stoney Point, only twelve miles from Fort Montgomery. Why he did not still ascend the Hudson to the fort does not appear, except that, perhaps, he might take the garrison of the fort by surprise, through an unusual route. But what he might succeed in obtaining by this manœuvre, he lost by the fact that he could not carry his cannon with him. The road lay over the steep and rugged mountain of Denderbury, which overhung the town. The track through many of the passes was so narrow that a mere handful of troops posted on the cliffs on each side might have cut off any army, however great. The troops could carry no artillery, though they were going to storm forts. But it was in their favour that Putnam, deceived by the force left at Verplank's Point, remained on that side of the river, and the British detachment made its arduous mountain march unmolested. They had already issued from the last defile at the further foot of the mountain, when they met an American detachment on its way to obstruct it. These men fled back, and thus the idea of a surprise was at an end. But Clinton did not halt on that account. He advanced with one-half of his force to storm Fort Clinton, and dispatched lieutenant-colonel Campbell to attack Fort Montgomery. Both forts were to be attacked, as nearly as possible, at the same instant, to prevent the one aiding the other. The simultaneous assaults took place about sunset. Lieutenant-colonel Campbell was killed leading his column against Fort Montgomery, but his brave troop entered and drove the garrison of eight hundred men from the place.

Clinton found the approach to the fort of his own name much more arduous. It stood on a rocky steep, with the Hudson flowing close under a precipice on one hand, and a lake on the other. The intervening space had been obstructed by felled trees, so as to render the advance to it as slow and, therefore, as deadly as possible. The garrison numbered four hundred men, and was defended by ten pieces of heavy artillery. The English soldiers were ordered to make the most rapid rush that they could, under the circumstances, without waiting to fire a gun. On they went, crashing through the branches of the trees, leaping the trunks, or creeping under them, where they were lifted from the ground, all the while the most deadly fire of cannon and rifle playing upon them. But on they went till they reached the foot of the works, where, having no ladders, they hoisted one another on their shoulders to the embrasures, through which they pushed past the cannon, and drove the Americans from their guns, and across the rampart, at the points of their bayonets. The dastardly garrison, though about to fling down their arms, before they did it, turned and fired a murderous salute on the English, and then cried for quarter. From no other soldiers would they have received anything but extermination; but, says Stedman, not a man was put to death after the surrender; and this fact, he adds, displaying so generous a moderation on the part of the victors, he gives in contradiction to the account published in the French papers, that the conquerors put the whole garrison to the sword.

The American governor, Clinton, as well as his brother,

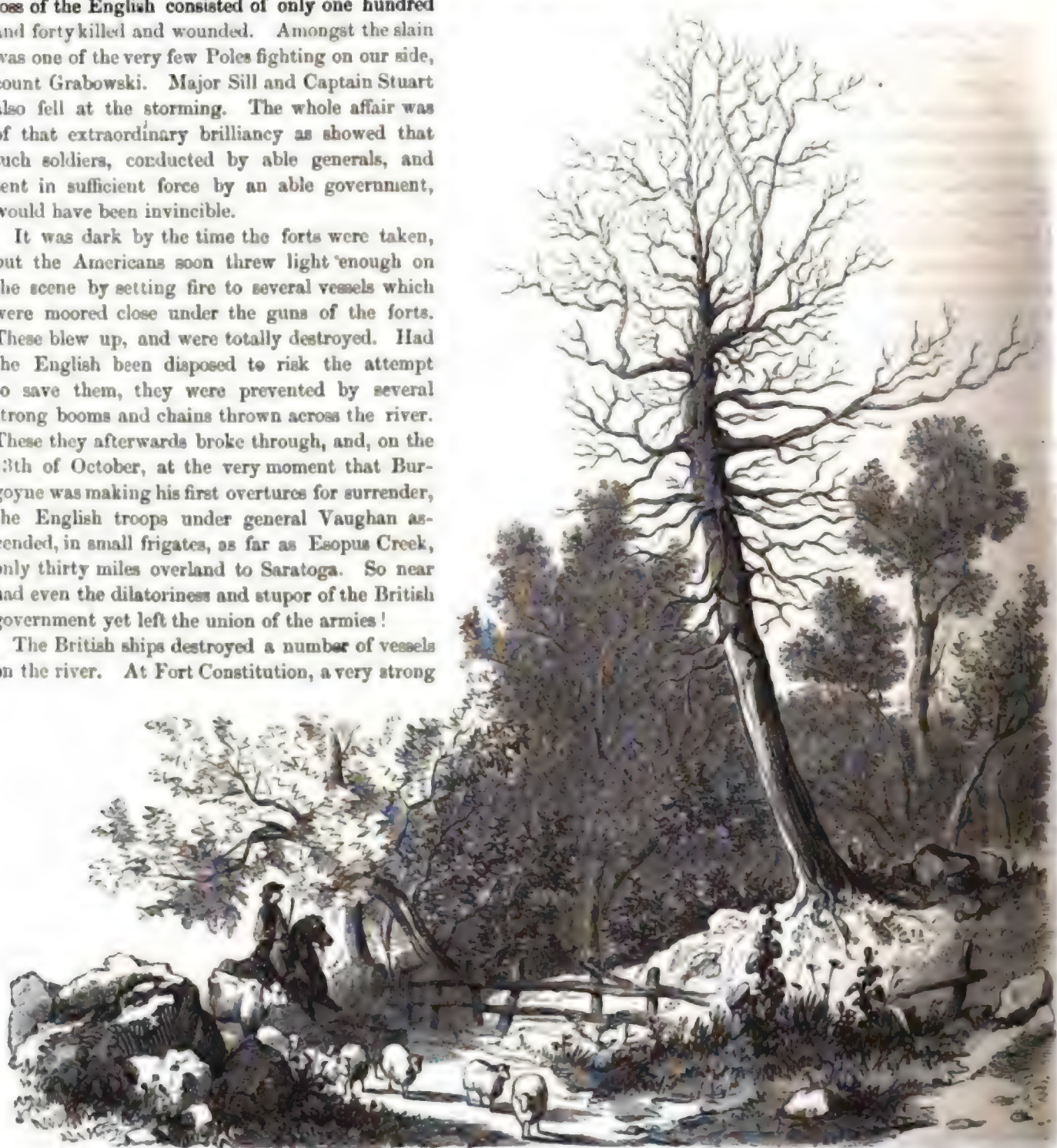
general Clinton, escaped across the river; lieutenant-colonels Livingstone and Bruyn, and majors Hamilton and Logan, were taken prisoners. The Americans lost three hundred killed, wounded, and prisoners, but chiefly prisoners. The loss of the English consisted of only one hundred and forty killed and wounded. Amongst the slain was one of the very few Poles fighting on our side, count Grabowski. Major Sill and Captain Stuart also fell at the storming. The whole affair was of that extraordinary brilliancy as showed that such soldiers, conducted by able generals, and sent in sufficient force by an able government, would have been invincible.

It was dark by the time the forts were taken, but the Americans soon threw light enough on the scene by setting fire to several vessels which were moored close under the guns of the forts. These blew up, and were totally destroyed. Had the English been disposed to risk the attempt to save them, they were prevented by several strong booms and chains thrown across the river. These they afterwards broke through, and, on the 13th of October, at the very moment that Burgoyne was making his first overtures for surrender, the English troops under general Vaughan ascended, in small frigates, as far as Esopus Creek, only thirty miles overland to Saratoga. So near had even the dilatoriness and stupor of the British government yet left the union of the armies!

The British ships destroyed a number of vessels on the river. At Fort Constitution, a very strong

English vessels and troops were recalled, and returned to New York.

Such was the campaign of 1777; equally remarkable for the valour of the British troops, and for their misfortunes;



JENNY MACREA'S TREE.

place, the garrison fled precipitately, leaving their artillery behind them; and at a place called Continental Village, having a barracks of one thousand five hundred men, and great storehouses, governor Tryon and his New York loyalists too well imitated the cruelty of the New Englanders, by setting fire to and destroying the whole. But Burgoyne having now surrendered, and Gates being at liberty to send down strong reinforcements to co-operate with Putnam, the

for the imbecility of their government, and the incapacity or rashness of their commanders, who, like Burgoyne, who had ignored the warnings of the well-informed, to his destruction, followed the dictates of routine. Burgoyne committed two capital errors: one in not keeping up an unbroken connection with the fleet on the lakes, so as at any time to secure his retreat; and the other, in advancing so far without a prospect of Sir William Howe's co-operation,



THE ABDUCTION AND MURDER OF JENNY MACREA BY THE INDIANS.

With the certainty of that co-operation, he could have readily made his way to Albany, and there have defied all attacks till Sir William's arrival, when the whole design of the expedition would have been accomplished. On the other hand, nothing but the apathy of such a general as Sir William Howe would have left Burgoyne in so critical a situation, when the advance of a few frigates up the Hudson would have prevented it. Again, Howe, on his part, charged the blame of this gross mismanagement on the government at home; and certainly with much justice, though not to the entire exculpation of himself, seeing that he could have ordered Clinton to do what he did, but too late, on his own responsibility. In fact, Howe had been so incensed by the neglect of government to send out the necessary reinforcements, that he had demanded his own recall. He complained that he had been promised large reinforcements by lord George Germaine, secretary of state for the colonies: that he had made his plans in conformity with these promises, and that not one of them had been kept. He therefore requested his majesty's permission to resign, which was shortly after accorded. Such was the manner in which England conducted this most unfortunate war.

These matters had now to be criticised in parliament. On the 20th of November the two houses met, and the king, in a speech, the blind folly of which it is scarcely possible now to conceive, assured them that he had still the utmost confidence in the conduct and courage of his commanders in America, and in the peaceful intentions of France and the other continental powers. If there was one thing more notorious than another, it was that France had at this time entered into a formal alliance with America. Lord North knew it too well; but ministers were afraid of confessing it. Yet they did, in some degree, admit the fallacy of their own statements in the king's speech, by demanding additions to our naval force, at the same time that the king expressed his hope that "the deluded and unhappy multitude in America," tired of the tyranny of their new leaders, and remembering their former happiness under his sway, would yet soon enable him to accomplish the greatest happiness and glory of his reign—the restoration of peace, order, and confidence in the American colonies.

In commenting on the address, the earl of Coventry, who in the preceding session had evinced so clear an insight into the real value of colonies and their trade, now recommended the withdrawal of our troops, and the recognition of the independence of the states. His views of the result of such a movement, however, were not so lucid or prophetic as his former ones. "Mark well," he said, "the vast extent of these colonies, and the diminutive figure of Britain; consider their domestic situations; the increase of population in the one, and the inevitable decline of it in the other. The luxury, dissipation, and all their concomitant effects on this country; and the frugality, industry, and consequent wise policy of America. These, my lords, were the main grounds on which I presumed to trouble you from time to time on this subject. I foresaw then, as I continue to do, that a period must arrive when America would render herself independent; that this country would fall, and the seat of empire be removed beyond the Atlantic."

How astonished would the speaker be could he now behold the relative condition of the two countries! England, freed as it were from a clog and an incumbrance by the severance of America, still going on planting newer and more wealthy colonies; rising ever into new elevations of power and glory, growing daily more affluent, and daily adopting more liberal and Christian principles of government; whilst the United States, though grown populous by influx of many peoples, has daily growing up in her heart the dark and terrible canker of Slavery, perverting her principles, undermining her Christianity, enslaving her free states, dragging her down to public bullying and savagery—a condition on which the handful of noble souls in her midst look with consternation, as pregnant with inevitable disruption, intestine conflict, and all their awful train of calamities. But not only did lord Coventry, but almost every statesman then, consider the separation of America the destruction of our commerce. How little did they then understand the true principles of commerce, or foresee that our foreign trade, which then amounted to some fifteen or twenty millions sterling, should now exceed a hundred millions!

Lord Chatham rose instantly to reply, and to move an amendment on the address. Strong as his sympathies were with America, and certain as it was that had he been in the ministry there would have been no war, yet we shall see that even he had acquired no new light. He still would not tax America, but he would keep her a dependence—a thing which was no more possible than it was to recall the past year—unless they could put her down with arms, which Chatham himself declared an utter impossibility. No party had yet acquired any new light on the philosophy of colonization—it had yet to be taught by the great events approaching.

After joining in congratulations on the birth of another princess, Chatham, leaning on his crutches, said: "Here, my lords, I must stop; my courtly complaisance will carry me no farther. I will not join in congratulation on misfortune and disgrace. I cannot concur in a florid and servile address, which approves and endeavours to sanctify the monstrous measures that have heaped disgrace and misfortune upon us, that have brought ruin to our doors. This, my lords, is a perilous and tremendous moment! It is no time for adulation. The smoothness of flattery cannot save us in this rugged and awful crisis. It is now necessary to instruct the throne in the language of truth. We must dispel the delusion and darkness which envelop it, and display in its full danger and true colours the ruin that is brought to our doors."

He then attacked the ministry with a still more personal and sweeping censure than he had done once before. "Can ministers," he asked, "presume to expect a continuance of support in their career of ruinous infatuation? Can parliament be so dead to its dignity and its duty as to be deluded into the loss of the one and the violation of the other? Will they continue to give an unlimited credit and support to government in measures which are reducing this flourishing empire to ruin and contempt? But yesterday, and England might have stood against the world: now, none so poor to do her reverence! I use the words of a poet; but, though it be poetry, it is no fiction. It is a

shameful truth, that not only the power and strength of this country are wasting away and expiring, but her well-earned glories, her true honour and substantial dignity, are sacrificed. France, my lords, has insulted you; she has encouraged and sustained America; and, whether America be wrong or right, the dignity of this country ought to spurn at the officious insult of French interference. The ministers and ambassadors of those who are called rebels and enemies are in Paris; in Paris they transact the reciprocal interests of America and France. Can there be a more mortifying insult? Can even our ministers sustain a more humiliating disgrace? Do they dare to resent it? Do they presume even to hint a vindication of their honour, and the dignity of the state, by requiring the dismissal of the plenipotentiaries of America? Such is the degradation to which they have reduced the glories of England! The people whom they affect to call contemptible rebels, but whose growing power has at least obtained the name of enemies—the people against whom they have engaged this country in war, and against whom they now command our explicit support in every measure of desperate hostility; this people, despised as rebels, or acknowledged as enemies, are abetted against you, supplied with military stores, their interests consulted, and their ambassadors entertained by your inveterate enemies; and our ministers dare not interpose with dignity or effect! Is this the honour of a great kingdom? Is this the indignant spirit of England, who but yesterday gave law to the house of Bourbon? My lords, the dignity of nations demands a decisive conduct in a situation like this. Even when the greatest prince that perhaps this country ever saw filled our throne, the requisition of a Spanish general on a similar subject was attended to and complied with; for, on the spirited conduct of the duke of Alva, Elizabeth found herself obliged to deny the Flemish exiles all countenance, support, or even entrance into her dominions; and the count le Marque, with his few desperate followers, was expelled the kingdom."

It is certain that Chatham would not have tolerated the presence of Franklin and Deane in Paris for a single day; they must have quitted France, or France would have been instantly compelled to throw off the mask. At this time, when neither the news of Howe's success in the south or Burgoyne's fall in the north had arrived, Chatham seemed to see in prophetic vision the disasters of the latter general. "The desperate state of our army," he said, "is, in part, known. No man thinks more highly of our troops than I do. I love and honour the English troops. I know that they can achieve anything but impossibilities; and I know that the conquest of English America is an impossibility. You cannot—I venture to say it—you cannot conquer America! You may swell every expense and every effort still more extravagantly; pile and accumulate every assistance that you can buy or borrow; traffic and barter with every little, pitiful German prince that sells and sends his subjects to the shambles of a foreign prince; your efforts are for ever vain and impotent—doubly so from this mercenary aid on which you rely; for it irritates to an incurable resentment the minds of your enemies, to overrun them with the mercenary sons of rapine and plunder, devoting them and their possessions to the rapacity of hireling cruelty! If I

were an American, as I am an Englishman, while a foreign troop was landed in my country, I would never lay down my arms—never—never—never!"

On the subject of employing Indians in the war against the Americans, willing to forget that he had done the same thing in Canada, he burst forth most indignantly: "But, my lords, who is the man that, in addition to these disgraces and mischiefs of our army, has dared to authorise and associate to our arms the scalping-knife and tomahawk of the savage? to call into civilised alliance the wild and inhuman savage of the woods? to delegate to the merciless Indian the defence of disputed rights, and to wage the horrors of this barbarous war against our brethren? My lord, these enormities cry aloud for redress and punishment: unless done away, it will be a stain on the national character—it is a violation of the constitution; I believe it is against the law. It is not the least of our national misfortunes, that the strength and character of our army are thus impaired; infected with the mercenary spirit of robbery and rapine—familiarised to the horrid scenes of savage cruelty, it can no longer boast of the noble and generous principles which dignify a soldier!"

He then proceeded to give the Americans credit still for a natural leaning towards this country; believed that they might be drawn from their alliance with France; and recommended, by his amendment, an immediate cessation of arms, and a treaty betwixt the countries, by which he fondly hoped that America would yet be retained in affectionate dependence. It is difficult to imagine, on reading the latter portions of this speech, that Chatham, buried in the country, could of late have been paying much attention to the real aspect of affairs in America. To have ceased our warfare now, would have produced in the Americans only the highest mood of insolent triumph, in which no treaty would have been listened to: all who heard him knew that too well. Lord Sandwich declared that lord Chatham's speech, stripped of its rhetoric, was of little worth; declared himself as anxious for conciliation as the noble earl, if he could see his way to it with any hope of reciprocity, or of anything but insult and degradation. Nearly all condemned the employment of Indians, and adhered to Chatham's own fancy, that we ought to retain the right of regulating the American trade. But the earl of Suffolk, by an unlucky expression, called up Chatham again, and produced a splendid burst of eloquence, which we may give at length, as nearly the last blaze of that wonderful intellect which had so long thundered and lightened within the walls of parliament. Suffolk, one of the secretaries of state, defended the employment of the Indians, saying we were perfectly justified in using all "the means God and nature put into our hands." On this, Chatham started up, exclaiming:—

"My lords, I am astonished—shocked, to hear such principles confessed—to hear them avowed in this house, or in this country—principles equally unconstitutional, inhuman, and unchristian! My lords, I did not intend to trespass again on your attention, but I cannot repress my indignation; I feel myself impelled by every duty. My lords, we are called upon, as members of this house, as men—as Christian men, to protest against such notions, standing near the throne, and polluting the ears of majesty.

That God and nature put into our hands! I know not what idea that lord may entertain of God and nature; but I know that such abominable principles are equally abhorrent to religion and humanity. What! attribute the sacred sanction of God and nature to the massacres of the Indian scalping-knife, to the cannibal savage, tearing, murdering, roasting, and eating—literally, my lords, *eating*—the mangled victims of his barbarous battles? Such horrible notions shock every principle of religion—divine and natural, and every generous feeling of humanity; and, my lords, they shock every sentiment of honour; they shock me as a lover of honourable war, and a detester of murderous barbarity. These abominable principles, and this more abominable avowal of them, demand most decisive indignation. I call upon that right reverend bench, those holy ministers of the gospel, and pious pastors of the Church, I conjure them to join in the holy work, and to vindicate the religion of their God; I appeal to the wisdom and the law of this learned bench to defend and support the justice of their country; I call upon the bishops to interpose the unsullied sanctity of their lawn; upon the learned judges to interpose the purity of their ermine, to save us from this pollution. I call upon the spirit and humanity of my country to vindicate the national character; I invoke the genius of the constitution; from the tapestry that adorns these walls, the immortal ancestor of this noble lord frowns with indignation at the disgrace of his country! In vain he led your victorious fleets against the boasted armada of Spain; in vain he defended and established the honour, the liberties, the religion, the Protestant religion of his country, against the arbitrary cruelties of popery and the inquisition, if these more than popish cruelties and inquisitorial practices are let loose amongst us, to turn forth into our settlements, amongst our ancient connections, friends, and relations, the merciless cannibal, thirsting for the blood of man, woman, and child—to send forth the infidel savage—against whom? Against your Protestant brethren; to lay waste their country, to desolate their dwellings, and extirpate their race and name with these horrible hell-hounds of savage war! Spain armed herself with blood-hounds to extirpate the wretched natives of America, and we improve on the inhuman example of even Spanish cruelty; we turn loose these savage hell-hounds against our brethren and countrymen in America, of the same language, laws, liberties, and religion—endeared to us by every tie that should sanctify humanity! My lords, this awful subject, so important to our honour, our constitution, and our religion, demands the most solemn and effectual inquiry; and I again call upon your lordships and the united powers of the state, to examine it thoroughly and decisively, and to stamp upon it an indelible stigma of the public abhorrence; and I again implore our holy prelates to do away with these iniquities from amongst us—let them perform a lustration; let them purify this house and this country from this sin! My lords, I am old and weak, and at present unable to say more; but my feelings and my indignation were too strong to have said less; I could not have slept this night in my bed, or have reposed my head upon my pillow, without giving vent to my eternal abhorrence of such preposterous and enormous principles."

This was the last great display of Chatham, for, though we shall meet with him in the house once again, it was only to give way to his failing strength; and indeed, when we strictly analyse this celebrated outburst of indignation, though it stands a vehement utterance of a virtuous and humane feeling, it contains little more than the one grand idea, that the practice was inhuman and unchristian. There is a voluminous amount of sounding epithets, which being stripped away, with all their repetitions, leave the real matter within a small compass. The lawyers, the bishops, the peers at large, are arrayed in all possible forms and figures of speech to produce effect. The constitution plays a great part; but it would puzzle the acutest lawyer to discover what cognisance the constitution took of savages. These savages are exaggerated into cannibals; and protestantism, and inquisitions, and armadas are summoned to play parts at which they must have been astonished; the whole phalanx of words and images having only to express this simple idea, that it was detestable to employ savages. We think little of the fact that Chatham had employed them himself. In his heyday of statesmanship and victory, he might have thought little about the subordinate part of the Indians following Wolfe as a set-off to the Indians of Montcalm, but since then they had shown themselves monstrously cruel; the burning houses, the scalped and murdered Americans, and the innocent blood of Miss Macrea, made their names terrible in Europe, and it became Chatham all the more for having once sanctioned their use, to stamp it, with almost his last breath, with its proper abhorrence.

Affairs had now assumed such an aspect that the different sections of the opposition saw the necessity of coalescing more, and attending zealously; but still they were divided as to the means to be pursued. A great meeting was held on the 27th of November at the marquis of Rockingham's, to decide on a plan of action. It was concluded to move for a committee on the state of the nation, and Chatham being applied to, advised that the very next day notice should be given that such a motion should be made on Tuesday next, the 2nd of December. The motion was made, the committee granted, and in it the duke of Richmond moved for the production of the returns of the army and navy in America and Ireland. He expressed great alarm as to the safety of our fortresses of Gibraltar and Minorca under the reduced condition of our army and navy at home, and the present disposition of France and Spain. In this debate Charles Fox was very severe on lord George Germaine, whom he compared to Dr. Sangrado, the whole of the time during which he had been at the head of American affairs having been distinguished by a constant shedding of blood, by scalping, murdering, and destroying in our American settlements. Governor Pownall added that it was utterly ridiculous to be now considering what we had to do. We had nothing to do but to acknowledge the independence of the United States; that the Americans would never return to their former allegiance; that our sovereignty was abolished, our navigation act annihilated, and that all talk and schemes for anything else were now mere waste of time. Whilst lord North was refusing to produce the necessary papers, the lords consented to this

measure; and at this very moment came news which startlingly confirmed the words of governor Pownall.

That night, before the house closed, there ran a whisper through it, which carried through every frame that heard it a shock as of electricity. It was the news of Burgoyne's surrender. It came yet but as a rumour, having been carried to Ticonderoga by a few deserters, and thence transmitted to Quebec; but it was a rumour bearing such an ominous air of truth as made all dumb with surprise. The next day colonel Barré rose with a very solemn air, and called upon lord George Germaine to tell the house, on his word of honour, what had become of Burgoyne and his army. He knew that lord George had been the chief planner of the Burgoyne expedition, and he declared that the author of such a scheme was responsible for all the loss and dishonour which it had occasioned. Lord George, haughty and inscible as he was, could only implore the house to suspend its judgment till official intelligence arrived. Fox, Burke, and others were most severe on the disastrous management of ministers. On the 5th Chatham was in his place in the house of lords, and moved for the production of the instructions to Burgoyne, supported by the duke of Richmond, the marquis of Rockingham, lord Shelburne, and many others. In his speech he prognosticated the most gloomy condition of things; the ruin of all our manufactures, and the loss of our commerce. The motion was rejected by forty to nineteen. In the course of the debate Chatham had included all instructions for the employment of Indians, upon which lord Gower retorted the charge, that Chatham himself had formerly issued such instructions. Chatham resented the imputation vehemently, but lord Gower offered to produce the proofs of it from the journals of the house, and lord Amherst, the general employed by Chatham, being called on, was compelled to confess that such was the case. When Bute heard of this he exclaimed, "Did Pitt really say it? Why, I have letters of his still by me singing *Te Deum* over the advantages we gained through our Indian allies."

At length came from Canada a duplicate of Burgoyne's dispatch from Albany; and, later still, lord Petersham, with the first draft, arrived from New York. The government made haste to adjourn the house till after the Christmas recess, in order to afford themselves time to consider their mode of proceeding under such adverse circumstances. They passed, but only after violent opposition, votes for sixty thousand seamen, and fifty thousand troops for America alone. It was moved that the house should adjourn to the 20th of January. Burke proposed, as an amendment, that the adjournment should be only for one week instead of six. In the house of lords, Chatham as violently opposed so long an adjournment, declaring that, in such an interval, the total ruin of the nation might be accomplished by the miserable ministers who had so egregiously deluded the king, and had, by their folly and incompetence, lost a magnificent army of ten thousand men. He praised the valour, magnanimity, and gentleness of the Americans—the latter of these qualities, as it soon appeared, a little too prematurely—and seemed to take a pleasure in portraying the cruelty and profligacy of the royal troops. Rather of those ministers who had furnished them

with instructions. The adjournment, notwithstanding, was carried.

Out of doors, the dispatch of Burgoyne excited much sympathy in his favour. He told his melancholy story with much tact; but as Mrs. Inchbald, in her preface to the "Heiress," observed, "the style charmed every reader; but he had better have beaten the enemy, and misspelt every word of his dispatch, for so the great duke of Marlborough would have done." The news, instead of depressing the nation, had only the effect of exciting its spirit. The highlands of Scotland, and the towns of Manchester and Liverpool, led the way in subscriptions for fresh troops; and fifteen thousand soldiers were added to the army by private subscription alone. Franklin having complained to David Hartley that the American prisoners were suffering much in England, a subscription was also raised for them—a reproof to Chatham for his taunts on the want of magnanimity in the English compared with that of the Americans.

The news had the most instant effect across the channel. All hesitation on the part of the French court to enter into the treaty with the United States disappeared. The American commissioners, Franklin, Deane, and Lee, were informed that the king of France was ready to make a treaty, claiming no advantage whatever, except that of trade with the States. It was intimated that this proceeding would, in all probability, involve France in a war with Great Britain, but that she would claim no indemnity on that score. The only condition for which she positively stipulated was, that America should, under no temptations, give up its independence, or return under the dominion of England. The two kingdoms were to make common cause, and assist each other against the common enemy. The Americans were to endeavour to make themselves masters of all the British territories that they could, and retain them as their rightful acquisition; the French to obtain whatever islands they could in the West Indies, and retain them. France did not venture to seek back the Canadas or Nova Scotia, well knowing that the Americans would not consent to have them there as neighbours. Neither country was to make peace with England without the other. Lee was to continue at Paris as the first American ambassador there, and the treaty was to continue some weeks a secret, in order to obtain, if possible, the accession of Spain to it, which, however, they could not do then. Thus did Louis XVI., in order to avenge the loss of Canada and other territories, wrested from France by England, put his hand to this treaty, little dreaming that by this act he was signing his own death-warrant, and evoking a spirit of revolution which would never rest again till it prostrated himself, his queen, and others of his family, in their blood; utterly destroyed the ancient throne and system of France, and, through a night of unparalleled horrors and massacres, eliminated a new dynasty and a new age.

In America, such was the state of things, that a British commander there, of the slightest pretence to activity and observation, would have concluded the war by suddenly issuing from his winter quarters, and dispersing the shoeless, shirtless, blanketless, and often almost foodless, army of Washington. His soldiers, amounting to about eleven thousand, were living in huts at Valley Forge, arranged in

streets like a town, each hut containing fourteen men. Such was the destitution of shoes, that all the late marches had been tracked in blood—an evil which Washington had endeavoured to mitigate by offering a premium for the best pattern of shoes made of untanned hides. For want of blankets, many of the men were obliged to sit up all night before the camp fires. More than a quarter of the troops were reported unfit for duty, because they were barefoot and otherwise naked. Provisions failed, and on more than one occasion there was an absolute famine in the camp. It was in vain that Washington sent repeated and earnest remonstrances to congress, its credit was at the lowest ebb. The system of establishing fixed prices for everything had totally failed, as it was certain to do; and Washington, to prevent the total dispersion of his army, was obliged to send out foraging parties, and seize provisions wherever they could be found. He gave certificates for these seizures, but their payment was long delayed, and, when it came, it was only in the continental bills, which were fearfully depreciated, and contrasted most disadvantageously with the gold in which the British paid for their supplies.

Since the issue of the ten millions of new bills, authorised early in the year, to which two millions more had been added in August, the depreciation had become alarming. Anxious to obtain money to pay the troops, congress had pressed the subject of loans, and, as a new inducement to lenders, had offered to pay the interest on all money advanced before March, 1778, in bills drawn on their commissioners in France. But it became necessary to authorise a million more of continental bills, and another million soon after, making the amount issued up to the end of the year thirty-four millions. The depreciation, meanwhile, increased so rapidly, that the bills, nearly at par for the first three months of the year, had sunk by the end of it one-fourth their value. Credit failing at home, congress ordered their commissioners to endeavour to effect loans in France and Spain, but, till after the capture of Burgoyne, with little effect.

Congress next voted that five millions of dollars should be raised by direct taxation, each state to take a definite quota; that all the property of those who had taken the royalist side should be seized and sold; that of absentees was to be put into the hands of trustees, and sold too, the proceeds, after paying the debts due upon them, to be paid into the general treasury. These certainly were far more tyrannic regulations than any that Great Britain had enforced, and which had driven them into rebellion; but there is no party so unscrupulous and relentless as a revolutionary one. The sale of the estates of the disaffected brought little into the general fund, but served to gratify personal spite. Congress then went further. It established three conventions—one for the eight northern states, one for Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina, and a third for South Carolina and Georgia—which were to meet early in the year, and establish a fresh list of prices, notwithstanding the former one had failed, and to enforce those prices by seizing goods for the army, paying only those prices. It was declared a crime for persons to hold large stocks with the prospect of making extra profits by them. The commissioners were authorised to seize, for the use of

the army, all woollens, blankets, stockings, shoes, and hats, wherever they could be found, and pay for them at this fixed price in the government depreciated paper. Not a hundredth part of these violent and arbitrary measures had been needed to throw the whole country into a flame against England. Conscious of the odiousness of these proceedings, congress, in a circular letter, declared that "laws unworthy the character of infant republics are become necessary to supply the defects of public virtue, and to correct the vices of some of her sons."

Nor was this the extent of that wretched condition of the United States which would have attracted the vigilant attention of an able English commander, and have roused him into successful action. The greatest discontent prevailed in congress against Washington. Gates and the northern army had triumphed over the whole British army there; but what had been the fate of Washington hitherto? The Washington of that day was not Washington as we regard him now—proved and tried by twenty years of the most disinterested and most successful public services. As yet he had been in command but little more than two years, during which he had suffered, with some slight exceptions, a continual series of losses and defeats. He had recovered Boston, to be sure, and that not by any brilliant action, but by a mere blockade, and had lost New York, Newport, and Philadelphia. He had been completely successful at Trenton, and partially so at Princetown; but had been beaten, with heavy loss, on Long Island and at Fort Mifflin. Washington, and lately in two pitched battles, on ground of his own choosing, at Brandywine and Germantown. What a contrast to the battles on Behm's Heights and the capture of Burgoyne! Want of success had evoked a party in congress against Schuyler, Sullivan, and himself. In this party Henry Lee and Samuel Adams were violent against him. They accused him of want of vigour and promptitude, and of a system of favouritism. Congress was wearied of his constant importunities and remonstrances. The people of Philadelphia were extremely sore on account of their city being allowed to fall into the hands of the English. Mifflin, against whose conduct, as quartermaster-general, he had complained, and who had resigned in consequence, was very bitter against him, and, with Conway and Gates, was actively colleague against him. Gates, since the capture of Burgoyne, had assumed a particular *hauteur* and distance, and, there could be little doubt, was aspiring to the office of commander-in-chief. A new board of war was formed, in which the opponents of Washington became the leading members. Gates and Mifflin were at its head, and Conway was made major-general over the heads of all the brigadiers, and inspector-general of the army. A system of anonymous letters was in action depreciating the character and services of Washington.

But, whilst all these elements of disunion and weakness were in full play, Howe slumbered on in Philadelphia, unobservant and, probably, unknowing of it all. He continued to eat, and sleep, and give dinners and card-parties to his officers, by their conduct, shocking all the moral notions of the staid Quakers—when a fortnight's sudden and energetic action would have freed him of all his shivering and starving enemies on this side of the Hudson. The

opportunity passed away. The intrigues against Washington were defeated as soon as known to his own army and the people at large, through the influence of the real esteem that he enjoyed in the public heart, especially as news had just arrived that friends and forces were on the way from France.

At this juncture, when the eyes of all Europe were turned on the new republic of America, congress gave a proof of its utter contempt of those principles of honour which are regarded as the distinguishing characteristics of civilised nations. The convention on which general Burgoyne's army had sur-

from them. Burgoyne had been compelled, in the arrangements for his defence at Saratoga, to burn down saw-mills and store-houses valued at ten thousand pounds, belonging to general Schuyler. When he met him as a prisoner of war, he apologised for the necessity of this proceeding; but Schuyler stopped him, saying, "Say no more of it; I should have done the same under the same circumstances." He sent an aide-de-camp with him to Albany, who there conducted him to general Schuyler's house, introduced him to Mrs. Schuyler and his family, who received and entertained



SARATOGA.

rendered was deliberately violated. It had been stipulated that his troops should be conveyed to Boston, and there suffered to embark for England in British transports to be admitted to the port for that purpose. But no sooner did congress learn this stipulation than it showed the utmost reluctance to comply with it. It was contended that these five thousand men would liberate other five thousand in England to proceed to America. It was therefore immediately determined to find some plea for evading the convention, and they watched for it with all the petty finesse of pettifogging attorneys.

So long as the British prisoners remained in the state of New York they were treated with courtesy; nay, more, general Schuyler, with that nobility of character which had always distinguished him, showed them the utmost

him and his chief officers during his whole stay there in the most princely manner.

Madame von Reisedel gives the same testimony to general Schuyler's noble conduct. She could not help saying to him, "You are so good to us that I am sure you must be a husband and a father." The conduct of general Gates was equally that of a gentleman. But the moment the captive army passed into New England the whole scene changed. There the fierce and bitter character of the people showed itself in the most odious light. Madame von Reisedel says that such was their treatment of even women and children, that they could not appear in the streets of Boston without the very women frowning fiercely upon them, and that such was their venom that they would spit upon the ground before them, that their conduct was ferocious and disgraceful to

human nature, towards those of their own people who took the British side; that captain Fenton, continuing steadfast to the king, and being gone to England, some women of the lower orders seized on his wife and daughter—a beautiful girl of fifteen—tore off their clothes, tarred and feathered them, and dragged them, in that condition, as a show round the town. (See her "Dienst-Reise," pp. 192-202.)

Whilst ladies received such treatment, it was not likely that the British troops and officers could escape insult and injury from the unmanly Bostonians. English soldiers were not only insulted but stabbed, and a colonel Henley, on the complaint of Burgoyne, was brought before a court-martial for stabbing English soldiers with his own hand on two separate occasions; but he was declared only to have acted with too much warmth, and was acquitted!

An article of the convention expressly provided that the

obstacles. They sent to Burgoyne, insisting on his furnishing them with a descriptive list of all the non-commissioned officers and privates of his army; but, as this formed no part of the convention, it was properly declined. They then declared that the English had broken the convention; that they had not surrendered all their arms, these arms being some cartouch-boxes, and other accoutrements, retained by individuals, as is the case in all such surrenders; but the congress declared that these were *arms*, and therefore justified them in detaining the British force. When the transports sent by general Howe arrived, they would not admit them.

When Burgoyne surrendered, he should have been prepared for this despicable conduct on the part of congress, for it was precisely what it had done before when general Arnold made an exchange of prisoners with general Carleton in Canada in the preceding year. "Arnold," says



MEDAL STRUCK IN HONOUR OF WASHINGTON.

English officers should be quartered according to their rank; but they complained that six or seven of them were crowded into one small room, without regard either to rank or comfort. But Burgoyne, finding remonstrance useless at Boston, wrote to Gates reminding him of his engagements in the convention, and declaring such treatment a breach of public faith.

This was just one of those expressions that congress was watching for, and they seized upon it with avidity. "Here," they said, "is a deep and crafty scheme—a previous notice put in by the British general to justify his future conduct; for, beyond all doubt, he will think himself absolved from his obligation whenever released from his captivity, and go with all his troops to reinforce the army of Howe."

This was only such a plea as minds dishonourable in themselves could have advanced; no such quibbling belonged to the British character, and Burgoyne offered at once to give congress any security against any such imagined perfidy. But this did not suit congress—its only object was to fasten some imputation on the English as an excuse for detaining them contrary to the convention, and they went on, in the true spirit of a justifying meanness, to raise fresh

their own historian, Hildreth, "who commanded at Montreal, signed a cartel of exchange, by which it was agreed to release as many prisoners in the hands of the Americans. But congress refused to ratify this agreement, and this refusal presently became a serious obstacle in the way of any regular exchange of prisoners."

The shameful length to which congress carried this dishonourable shuffling astonished Europe. They insisted that Great Britain should give a formal ratification of the convention before they gave up the troops, though they allowed Burgoyne and a few of his officers to go home. The British commissioners, who had arrived with full powers to settle any affair, offered immediately such ratification; but this did not arrest the slippery chicane of congress. It declared that it would not be satisfied without ratification directly from the highest authority at home. In short, congress, in open violation of the convention, detained the British troops for several years prisoners of war. Lord Mahon, recording these circumstances with every feeling of disgust which arises in honourable minds at such exhibitions, says:—"It has been usual to consider the events of Saratoga as fraught only with humiliation to England and with

glory to America; yet, should these pages chance to be perused by any man, neither a subject of the former nor a citizen of the latter state, I would request that man to pause, and to ask himself the question, to which of these countries he would rather have belonged—to the one whose soldiers were then repulsed and compelled to lay down their arms, or to that, then victorious, whose statesmen deliberately and wilfully, with their eyes open to the consequences, broke the plighted faith on which, and on which alone, that surrender was made?"

Such was the state of affairs, both in America and England, at the end of the year 1777.

CHAPTER VII.

REIGN OF GEORGE III. (Continued.)

Effect of the Losses in America on North's Ministry—Proposals to make Chatham Minister—Difference betwixt Chatham and Rockingham—North brings in Conciliatory Bills—Lord Howe and Sir William Howe recalled—Lord North desires to resign—The French Ambassador announces the Treaty with America—Lord Stormont recalled from Paris—Coutts, the banker, endeavours to get Chatham made Minister—The King remains inflexible—State of America at this juncture—Chatham's last Appearance in Parliament, and his Death—Return of Burgoyne to England—Repeal of the Penal Code against the English Roman Catholics—Popular Ferment in Scotland—Lord George Gordon—Washington in his Camp at Valley Forge—The Conway Cabal—Proposed Expedition to Canada—Given up—News of the Treaty with France—La Fayette on Barren Hill—The Mischianza—The British Commissioners arrive—Their terms rejected—The British Troops leave Philadelphia—Washington pursues them—Battle of Monmouth—French Squadron under D'Estaing—His Designs on Rhode Island—Wyoming destroyed—British Expedition to Georgia—D'Estaing in the West Indies—Payette returns to France—Admiral Keppel and Count D'Orvilliers—Action off Ushant—Courts Martial on Keppel and Palliser—No-Popery Riots in Scotland—Protestant Associations—War with Spain declared—Camp on Cox Heath—French Army of Invasion—Allied Fleets in the Channel—Paul Jones—Return of D'Estaing to France—Campaign in America—Washington at Middlebrook—Depreciation of American Money—Insolvency of the United States—Washington's Picture of the Times—Meeting of English Parliament, and Resignation of Lord Gower.

THE loss of the British army in the north of the American states, and the aspect of affairs in France, were circumstances that at once depressed the unlucky ministry, and brought the questions of the opposition rigorously upon them. They demanded of lord North whether he could say that a treaty was not actually signed betwixt France and our American colonies. For some time lord North remained imperturbably silent, but at length he was compelled to confess that such a treaty was far from impossible, but that he had no official information of the fact.

When parliament opened on the 20th of January, 1778, the opposition fell, as it were, in a mass upon the ministry on this question. There was much dissatisfaction expressed at the government allowing Liverpool, Manchester, and other places, to raise troops without consulting parliament. It was declared to be a practice contrary to the constitution and to the coronation oath. Sir Philip Jennings Clarke, on the 22nd of January, moved for an account of the numbers of troops so raised, with the names of the commanding officers. Lord North, whilst observing that this mode of raising troops showed the popularity of the war, and that the country was by no means in that helpless condition which a jealous and impatient faction represented it to be, readily granted the

return. In the house of lords the earl of Abingdon moved to consult the judges on the legality of raising troops without authority of parliament; but this motion was not pressed to a division. But, on the 4th of February, Sir Philip Jennings Clarke returned to his charge in the commons, and was very indignant at money being demanded from government for the uniforms of some of these troops. It was declared in the debate that the whole arrangement was not only unconstitutional, but that the regiments of Scotland especially were mere troops of vile mercenaries, by nature slaves, and willing tools of government.

Lord North replied that this now hotly-decried practice was one which had been not only adopted, but highly approved of, in 1745, and again in 1759, when lord Chatham was minister, and that he had then thanked publicly those who had raised the troops for the honour and glory of their country. A motion was negatived by the lords on the same day, to declare this practice unconstitutional, and a similar one later in the session, introduced by Wilkes and supported by Burke.

The spirit of the country appeared to be running in a strong current for the return of lord Chatham to the helm, as the only man who could save the sinking state, and bring the American difficulty to a happy issue. But the great obstacle to this was the still continued assertion of lord Chatham—that the full independence of America could not be for a moment listened to, whilst to almost every other man of the opposition that independence was already an accomplished fact. Lord Rockingham, who was looked up to as a necessary part of any cabinet at the head of which Chatham should be placed, had, in the previous session, asserted his opinion that the time had now passed for hoping to preserve the dependence of these colonies; and, now he saw France coming into the field against us, he was the more confirmed in this view. This was a fatal circumstance in the way of the establishment of a strong co-operative cabinet, formed out of the present opposition, and the friends on both sides endeavoured in vain to get over it.

"Can you blame lord Chatham," said his son-in-law, lord Mahon, to the duke of Richmond, "for desiring to keep the now distracted parts of the empire together, and for attempting to prevent such a disgraceful and fatal dismemberment of this country?" The duke replied that, "so far from blaming lord Chatham for wishing to prevent this separation, I highly applaud him for it, if he has any kind of reason in the world to think that the thing can be rendered practical by any means whatever."

But the duke declined promising his support to a Chatham administration, except on the condition that, if the earl found it impossible to obtain peace on these terms, he should be willing to obtain it on some basis less improbable. In fact, every one must now see that Chatham, with all his genius, had not contemplated the progress of events with sufficient attention, and that, had he come into office with the expectation of preserving the dependence of the colonies, he would assuredly have failed.

Still there was a strong desire in the country, and also amongst the leading men in parliament, to see Chatham at the head of the ministry; it was even surmised that this was also the wish of the king. We shall soon see that nothing

was farther from the king's thoughts; but whether or not George for a time listened to the suggestions of such a scheme without altering his own fixed determination on this head, certain it is that several persons were conveying such an idea to Chatham. Thomas Coutts, the banker of the Strand, who, having connections with some of the highest persons in the state, might be supposed to have obtained correct information, wrote to the countess of Chatham on the 21st of January that he had heard the sentiments of persons of various ranks, all uniting in the idea that it was most essential to the preservation of the nation that the earl of Chatham should be called to the helm. He added, that as no peace with America could ever be made through the present administration, he apprehended that the king would be very glad at the present moment to receive a proposal from the only person who could possibly succeed in a point so essential, not only to the welfare but to the very existence of Great Britain as a powerful nation; and he thought that such a proposal would be quite acceptable, if but one person should be included in the cabinet, who might, in the language of politics, be called the *king's friend*; and he mentioned the earl of Rochford as such a person.

This must have appeared to Chatham a pretty direct proposal from the highest quarter, especially as, previous to this, Brown, the landscape-gardener, called Capability Brown, who was on a familiar footing with both the king and lord Bute, had also written to the countess of Chatham, that he had had very favourable conversations with his majesty about her lord, in which the king had shown no acrimony or ill-will; that he had taken the liberty to show the king some of her ladyship's letters, and to express his opinion that lord Chatham had nothing in view but the dignity of the crown, the honour and happiness of the royal family, and the lustre of the whole empire; and that those who called him an American did him great wrong. The king, in reply, said that "lord Chatham had too much good sense to wish harm to his country."

The countess had, in reply, said "that the earl felt much gratification in the favourable opinions of his majesty, and that his views of things told him that ruin was at our door, if not immediately prevented by an entire change of the ministry. To Coutts she also replied, that lord Chatham felt the friendly disposition which Mr. Coutts had always shown to him, and was glad of the favourable opinions of the king; but that his lordship felt also that, to rescue a falling country from the last consequences of their own fatal errors—until those errors were fully perceived, and, from conviction, sincerely mourned—was a work too dangerous for presumption itself to undertake *unbidden and uncommanded*; and that, to obtrude ideas now—perhaps in any case too late—would be folly as well as presumption—courting extreme danger to no good end, and being but too likely to sink under the load of the faults of others—that *nothing short of commands* could be a motive to act in desperate cases."

It was clear, from this answer, that, however the king might be disposed, under the gloomy circumstances of the time, to waive his repugnance to Chatham, Chatham, on his part, was not disposed to concede one atom of his demands in all such cases—to abate one iota of his proud dictation;

he would have the whole formation of the cabinet without any stipulations for a single king's friend; and the king must himself entreat him to take the management of affairs. Nor, in this case, can any sensible man blame him. To assume office now, was to be willing to undertake the rescue of the nation from the most deplorable condition, into which the obstinacy of the king and the stupidity of his ministers had plunged it, in steady defiance of the most solemn warnings on his part. Nothing but the most absolute power of action in him could produce any favourable result—it was scarcely possible that even that could now avail.

But the rumour grew strong that Chatham was about to resume office. Lord Temple wrote to his sister, the countess of Chatham, that Capability Brown had been to him, piping hot, to say that lord Bute was outrageous in his expressions of the necessity for the king sending, without a moment's delay, for Chatham; that lord Mansfield had been to lord Holderness with tears in his eyes—a very unusual mood, certainly, for that hard, clever lawyer—protesting that the vessel was sinking, and that lord Chatham must be sent for; that lord Bute was very complimentary on Chatham's letter to lord Rockingham, and on the very handsome proceeding of the earl's, making a firm stand for the sovereignty and the restrictions of trade. And Temple added with what distinction the Grenvilles and Pitts had been received at court.

Bute would appear to have been in earnest in urging the necessity of calling Chatham to the helm; and Sir James Wright, one of Bute's private friends, communicated what Bute said to Dr. Addington, the father of the late lord Sidmouth, and Chatham's physician. Addington, regarding this as a direct overture, detailed the words to Chatham. Chatham, also receiving it as an indication that Bute was desirous to return to power, and would be glad to coalesce with him, dictated a civil reply to Bute, through Sir James Wright, expressing his thanks for the friendly opinion of lord Bute, but stating that nothing but a real change—new counsels and new counsellors—could prevent the public ruin. Sir James Wright received this answer very coldly, having, no doubt, hoped to see Bute as well as Chatham in power; and Bute, on receiving the message, hastened to make Dr. Addington aware, through Wright, that he was impressed by the words "real change," in lord Chatham's letter, with the idea that lord Chatham imagined that he himself was desirous of again entering the ministry. But he wished the earl to be distinctly informed that ill health and family distresses had accustomed him to a perfectly retired life, to which he hoped to adhere as long as he lived; that his long absence from all sorts of public business, and the many years which had intervened since he saw the king, prevented his knowing more of public affairs than he gathered from general conversation and the newspapers; that this total ignorance, notwithstanding his zeal for his country, love for the king, and very high opinion of lord Chatham, put it out of his power to be of the least use in this dangerous emergency; but that from his heart he wished lord Chatham every imaginable success in the restoration of the public welfare.

But, prompt as Bute had been to disabuse Chatham of the idea that he was thinking of joining him in office, Chatham

had been equally prompt in the discharge of his wrath on learning Sir James Wright's notion on that head. He wrote one of his stinging, slashing notes to Addington, saying:—"The conversations which a certain gentleman has found means to have with you are too insidious and, to me, too offensive, to be continued. What can this officious emissary mean by the nonsense he has at times thrown out to you? Let him remember the next attempt he makes to surprise your integrity by courtly insinuation, that his great patron (Bute) and your village friend (meaning himself) differ in this: one has ruined the king and kingdom; the other endeavours to save it."

Two days after this insulting letter, Temple wrote to the countess of Chatham, his sister, to advise strongly that the earl should avoid any engagement with the court; that its affairs were growing desperate, and, though it was too much humiliated to be insolent, it was full of treachery.

Violent attacks on ministers continued to occupy both houses of parliament. In the lords, the duke of Richmond held the most desponding language, and three times in one debate expressed his belief that this country was utterly ruined. In the commons, Fox and Burke were vehement against any more troops being sent out of the kingdom, and against employing the Indians in the war; but this motion was negatived by large majorities. Yet, all this time lord North was anxious to resign his post. He certainly had been too lamentably unfortunate, in his management of American affairs, not to perceive his deep responsibility. But the king would not hear of his resignation. This, then, not being feasible, he next came forward with a scheme of conciliation, which, at the *pass* things now had arrived at, was as weak and absurd as could possibly be conceived.

On the 17th of February he introduced this plan in two bills. The first bill detailed the particular concessions which he proposed; and the second was for the appointment of commissioners, with full powers to carry out the treaty. He declared that his policy had always been pacific; that he had never proposed any tax on the Americans—when he came into office he had found them taxed already; that he had tried conciliatory means before the sword was drawn, and would still gladly try them. He had thought the former propositions to the Americans very reasonable, and he thought so still.

This, it must be confessed, was not a very hopeful assertion, as regarded any fresh concessions from him, for, if he could so far have mistaken the amount of concession which would have satisfied the Americans, was he likely to give it now? As to the act which led to the Boston riots—that of giving the whole drawback of the teas exported to America to the East India Company—it was an act, in his opinion, of which the Americans ought not to have complained, for it was a real benefit to them; and as to the Stamp Act, it was, as he thought, the very best that had yet been proposed. Here, again, the prospects of such a legislator must, to all sensible people, have appeared hopeless, for, if what he thought the very best of taxes had been rejected by the Americans, it was clear that he did not comprehend the people he had to deal with, or the real nature of their demands. Forgetful of the hopes that he had held out, of assisting the revenues of this country by the taxation of Americans, he now surprised his auditors

by asserting that he had never expected to derive much revenue from America, and that, in reality, the taxes imposed had not paid the expenses of the attempt to collect them.

Why, then, it might have been asked, did he persevere so long, at so extreme a cost of life and money, in enforcing means which he neither approved in principle nor believed profitable? He confessed that the armaments sent out had not answered his expectation, and that he must now make his proposals conform to this want of success. The first of his bills, therefore, he entitled one "For removing all doubts and apprehensions concerning taxation by the parliament of Great Britain in any of the colonies." It repealed entirely the tea duty in America, and declared, "that from and after the passing of this act, the king and parliament of Great Britain will not impose any duty, tax, or assessment whatever, in any of his majesty's colonies, except only such duties as it may be expedient to impose for the regulation of commerce, the nett produce of such duty to be always paid and applied to and for the use of the colony in which the same shall be levied."

No one, who had paid the least attention to the temper of the Americans through the whole of the conflict, could suppose that, great as this concession was, and completely as it would have succeeded at first, it would avail now. The Americans claimed full independence, and were not likely to accept anything else. If they *could* be inclined to anything short of that, it would be total independence of any taxation under any guise whatever. The tea tax itself might be called a tax to regulate commerce; and as to expending such tax on the colony, the congress was already exercising that power of taxation for their own benefit to the fullest extent. Such a measure, at such a moment, could only be designated by that expressive term, "a peddling measure," and could only proceed from a mind totally incompetent to perceive the actualities of the occasion.

The second bill removed some otherwise insuperable obstacles to a treaty. The commissioners—five in number—were to raise no difficulties as to the legal ranks or titles of those with whom they would have to negotiate. They were empowered to proclaim a cessation of hostilities on the part of the king's forces by sea or land for any necessary term, and on any necessary conditions. They might suspend all the acts of parliament respecting America passed since 1763, yet the bill excepted the repeal of the Massachusetts Charter, and introduced that into a separate act; another weak measure, for on such an occasion the only wisdom was to wipe away all acts, or repeal of acts, which had arisen out of these unhappy differences. Making a separate bill of the renewal of this repeal was only calculated to draw the thoughts of the Americans to the past arbitrary spirit of Great Britain, when the policy should have been to keep it wholly in the background.

After having thus made every concession which Chatham and the opposition had so often warned ministers that they would be compelled to make, North concluded a speech of two hours' length by a little bravado. He declared that he would not have it supposed that these concessions were dictated by weakness, or any fear of the result if these terms were rejected. We were in a condition to carry on the war

much longer. The navy was never in greater strength; the revenue was very little affected; and the supplies for the present year would be raised with perfect ease.

The effect of this statement has been well described in the "Annual Register" of that year, in an article supposed to be from the hand of Burke:—"A dull, melancholy silence for some time succeeded this speech. It had been heard with pro-

tion gave pleasure, it was the opposition. To them it was an unquestionable triumph. The ministerial supporters were confounded and abashed at being thus, as it were, laid at the feet of their enemies, compelled to justify all their assertions. Some of them were perfectly frantic at the idea of offering to the rebels terms like these. They declared that it was little short of treason, and worse than simple



WILLIAM PITT, SECOND SON OF THE EARL OF CHATHAM. FROM AN AUTHENTIC PORTRAIT.

found attention, but without a single mark of approbation of any part, from any description of men, or any particular man in the house. Astonishment, dejection, and fear overclouded the whole assembly. Although the minister had declared that the sentiments he had expressed that day had been those which he always entertained, it is certain that few or none had understood him in that manner, and he had been represented to the nation at large as the person in it the most tenacious of those parliamentary rights which he now proposed to resign, and the most adverse to the submissions which he now proposed to make."

cowardice. They exclaimed that they were betrayed and disgraced. On the other hand, the opposition hurled upon them whole showers of taunts and raillery. They could not sufficiently express their satisfaction at seeing this obstinate administration reduced to the necessity of thus confirming all their prophecies. Fox congratulated lord North on his conversion, and, complimenting his friends of the opposition on the acquisition of such an ally, he only lamented that he had awaked to the truth too late—it was now useless. He announced that there was a very strong report that, within the last ten days, France



FATAL ATTACK OF THE EARL OF CHATHAM IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

ledging its independence, and entering into the most advantageous commercial relations with it. Lord North continued silent, and, though pointedly questioned on the subject, he still retained his taciturnity for some time. Sir George Saville, however, was not to be thus put off, and North was compelled to make the humiliating confession that he had heard such a report, but that, as it was not official, he could not affirm or deny it.

On this, a tempest of indignation and abuse burst forth. Wilkes was particularly lively with his sarcasms, and with his eulogiums of American wisdom and prowess. The duke of Richmond, in the upper house, read the declaration of independence, and asked ministers whether they meant to subscribe to the language of that document, that the king was a tyrant, and the other charges against Englishmen and English institutions. He declared that after what had taken place in France, the Americans would reject the bills of lord North with scorn, and would attribute them only to the knowledge of the French alliance. He charged ministers with having sent persons over to Paris to endeavour to tamper with Franklin and Deane, and that the only consequence had been that Franklin had warned congress that some such paltry and insincere measures would be offered them, only to amuse and delude them; and that since the treaty with France they ought not to listen to them, or treat with Great Britain in any manner. Lords Temple and Shelburne still protested against any recognition of the independence of America. After all the tempest of oburgation, both the bills passed without a division; and, on the 12th of March, James Luttrell moved that, should the commissioners find that the continuance in office of any particular ministry was an obstruction to the work of conciliation, at the instance of the American congress, such ministers should be dismissed. This was the utmost insult which could be offered to North and his luckless administration, yet it received thirty-five votes. The king gave his assent to these bills, and North managed to carry a resolution for a loan of six millions, for the continuation of the war, if necessary.

These unfortunate affairs precipitated the resignation of lord George Germaine. His proud and impetuous temper had occasioned the resignation already of Sir Guy Carleton and of the two Howes. All complained that they could not obtain the necessary reinforcements and supplies from him as the colonial minister; and his tart and insolent replies to these complaints produced the retirement of all these three commanders. He was already charged with having been the luckless projector of Burgoyne's disastrous expedition. Sir Henry Clinton was named the successor to the command of the forces in America, in the place of Sir William Howe. The punishment of North for the policy which, in the face of all the genius and ability of the country, had thus virtually lost America, was every day falling more crushingly upon him. On the 13th of March the marquis de Noailles, the French ambassador in London, and the uncle of La Fayette's wife, handed to lord Weymouth a note formally announcing the treaty of friendship and commerce betwixt France and America. On the 17th it was the bitter duty of lord North to read this remarkable document to the house of commons. The affected right to make such

fessions of goodwill, notwithstanding such an interference, amounted to the keenest irony, if not downright insult. The announcement was to this effect:—

“The United States of North America, who are in *possession of independence*, as pronounced by them on the 4th of July, 1776, having proposed to the king of France to consolidate, by a formal convention, the connection to be established between the two nations, the respective plenipotentiaries have signed a treaty of friendship and commerce, designed to serve as a foundation for their mutual good correspondence. His majesty, the French king, being resolved to cultivate the present good understanding betwixt France and Great Britain by every means compatible with his dignity, and the good of his subjects, thinks it necessary to make his proceedings known to the court of London, and to declare at the same time that the contracting parties have paid great attention not to stipulate any exclusive advantages in favour of the French nation; and that the United States have reserved the liberty of treating with every nation whatsoever upon the same footing of equality and reciprocity. In making this communication to the court of London, the king is firmly persuaded it will find therein new proofs of his majesty's constant and sincere disposition for peace; and that his Britannic majesty, animated by the same friendly sentiments, will equally avoid everything that may alter their good harmony, and that he will particularly take effectual measures to prevent the commerce between his (French) majesty's subjects and the United States of America being interrupted; and to cause all usages received between commercial nations to be, in this respect, observed, and all those rules which can be said to subsist between the two courts of France and Great Britain. In this just confidence, the undersigned ambassador thinks it superfluous to acquaint the British minister, that the king, his master, being determined to protect effectually the lawful commerce of his subjects, and to maintain the dignity of his flag, has, in consequence, taken effectual measures, in concert with the Thirteen United and Independent States of America.”

The reading of this French note aroused at once the old feeling of enmity betwixt France and England. If there was a strong resentment against the Americans before, it now became tenfold. The war became popular with all, except the extreme opposition. Lord North moved an appropriate address to the king; the opposition moved an amendment to it, that his majesty should dismiss the ministers. Loyal addresses from both houses were, however, carried by large majorities. In the debate in the commons, governor Pownall declared that the Americans would not listen to any treaty with us, except on the basis of being remunerated for all the expenses and damages of the war; and that as paying them in money was impossible, we must cede to them Canada, Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland. This, he said, he knew would be insisted on by congress! To such a pitch was the spirit of the Americans elated by the treaty with France. In the lords, there was a high debate on the condition of the navy, which lord Sandwich declared was double in strength and number of ships to what it had been half a century before. There was

of the contracts for the army and navy, in which lord George Gordon exclaimed, that North was the greatest of all contractors—a contractor for men, a contractor for parliament, a contractor for the representatives of the people; and that his earnest wish was, that this sad minister would, to save his country and his own life, call off his butchers from America, retire with all the rest of his majesty's evil advisers, and turn from his wickedness and live.

Meantime, a war with France was inevitable. In consequence of the French note, the king ordered lord Stormont to quit Paris, and the marquis de Noailles took his departure from London, where, spite of his official character, he was no longer safe from popular insult. Orders were also sent to the lord-lieutenants of the several counties, to call out the militia. No time was lost either in naming the five commissioners to proceed to America, to carry out the proposals of lord North's bills. Of these, lord and Sir William Howe were, if still there, to make two. Lord Cardale, a young man of fashion, was placed at the head of the commission; on which the duke of Richmond said in the upper house, that one of the governors of America had ridiculed congress, because some of the members ate with woollen caps on; and how very ill-chosen must men of fashion be as an embassy to men in woollen night-caps! The other two commissioners were William Eden, afterwards lord Auckland, and George, commonly called governor Johnstone, because formerly governor of Florida.

Through all these arrangements lord North continued to persist in his resignation. If the king had had any glimmering of what was necessary to save the colonies, he would have removed him himself long ago. But the only man who could take the place with any probability of success, or with any of the confidence of the public, was lord Chatham, whom the king regarded, notwithstanding his late apparent acquiescence, with increasing aversion. Chatham's pride, which would not stoop an inch to mere outside royalty, feeling the higher royalty of his own mind, so far from seeking office, must himself be sought, and this deeply offended the monarch. Lord North could point to no other efficient successor, and George angrily replied, that as regarded "lord Chatham and his crew," he would not condescend to send for "that perfidious man" as prime minister; he would only do it to offer him and his friends places in the ministry of lord North.

This was in effect to say that he would not send for him at all, for Chatham would come on no such conditions. Yet lord North, with the same want of perception of the impossible which induced him to pass his bills for American conciliation, induced William Eden, one of the new commissioners, to sound Chatham on this head.

Simultaneously, other parties were working with the same object. Coutts, the banker, again wrote to lady Chatham, saying, "Every rank looks up to lord Chatham with the only gleam of hope which remains; nor do I meet with any one who does not lament and wonder that his majesty has not yet publicly desired the only help that can have a chance to extricate the country." He then mentioned that lord Rochford was of the same opinion; looked upon lord

though asking nothing for himself, was ready to take any part in the executive portion of his lordship's plan for the good of his country. Soon after, Coutts wrote again, repeating lord Rochford's anxious desire to see Chatham at the head of an effective administration, and his readiness to co-operate in any way under so illustrious a statesman. At the same time, the Rockingham party waived all claim on behalf of their own head; each joined in the solicitation that Chatham would come forward as the saviour of the state. For this purpose, they dispatched his friend lord Granby to him to communicate their wishes. The king watched these negotiations with his old feeling of evasion, writing to lord North, "I am extremely indifferent whether lord Granby goes, or does not go, with the abject message of the Rockingham party to Hayes: I will certainly send none to that place."

Chatham himself undoubtedly listened to the united solicitations of these different parties. He was roused by the conduct of France, like the rest of the nation. He withdrew his opposition to his son (lord Pitt) being in the army, and his son accordingly re-entered it, and sailed for Gibraltar, as aide-de-camp to the governor. He proposed, if he took the administration, to send for prince Frederick of Brunswick—who, under his former ministry, had commanded with such success in Germany—and put him at the head of the army. But no call came from the obstinate George.

In vain did the most zealous and most trusted of the king's friends represent the necessity of sending for the man who before carried victory into America, and lowered the pride of France. Lord Barrington, secretary at war, and one of those who, whilst he was devoted to the king's party, had always given the soundest advice on the mode of conducting the conflict, says:—"I represented to the king that he had not one general in whom his majesty, the nation, or the army could place confidence, in case of the invasion of Great Britain or Ireland, and the necessity there was of bringing prince Ferdinand hither. In a subsequent audience I thought it my duty to represent to his majesty the general dismay which prevailed amongst all ranks and conditions, arising, as I apprehended, from an opinion that the administration was not equal to the times—an opinion so universal that it prevailed amongst those who were most dependent on and attached to ministers, and even amongst ministers themselves."

It has been thought that a short time must have compelled the king to call for Chatham, and great has been the speculation amongst politicians and historians whether the earl would have been able to settle the American difficulty and retain the states as our colonies. Macaulay assumes the—to us—very palpable ground, that he would have failed in the attempt; that he himself had always declared that America could not be conquered; and therefore, it is not likely that he could conquer America and France combined. It appears to us, however, that he would not have attempted to conquer America, but to have negotiated with her, and that such negotiations must have proved abortive, so far as retention of the union was concerned. We think no one can have studied the character and temper of the Americans, especially of the leading states—those of New England and Virginia

there was a firm resolve there, never to return to the English rule. That Chatham, had he been in his full vigour, could and would have beaten both the Americans and the French, had he undertaken it, we have no doubt whatever. Under the influence of his great mind a totally new spirit would have sprung up in the national heart; heroes worthy of victory would have started up as by instant creation, under the influence of his animating genius; other Wolves would have achieved other triumphs; other admirals would have encountered and dispersed the French fleets. There would have been an end of those sloth-like, creeping, half-awake commanders and besotted measures which despised sound counsel and invited defeat. For nothing is clearer than that the success of the Americans arose from the unexampled imbecility of our statesmen, our generals, and our admirals, at that most disgraceful epoch. Before a Clive or a Wellington, the shoeless, and shirtless, and powderless hordes of Americans would have been scattered as leaves by an autumn wind. As it was, they found it impossible to cope with our sluggish snails of generals and torpedo admirals, and were compelled to call in the aid of the only European power which could ever cope with England. By the wretched imbecility of our officers and the arms of France, America became free. It was the will of Providence, and the usual powers and intellects of England were blunted and impoverished by Providence to that end. In the words of Wordsworth, a little varied, there was at that period—with a few grand exceptions—

Perpetual emptiness, unceasing change,
No master spirit, no determined road;
But equally a want of deeds and men.

Lord Barrington truly told the king that we had no single general in whom nation or army could place confidence. Lord Chatham himself was no longer what he had been. He was old, diseased, and incapable of the exertion of mind and body which the exigency demanded. The time was come when Providence had fresh labours for us. We had planted and peopled America. It could now go alone; and He was calling us to create fresh empires at the antipodes, doomed within half a century to be worth a dozen Americas to us; a most marvellous apparition of an Australasian world, then lying unborn to civilisation, to commerce, and to art.

The days of Chatham were far nearer their close than was suspected. Whilst the country was calling him to the head of affairs, God was calling him away. One more sudden blaze of his high intellect, and he was gone. Whilst the subject of America continued to be discussed in both houses with much acrimony and little result, the duke of Richmond, seeing that Chatham did not come forward, took a decided step. He gave notice, on the 7th of April, of an address to the king, entreating him to withdraw both his fleets and armies from the United States, and make peace with them on such terms as should secure their goodwill. This was giving up the contest with a most impolitic precipitancy, which would have left England at the mercy of American conceit, and of that selfish chicane which had distinguished congress and its Franklins and Silas Deanes from the first, combined with that braggart bullyism, which has equally distinguished North America down to the days of general

taken of this innocent candour; and no conclusion would have been possible but one of unmitigated shame to us. The marquis of Rockingham coincided in this absurd idea: at the same time that both these extraordinary diplomats regarded the severance of the United States from us as the ruin of our trade.

Chatham, equally of that opinion, and equally blind to the necessity of admitting the independence of the colonies, was roused effectually by this notice. Richmond had written to him, inclosing a draught of his intended motion, and saying, "As I believe your lordship, and those I have the honour to act with, are agreed as to the impracticability of compelling America to subjection by war, I think the difference could only be as to the more or less sanguine expectations we might form of what could be obtained by their consent. The circumstances are much changed of late, and may possibly now make our degrees of hope more similar." He added, that if this should meet his lordship's approbation, and still more so, if his health should enable him, he hoped to have the honour of his support.

The very next day, Chatham replied through the hand of his son, lord Pitt, that it was "an unspeakable concern to him to find himself so widely at variance with the duke of Richmond, as that between the *sovereignty* and the *allegiance* of America;" that, though the duke despaired of arriving at a successful issue, he himself was inclined to attempt it before this had grown worse; and that he meant to be in town on the morrow. And there, indeed, he was, though more like a ghost than a living man. He was supported into the house by his son William, and his son-in-law, lord Mahon, wrapped in flannel, pale and emaciated. His large wig seemed to bury his worn, shrunken face, except the still piercing eye, and the aquiline nose. When the duke of Richmond had made his motion, and lord Weymouth, one of the secretaries of state, had replied to it, Chatham arose. Lord Camden says, that in speaking, "he was not like himself: his speech faltered, his sentences were broken, and his mind not master of itself. His words were shreds of unconnected eloquence; and flashes of the same fire, which he, Prometheus-like, had stolen from heaven, were then returning to the place whence they were taken."

In Seward's "Anecdotes of Distinguished Persons" we have a very striking picture of his last appearance in parliament. He took one hand from his crutch, raised it, casting his eyes towards heaven, and said:—"I thank God that I have been enabled to come here this day to perform my duty, and to speak on a subject which has so deeply impressed my mind. I am old and infirm: I have one foot, more than one foot, in the grave; I am risen from my bed to stand up in the cause of my country—perhaps never again to speak in this house."

The impressive spectacle of that great man, who had so often shaken that house with the thunders of his eloquence, and made the world tremble at the very sound of his name, thus hovering on the verge of life, and those solemn words, hushed the house into a silence like that of the tomb. All was deep attention, and even in bosoms antagonistic in principle, were profound interest and respect. His words, feeble and faltering at first, grew, as he warmed with his subject,

batting with his feebleness of frame he put forth, in one last great effort, the power of his spirit.

"My lords," he said, "I rejoice that the grave has not closed upon me; that I am still alive to lift up my voice against the dismemberment of this ancient and most noble monarchy. Pressed down as I am by the hand of infirmity, I am little able to assist my country in this most perilous conjuncture; but, my lords, whilst I have sense and memory, I will never consent to deprive the royal offspring of the house of Brunswick, the heirs of—" here he faltered for some moments, whilst striving to recall the name—"of the princess Sophia, of their fairest inheritance. My lords, his majesty succeeded to an empire as great in extent as its reputation was unsullied. Shall we tarnish the lustre of that empire by an ignominious surrender of its rights and fairest possessions? Shall this great kingdom, which has survived whole and entire the Danish depredations, the Scottish inroads, and the Norman conquest—that has stood the threatened invasion of the Spanish armada, now fall prostrate before the house of Bourbon?"

"Surely, my lords, this nation is no longer what it was! Shall a people that fifteen years ago were the terror of the world now stoop so low as to tell this ancient, inveterate enemy—'Take all we have, only give us peace?' It is impossible! I wage war with no man or set of men; I wish for none of their employments; nor would I co-operate with men who persist in unrectified error—who, instead of acting on a firm, decisive line of conduct, halt between two opinions, where there is no middle path. In God's name, if it is absolutely necessary to declare either for peace or war, and the former cannot be preserved with honour, why is not the latter commenced without hesitation? I am not, I confess, well informed of the resources of this kingdom; but I trust it has still sufficient to maintain its just rights, though I know them not. But, my lords, any state is better than despair. Let us, at least, make one effort, and if we must fall, let us fall like men!"

As lord Chatham sat down, lord Temple, his brother-in-law, said to him, "You forgot to mention what we talked of. Shall I get up?" To which he replied, "No, no; I will do it by-and-by."

The duke of Richmond rose to reply. "My lords," he said, "there is not a person present who more sincerely wishes than I do that America should remain dependent on the country. But, as I am convinced that it is now totally impracticable, I am anxious to retain the Americans as allies, because, if they are not on terms of friendship with us, they must necessarily throw themselves into the arms of France. If we go to war with France on account of the late treaty, the colonies will look upon themselves as bound in honour to assist her. And what prospect of success have we? Not one of your lordships has a more grateful memory of the services performed for his country by the noble earl. He raised its glory, reputation, and success to a pitch never before experienced by any other nation. The name of Chatham will ever be dear to Englishmen; but while I stand this, I am convinced that the name of Chatham is not able to perform impossibilities, or to restore the country to the state it was in when he, in the vigour of his life, was

flourishing condition, the result of the eminent abilities of that great man and able financier, Mr. Pelham; then, our navy was in an admirable condition, under the direction and care of a most able officer, lord Anson; then, the influence of the crown had not reached its present alarming and dangerous height. We had, for the greater part of that war, only France to contend with; and, when Spain commenced hostilities, France was reduced to the lowest ebb, having already lost her navy and the best of her colonies; then, America fought for us; but now, instead of Great Britain and America against France and Spain, France, Spain, and America would be united against Great Britain. Lord Chatham himself had failed to point out the means for sustaining so unequal a contest—had confessed he knew them not."

Chatham rose, in the deepest indignation, to answer the duke, but the violence of his feelings overcame him; he staggered and fell in a fit or swoon, and would have been prostrated on the floor but for the assistance of some friendly hands. He lay apparently in the agonies of death. The whole house was agitated; the peers crowded round him in the greatest commotion; all except the earl of Mansfield, who beheld the fall of his ancient rival almost as unmoved, says lord Camden, "as the senseless body itself." His youngest son, John Charles Pitt, was there, and exerted himself to render all possible assistance. The insensible orator was carried in the arms of his friends to the house of Mr. Sargent, in Downing Street. By the prompt aid of a physician, he was in some degree recalled to consciousness, and within a few days was conveyed to his own dwelling at Hayes. There he lingered till the morning of May 11th, when he died in the seventieth year of his age.

In Chatham, England lost her greatest character of that period. As an orator and as a statesman he was equally eminent. The success of his plans and his administration was evidenced in the acquisition of Canada, the expulsion of the French from almost the whole of the American continent, and the rapid development of our Indian empire. He successively punished France and Spain, and raised the reputation of England to an unprecedented pitch. These benefits and glories might have been carried immensely farther, had it not been for his indomitable pride. By a more conceding and accommodating disposition, he might have acquired probably a great influence over the king, and thus have saved his country the calamities which he lived to see heaped on it by incompetent ministers. His unbending pride frequently amounted to little short of insanity, and disgusted and tired out his most zealous friends. To this unfortunate quality his persecutions by gout, and the malady resulting from it, which held him spell-bound for some years, added force and aggravated these evils, rendering him insensible to the calamities of the kingdom. But, with all his faults, he never ceased, when in any degree of health and consciousness, to maintain the most lofty principles of liberty and right. In domestic life he was as easy and amiable as he was high and severe in his public character. He was fond of the country, and spent much time in gardening. As a whole, he stands in his place in history a great and commanding figure; for a noble style of eloquence, and for grasp, vigour, and success

On the day of Chatham's death, his friend and disciple, colonel Barré, announced the melancholy event in the house of commons, and moved that his funeral should be conducted at the public charge, and his remains be deposited in Westminster Abbey. This was seconded by Thomas Townshend, afterwards secretary of state, and lord Sydney. All parties consented, with many praises, to this suggestion; but Rigby, probably to defeat the motion by traversing it with another, hinted that he thought a public monument would be a more lasting and suitable testimony of the public regard. If this was his purpose, he must have been greatly mortified to see Dunning rise, and declare that he highly approved of both, and moved, as an amendment, that both honours should be conferred on the departed statesman. Scarcely was this motion put from the chair, when lord North, who had gone home expecting nothing of this kind, came hurrying in, and declared his satisfaction in arriving in time to give his vote for it. He regretted, he said, that the haste with which he had retraced his steps had not left him breath to express the profound respect which he entertained for the memory of the earl of Chatham. The amendment, including both motions, was carried unanimously.

Two days afterwards, lord John Cavendish introduced the subject of a further testimony of public regard for the departed. It was well known that Chatham, notwithstanding the ten thousand pounds left him by the duchess of Marlborough, notwithstanding the emoluments of his places and pensions, and the noble estate bequeathed to him by Sir William Pynsent, was still in debt. Lord John Cavendish put on the score of disinterestedness what ought probably to have been placed to the account of free living and little care of money, and called on parliament to reward the descendants of the earl for the great addition which he had made to the empire as well as to its glory. Lord North cordially assented, Burke and Fox supported the proposal, and colonel Barré drew a comparison betwixt the honours and estates conferred on Marlborough and the poor pension of three thousand pounds a-year bestowed on Chatham, omitting, however, to mention the three thousand pounds a-year previously settled on lady Chatham.

An address, founded on this resolution, was carried to the king, who faithfully kept the word he had given nearly three years before. Chatham had then, through lord North, sought to get his own pension continued to his second son, William Pitt, afterwards the celebrated minister. On that occasion, George III. had declared that the conduct of Chatham of late had totally obliterated any sense of gratitude for his former merits; that, as to any gratitude to be expected from him or his family, the whole tenor of their lives had shown them destitute of that most honourable sentiment; but that, when decrepitude or death should put an end to him as a trumpet of sedition, he would not punish the children for the father's sins, but would place the second son's name where Chatham's had been. He now consented to that; an annuity bill settled four thousand pounds a-year on the heirs of Chatham, to whom the title should descend, which received the sanction of parliament; and the commons, moreover, voted

Both these motions passed the house of commons unanimously; but, in the upper house, the duke of Chandos attacked the grants, and condemned severely the custom of loading the country with annuities in perpetuity. A few other lords joined him in bitter remarks on the political conduct of Chatham, and attributed to him nearly all the evils which, in truth, a set of far inferior men, in defiance of his remonstrances, had brought upon the nation. The bill was, however, carried by forty-two votes to eleven, though four noble lords entered a protest against it, namely, lord chancellor Bathurst, the duke of Chandos, lord Paget, and Markham, archbishop of York. The archbishop's protest was well known to originate in resentment for some severe strictures of Chatham's on a sermon by him, "on the ideas of savage liberty in America," which Chatham designated as embodying the principles of Atterbury and Sacheverel.

In the upper house, too, lord Shelburne moved, on the 13th of April, that all the peers should attend the funeral; but this was overruled by a majority of one—a proxy. There was an attempt by the city to have the remains of the earl, who had always been highly popular in London, deposited in St. Paul's. Their petition was supported by Burke and Dunning, but was too late, the arrangements being already made for Westminster. The funeral was but poorly attended. Few members of either house were there, except those of the opposition. Gibbon says that "the government ingeniously contrived to secure the double odium of suffering the thing to be done, and of doing it with an ill grace." Burke and Saville, Thomas Townshend, and Dunning, were pall-bearers; colonel Barré carried the





WASHINGTON'S CAMP AT VALLEY FORGE.

banner of the barony of Chatham, supported by the marquis of Rockingham and the dukes of Richmond, Northumberland, and Manchester; William Pitt, in the place of his elder brother, who was gone to Gibraltar, was the chief mourner, followed by eight peers, as assistant mourners, amongst whom were lord Shelburne and lord Camden. The tomb of Chatham, which also contains the remains of his illustrious son, William Pitt, is in the north transept of the abbey, distinguished by the statue soon afterwards erected to his honour.

The motion of the duke of Richmond, for acknowledging the independence of America, which was interrupted by the sudden illness of Chatham, was resumed on the following day, but was lost by fifty-five votes against thirty-three. On the 7th of July the king closed the session, declaring, in his speech, his desire to preserve the peace of Europe, and charging that power by which it should be broken with all the fatal consequences of the war.

During this session, sundry matters came before parliament, which the connection of the great story of the American conflict has hitherto left untold. Burgoyne returned to England before the session closed, and demanded an opportunity of stating his own case before the house of commons. That opportunity was accorded him, and he made an able defence, throwing the blame greatly on lord George Germaine, for having tied up his hands by orders positive and unqualified in cases where latitude should be given to a general to act according to circumstances. He blamed Sir William Howe for not sending a force up the North River to Albany; and he refuted the charge that he had been at variance with generals Philips and Frazer, who served under him. On the other hand, lord George Germaine declared that Burgoyne had plenty of freedom to act according to circumstances, which no previous plans could enable him to foresee; that the fault of defeat lay entirely with himself; that he had had a fine and efficient army put into his hands—in fact, nearly the whole force that he himself had demanded; that he should not have given up his communication with the lakes whilst he had no certainty of being met by an army from New York; and that he had raised the spirit of the Americans by sending too small a force against Bennington, and had committed the capital mistake of selecting for this expedition, which required promptness and speed, the slowest of all foreigners, the Germans.

The fact was, that government had made a fatal blunder in setting aside Sir Guy Carleton, who knew the country and the people with whom he had to deal, for Burgoyne, who had been chosen merely as many men, both civil and military, are chosen—not for any particular fitness, but because they are violent in opposition, and it is desirable to silence them. The king had shown Burgoyne the most unqualified resentment on his return; he refused to admit him at court, and told those about him to ask him why he had abandoned his army? and why he had left his officers and men behind him? Burgoyne, seeing that he should obtain no advantage from parliament, vehemently demanded a court-martial. "I provoke a trial!" he cried: "give me inquiry! I put the interests that hang most emphatically by the heart-strings of man—fortune—my honour—my head—I had almost said, my salvation—upon the test!"

Lord George Germaine was excited, bitter, and personal, as usual. He thought a court-martial a proper tribunal. He said general Burgoyne had appealed to the testimony of M. St. Luc, a Canadian officer; and what was the testimony of M. St. Luc to himself, lord George? That Burgoyne was a brave man, but as dull and heavy as a German. Mr. Temple Luttrell sarcastically alluded to the court-martial which tried lord George for skulking at Minden; and lord George flew into a rage, and challenged Luttrell, but so openly, that all mischief was prevented by the serjeant-at-arms, and so this matter ended.

On the 6th of May Burke had brought forward a measure for the benefit of his long-oppressed country. It was, that Ireland should enjoy the privilege of exporting its own manufactures, woollen cloths and woollens excepted, and of importing from the coast of Africa and other foreign settlements all goods that they wanted, except indigo and tobacco. They were to have the additional privilege of sending to England, duty-free, cotton yarns, Irish sail-cloth, and cordage. Parliament, for once, looked on these demands with favour. They recollected that the Americans had endeavoured to excite disaffection amongst the Irish, by reference to the unjust restrictions on their commerce by the selfishness of England, and they felt the loss of the American trade, and were willing to encourage commerce in some other direction. Lord Nugent co-operated with Burke in this endeavour. But the lynx-eyed avarice of the English merchants was instantly up in arms. During the Easter recess, a host of petitions was got up against this just concession. The city of Bristol, which was represented by Burke, threatened to dismiss him at the next election, if he persisted in this attempt to extend commercial justice to Ireland; but Burke told them that he must leave that to them; for himself, he must advocate free trade, which, if they once tried it, they would find far more advantageous than monopoly. They kept their word, and threw him out for his independence. At the same time, the English merchants, as they had always done before by Ireland, triumphed to a great extent. They demanded to be heard in committee by counsel, and the bills were shorn down to the least possible degree of benefit.

During the discussion of this question, Sir George Saville brought forward another, of vital importance to the Irish, as well as to a considerable body in England. This was a bill for relieving catholics, by repealing the penalties and disabilities imposed by the 10th and 11th of King William III. The hardships sought to be removed were these:—The prohibition of catholic priests or jesuits teaching their own doctrines in their own churches, such an act being high treason in natives and felony in foreigners; the forfeiture by popish heirs of their property, who received their education abroad, in such cases the estates going to the nearest protestant heir; the power given to a protestant to take the estate of his father, or next kinsman, who was a catholic, during his lifetime; and the debarring all catholics from acquiring legal property by any other means than descent. Stirring memorials were presented to the king from catholics, declaring that they held no principles incompatible with the duties of good citizens; that their conduct, during a long course of restriction and unpopularity, had

been peaceable and loyal, whilst the severity of government had not in any degree diminished their reverence for it, or their attachment to the constitution. Dunning declared the restrictions a disgrace to humanity, and perfectly useless, as they were never enforced; but Sir George Saville said that was not really the fact, for that he himself knew catholics who lived in daily terror of informers and of the infliction of the law. Thurlow, still attorney-general, but about to ascend the woolsack, promptly supported the bill; and Henry Dundas, the lord-advocate of Scotland, lamented that it would afford no relief to his own country. These acts did not affect Scotland, as they had been passed before the union; but Scotland had a similar act passed by its own parliament, and he promised to move for the repeal of this Scottish act in the next session. In the commons there was an almost total unanimity on the subject; and in the lords, the bishop of Peterborough was nearly the only person who strongly opposed it. He contended, that if, as it was contended, these acts were a dead letter, why disturb the dead? But he declared that there was a danger to the Anglican church in repealing the law which strengthened it, by continuing to protestants rather than catholics the successions to large properties or fees. The bill passed, for it was deemed a good opportunity to tranquillise the minds of the people of Ireland.

But smoothly as this transaction had passed, there was a hurricane behind. The threatened extension of the measure to Scotland roused all the presbyterian bigotry of Scotland. The acrid essence of Geneva brought thither by Knox at once rose to the surface. The synod of Glasgow and other synods passed resolutions vowing to oppose to the utmost any interference with the Scottish act for the suppression of popery. Press and pulpit were speedily inflamed; associations were formed in Edinburgh, Glasgow, and most of the towns, for the defence of the protestant interest. All the old persecutions and insults of catholics were renewed; they could not safely appear in the streets, or remain safely in their houses. Not even those liberal enough to advocate the just rights of catholics were safe, at least from rude treatment. Dr. Robertson, the historian, was hooted, when he went abroad, as a favourer of the papists. There was as yet no more toleration in Scotland than if a William III. had never appeared in this country. From Scotland the intolerant leaven spread to England. It grew fiercer and fiercer, and in a while found a proper champion in the hot-headed lord George Gordon, whose exploits as the Coryphæus of riot, and fire, and confusion, culminated two years later in the scenes of destruction and terror for ever memorable as the Gordon riots.

During this session lord Barrington was anxious to retire from his post of secretary at war. He had seen the whole American campaign carried on in direct defiance of the sensible course he had recommended, of securing the chief towns, blockading the ports, and taking care never to follow the Americans into the interior. He had requested lord North to allow him to resign his seat in the commons before the news of Burgoyne's surrender arrived. This was a crowning proof of the uselessness of his advice to government. Again, on the 21st of May lord Barrington desired lord North to give him the Chiltern Hundreds. As North, however, did

not mention the matter to the king as he had promised, Barrington did it himself, and obtained permission to accept the Chiltern Hundreds, but not to quit his post as secretary at war till a suitable successor could be found.

All this time lord North was himself equally anxious to be quit of the onus of the conduct of the government, which had been so disastrous in his hands. He had been solicitous that Chatham should have taken his place; but now that Chatham was gone, it was impossible to see how a strong cabinet could be formed. There was no single man who could be pointed out as of sufficient strength in public opinion to head an administration. Burke stood high for eloquence, but no one gave him the credit for sufficient coolness and firmness to wield the powers of government at such a momentous crisis. The king instructed North to remain; and, in that good nature, which was his great characteristic, he still held office, having Thurlow appointed lord chancellor instead of lord Bathurst, but only to accumulate on his head more overwhelming disaster and disgrace.

If the affairs of England in America looked discouraging, those of America herself were far worse. The Newfoundland fishery and the trade to the West Indies, hitherto the main reliance of New England, had been broken up. Nine hundred trading vessels had fallen into the hands of the English, and such as they retained were of little value. The coasting trade was destroyed, and Boston and the other New England states, cut off from their usual supplies, were reduced to great distress, and this was augmented by the embargoes which the different states began to levy upon each other. To add to the suffering, congress went on issuing fresh shoals of paper money—the only mode they had of paying the expenses of the war; and already the liabilities of congress amounted to forty millions of dollars, and this was far from showing the extent of the expenses of the war. The individual states had made their own issues, and all were deeply in debt. The sum total of expenditure was not less than sixty-five millions of dollars.

This was the financial situation of the states at the opening of the year. Congress had recommended the imposition of taxes, but no attention had been paid to it; so in January, 1778, congress was compelled to have recourse to fresh issues of paper money. They authorised a further loan of ten millions, though the former loans were not yet half filled up. The empty treasury had to be replenished this month by a new issue of three millions in bills of credit. Two millions more were issued in February, two in March, six millions and a-half in April, five millions in May, and as many more in June, making in the first half of this year an addition of twenty-three millions and a-half to the already superabundant issue. The depreciation was proportionate, and besides the public distress which this produced—making every article of life appear monstrously dear—daily resignation of commissions took place in the army. Washington wrote to congress to inform them that since August last between two and three hundred officers had resigned their commissions, and that many more were with difficulty dissuaded from following their example. To put a stop to resignations and desertions, he recommended congress to offer to all officers who served to the end of the war half pay for life, and a suitable sum to every soldier. Congress was in the end,

but with much difficulty, induced to offer every officer half pay for seven years if he served throughout the war, and to every soldier eighty dollars.

The sufferings of Washington's army in his camp at Valley Forge were terrible. By persevering entreaties, he prevailed on congress to send a commission to witness this distress with their own eyes. But this availed little. Congress was on the verge of insolvency, and the supplies came in slowly. This is his own account, addressed to one of his generals, on the 20th of March:—"By death and desertion we have lost a good many men since we came to this ground, and have encountered every species of hardship that cold, wet, hunger, and want of clothes were capable of producing. The soldiers have been for days together, two or three times, without provisions, and once six days without any of the meat kind. Could the poor horses tell their tale, it would be in a strain still more lamentable, as numbers have actually died from pure want."

What was more fatal to success, there was much caballing and rancour amongst the officers in the army, and especially against Washington. Gates, elated with his success in the north, did not hesitate to disparage Washington, and to aspire himself to the post of commander-in-chief. Washington had given offence to brigadier Thomas Conway, by representing to Richard Henry Lee, a leading member of congress, that he understood that congress was about to raise him to the rank of major-general; that this would be a just grievance to those over whose heads he would be promoted; that Conway's merits were chiefly in his own imagination: and that he himself could not hope to be of further use, if such insuperable difficulties were thrown in his way. * This promotion was, however, made, and Conway became an active conspirator with others to supersede Washington, and to put Gates or Charles Lee, both Englishmen, in his place. This intrigue was called "Conway's Cabal."

La Fayette, astonished at these proceedings in patriots, wrote thus to Washington: "When I was in Europe I thought that here almost every man was a lover of liberty. You can conceive my astonishment when I saw that toryism was as apparently professed as whiggism itself. There are open dissensions in congress: parties who hate one another as much as the common enemy; men who, without knowing anything about war, undertake to judge you, and to make ridiculous comparisons. They are infatuated with Gates, without thinking of the difference of circumstances, and believe that attacking is the only thing necessary to conquer."

In Europe, war was about to break forth, in consequence of war in America. The emissaries of the states had done their best to embroil the whole of the old continent in this quarrel. They had tried the martial monarch of Prussia, who was especially embittered against England, but too shrewd to spend his strength in freeing America, whilst more profitable speculations lay at hand in the territories of Austria and Bavaria. The Emperor of Austria, Joseph II., was quite satisfied to remain quiet after a visit to his sister, Marie Antoinette, the queen of France. He found that kingdom—about to enter on war with England—in a state which filled him with deep alarm. It was overwhelmed

with debt; the people were in a condition of deep misery; there was an uneasy and restless spirit abroad, ominous of coming storms, and a philosophy already in progress, which threatened the destruction of the very foundations of all monarchy. Louis XVI. was himself neither desirous of war nor by any means in a condition for it, but was borne forward by a rash ministry, and the hope of damaging England, towards a vortex which the Austrian monarch contemplated with awe.

France itself had hung aloof, till the defeat of Burgoyne had induced her to believe that the Americans were stronger than they were; and this favourable turn of feeling was artfully improved by Franklin, who pointed to the bills of conciliation now preparing by lord North, and assured the French ministers that, now or never, they must sign the treaty with America, or the Americans would accept the terms of England; all the promised advantages to France would be lost! That had decided them.

The American plenipotentiaries in Paris were in a state of as violent dissension amongst themselves as the members of their congress and of their army at home; but the influence of Franklin carried them through. In Paris the presence of the American philosopher and republican became a rage. As philosophers admired his science and discoveries, so the new lights in political philosophy admired him as an innovator on the old systems of government. If the French ministers had not been blinded by their vanity and their hatred of England, they might have discovered, in this homage done to the republican of the transatlantic world, the scarcely-concealed fire of those principles already kindled around them. The fashionable world found in the philosopher's old-fashioned exterior matter for admiration. His homely cut of coat, his old-fashioned wig, his very buckles, were regarded with enthusiasm. The sober author of "Poor Richard's Almanac," with all its thrifty maxims, was the lion of the gayest salons and of the court ladies; and this *furor* in his favour he well employed for his diplomatic ends.

Yet the court of France did not lack solemn warnings of the fatal path on which they were entering. The honest and far-sighted financier, Turgot, who had been employed by Louis XVI., as comptroller-general, to endeavour to bring the terribly disordered revenue of France into order, said, "I must remind you, sire, of these three words—'No bankruptcy, no augmentation of imposts, no loans.' To fulfil these three conditions, there is but one means—to reduce the expenditure below the receipt, and sufficiently below it to be able to economise, every year, twenty millions, in order to clear off the old debts. Without that, *the first cannon fired will force the state to a bankruptcy.*" He assured the king, that all colonies, on arriving at a condition of maturity, would as naturally abandon the control of the mother country as children, arriving at majority, do the control of their parents; that the independence of America would, therefore, come of itself, without France ruining herself to accelerate the event; that, as to France wishing Spain to join in this attempt, Spain must remember her own colonies, for, by assisting to free the British colonies, she would assuredly assist to liberate her own.

This was a doctrine far before Turgot's own age. None of

our ablest statesmen had caught a glimpse of it, except lord Coventry, who had declared in parliament, that it was not the possession of colonies, but their trade, which would enrich us. Neither Chatham nor Burke, however, saw so far as Turgot and Coventry; they were for giving the colonies self-taxation, but regarded their independence as synonymous with our commercial ruin. These doctrines now are happily universally recognised; but in France the voice of Turgot was despised: the first cannon was fired, and not merely bankruptcy, but revolution, came in inevitable sequence. All the old imposts, duties, and *corvées*, were continued, and even augmented, to raise fifty thousand men for the assistance of America and the invasion of England. An army was collected on the coasts of Normandy and Brittany; and the navy was put, with all activity, into a condition to outnumber that of England, and to retaliate for the losses and defeats of the last war. The system of grinding the unfortunate people was renewed in all its rigour, and the last touch was put to their endurance and their misery. At such a cost did France, already bankrupt, insure the independence of America, and to find no return of the mighty obligation when her own time came.

Before there was any declaration of war, the king of France, on the 18th of March, issued an order to seize all British ships in the ports of that kingdom; and, nine days afterwards, a similar order was issued by the English government as to all French ships in her harbours. The first act of hostility was perpetrated by admiral Keppel. He had been appointed first admiral on the earliest news of the treaty of France with America; and, being now in the channel with twenty ships of the line, he discovered two French frigates, "La Licorne" and "La Belle Poule" reconnoitering his fleet. Not troubling himself that there had been no declaration of war, Keppel ordered some of his vessels to give chase; and, on coming up with the *Licorne*, a gun was fired over her, to call her to surrender; and the Frenchman struck his colours, but not before he had poured a broadside into the *America*, commanded by lord Longford, and wounded four of his men. The *Arethusa*, in the meantime, had come up with the *Belle Poule*, and, after a desperate action, drove her in amongst the rocks, whilst the *Arethusa* herself was so disabled as to require towing back to the fleet. A schooner and a French frigate were soon after taken; and, finding on board these vessels papers stating that the fleet in Brest harbour consisted of thirty-two sail of the line, and ten or twelve frigates, Keppel returned to Portsmouth for reinforcements.

For this Keppel was much blamed, as it was considered that the papers might have been made out in order to deceive him. The number of the French fleet, however, soon proved to be correct, for, during Keppel's absence, it sailed out of Brest, under the command of admiral D'Orvilliers. Keppel returning with his squadron augmented to thirty vessels of the line, found D'Orvilliers out at sea, and the *Lively*, twenty-gun brig, which he had left to watch the motions of the French, surprised by them in a fog, and captured. On the 27th, Keppel came up with D'Orvilliers off Ushant, and instantly gave battle. The two fleets passed each other on different tacks, keeping up a furious cannonade for two hours. Keppel then signalled his second in command, Sir

Hugh Palliser, to wear round and renew the attack; but Palliser had received so much injury, that he could not or did not obey the signal. Keppel, therefore, bore down to join Palliser's division, and formed afresh for the fight. But by this time D'Orvilliers was making way for Brest, claiming a victory. Night came down, and the next morning the French fleet was nearly out of sight. On this, Keppel returned to England to refit, much out of humour with the conduct of Palliser. D'Orvilliers had two more ships of the line and considerably more frigates than Keppel, and had done much injury to his fleet; but Keppel had killed and wounded more men.

On the 18th of August D'Orvilliers again put to sea, and proceeded to cruise off Cape Finisterre. To prevent his proceeding to America, or intercepting any of our merchantmen from coming from the West Indies, Keppel sailed again on the 23rd, but stretched out westward, and did not this time fall in with the French admiral. His movements enabled our East and West India traders to reach home in safety, whilst, on the other hand, our privateers and cruisers captured a great number of French merchantmen; but this did not satisfy the public, who were anxious for a great victory, to punish France for her interference, and this led to mutual altercations and recriminations betwixt Keppel and Palliser, which, however, fell into the next year.

Returning to America, we find congress and their commander-in-chief reduced to such extremities, that they were compelled, if they were to continue the contest, to resort to such arbitrary actions as would have caused the Americans to rave in the extreme of execration, had they, or a hundredth part of them, been perpetrated by the English before the revolution. The English were paying solid gold for whatever they obtained from the country people; the Americans in a paper, now reduced to one-twentieth of its nominal value: their twenty dollar notes being worth only one dollar in specie. The consequence was, that the country people contrived to steal through the American lines by some means, and convey their provisions to Howe's camp; and the equally certain consequence was, that Washington's soldiers were reduced to starvation, which was only one of their miseries, for they were so naked that their legs and feet froze, and had in great numbers to be amputated. The congress sent Washington orders to seize anything that he wanted, and he was compelled to seize, giving these worthless notes in payment, or he would soon have had no army at all. He ordered the farmers within seventy miles of Valley Forge to thresh out half their corn by the 1st of February, and the other half by the 1st of March, under penalty of having the whole seized as straw. But the farmers only threshed it out to conceal it; and, when they could not conceal their property, they became desperate, and resisted the foragers with arms. Washington saw that a second civil war was likely to grow up, and warned the congress that they must find some other means of feeding and clothing the army, or it must cease to exist.

And there was every prospect that it would soon cease to exist, unless some extraordinary measures were resorted to. Washington informed congress that men as well as provisions would fail; that voluntary enlistment was out of the question for recruiting an army in a state of starvation, and whose

fingers and feet were rotting off with frost! There was no remedy but by *impressment*. Here was a pleasant predicament for this sensitive nation, who could not lately endure that they should be simply asked for taxes by the English! But, though it startled congress at first, they were compelled to sanction this last breach of every principle of personal freedom. The recruits thus obtained by being forcibly kidnapped and torn from their homes and employments,

him to take advantage of the enemy, this information was showered upon him daily. One sudden rush and active assault, and the whole American army in this quarter had ceased to exist. But no such thought crossed this fattest of Sybarites. He continued to sit at his luxurious table, to enjoy his game at cards, and his officers and soldiers continued to practice all the license of the most dissipated nature that ever was heard of in history.



M. TURGOT. FROM AN AUTHENTIC PORTRAIT.

deserted in great numbers to Howe's camp, carrying there the tale of the misery and want that existed at Valley Forge.

That Howe, under such circumstances, did not sally forth and sweep away these half-frozen and three-parts famished men, which, as a modern historian has observed, he might have done as easily as to sweep a swarm of frozen flies from a dead wall, has only one mode of explanation—it was not the will of the Great Disposer of Empires.

Howe all this time lay comfortably at Philadelphia, as if no great interest was depending, and as if he had no responsibility to regard, or no power to maintain. Instead of being on the look-out for information which might enable

In this city of sober, domestic, and moral quakers, they gave way to the most scandalous debauchery and disregard of all order and decency. "A want of order and proper subordination pervaded the whole army; and if disease and sickness thinned the American army encamped at Valley Forge, indolence and luxury, perhaps, did no less injury to the British troops at Philadelphia. During the winter a very unfortunate inattention was shown to the feelings of the inhabitants, whose satisfaction should have been vigilantly consulted, both from gratitude and from interest. They experienced many of the horrors of civil war. The soldiers insulted and plundered them, and their houses were



FANCY BALL GIVEN IN HONOUR OF GENERAL HOWE.

occupied as barracks, without any compensation. Some of the first families were compelled to receive into their habitations individual officers, who were even indecent enough to introduce their mistresses into the mansions of their hospitable entertainers. This soured the minds of the inhabitants, many of whom were quakers.

"Gaming of every species was permitted, and even sanctioned. This vice not only debauched the mind, but, by sedentary confinement and the want of seasonable repose, enervated the body." Howe was expecting his recall, in compliance with his own demand, and this probably added to his otherwise unexampled carelessness and neglect of the most palpable opportunities of completely routing Washington, who all this time was assailed by the intrigues of the Conway Cabal for his ruin. Amongst these endeavours, was one for alienating from him La Fayette. For this purpose an expedition was planned against Canada, and La Fayette, as a Frenchman, was appointed to the command, hoping thus to draw to him the Frenchmen of Canada. Not a word was to be breathed of it to Washington; and Conway and Starke, two of the most malicious members of the cabal, were to take command under La Fayette.

On the 24th of January, Washington received a letter from Gates, the president of the Board of War, commanding him to send one of his best regiments to Albany, on the Hudson, for a particular service, and inclosing another to La Fayette, requiring his immediate attendance on Gates. Gates found, however, that La Fayette was not to be seduced from his attachment to Washington. He would not accept the command, otherwise than as acting in subordination to his commander-in-chief; and that he should send all his dispatches and bulletins to him, at the same time that he furnished copies to congress. He went further: he drank the health of Washington at a dinner given him at Gates's own house, thus compelling the whole clique of his enemies to do the same.

La Fayette demanded appointments for several French officers in his army, which were complied with, and he was told that he would find a force of two thousand five hundred regulars at Albany, a large body of militia further on, and some money in specie, as well as two millions of dollars in paper, which, in fact, was of little more value than waste paper.

The vain Frenchman verily believed that he was going to restore Canada, not to America, but to the French crown—a fear which began to haunt congress after he had set out; but the fear was needless. When La Fayette reached his invading army, instead of two thousand five hundred men, it amounted to about one thousand two hundred, and the militia were nowhere to be heard of. Clothes, provisions, sledges, were all wanting, and, instead of leading his troops, as he was directed, to Lake Champlain, whence he was to proceed to Isleaux Noix to blow up the English flotilla, and thence, crossing the Sorel, to descend the St. Lawrence to Montreal, he gave up the expedition with a sigh, and returned to the camp of Washington.

Thence the remainder of the winter was spent in foraging to preserve existence, and this gave rise to some sharp skirmishes. In these the spirit of vindictiveness was carried

to a pitch such as the oldest soldiers or officers declared that they had never witnessed. This was occasioned by the total disregard by the Americans of any engagements that they entered into, or of the usual courtesies by which civilised nations endeavour to soften the horrors of war. In this respect, congress and the soldiery were equally conspicuous. In one of these skirmishes, in which colonel Mawhood surprised and routed a body of American foragers near Quinton's Bridge, the only Englishman killed was a hussar, who had captured an American, and given him quarter, but, on advancing to seize others, was immediately stabbed by this man from behind. The habitual practice on the part of the Americans of this perfidy enraged our soldiers, and made them unnecessarily cruel.

Congress continued to set to the whole nation the most demoralising example of contempt of all engagements, and of that chicane and duplicity which, the best friends of America must admit, has always too much marked its government. The conduct of congress was, moreover, marked by that hasty spirit of insult and vindictive retaliation so unfavourably contrasting with the calm dignity of an old and powerful state—a feature still distinguishing the American government, as evidenced in the recent affair of the Island of San Juan, and the fear ever arising from resistance to their slave-trading propensities at sea. Besides the flagrant breach of the treaty with general Burgoyne, the constant quibbles and tricks of congress obstructed the regular exchange of prisoners. On one occasion Howe agreed to liberate a certain number of his prisoners at New York for the same number of English prisoners in the hands of congress; but in this case, even Washington, who, to do him justice, was generally greatly ashamed of the conduct of his own government, insisted that as some of these prisoners died on their way home, as many living English prisoners should be kept back for them, on the plea that they died from want of proper support during their confinement—a want equally prevailing amongst the prisoners on both sides, and arising from the congress's own carelessness of the comfort of their captured soldiers. It was not likely that a power, whose army at large was suffering every species of privation, should be very prodigal of comforts to the prisoners in its hands; hence the English and German soldiers suffered dreadfully in their captivity amongst the Americans.

Howe endeavoured to remedy this, and, after many strong remonstrances, he at length obtained from Washington a permission that he might send an escort under a quartermaster from Philadelphia, to carry food and clothing to the poor English prisoners. But the escort, though proceeding under guarantee of a passport from Washington himself, were fallen upon by a strong party under lieutenant-colonel Smith, at the express command of the American Board of War, and detained. This was done on pretence that Howe had prevented provisions being sent by water to the American prisoners. Washington knew that the pretence was groundless, and sent immediate orders for the liberation of the English party. But it was too late; the Americans had lamed the horses, and plundered the stock of clothes and provisions. Soon after, Washington sent a proposal for American commissioners to visit the American prisoners.

and inspect their condition; but Howe very properly refused, unless Washington granted a similar privilege to English commissioners, and, moreover, gave proof that his passports should be respected. Howe was the more resolved on this head from having learned that many of the American prisoners exchanged, who were said to be dead, and for whom, therefore, English prisoners had been kept back, were alive!

Washington, who was greatly ashamed of the truthlessness of his countrymen, entered willingly into arrangements with Howe for a cartel, and commissioners were appointed to settle the details; but, the moment congress heard of it, they passed a resolution nullifying all that the commander-in-chief had done. By such acts congress had not only forfeited all the confidence of the English commanders, but in a great measure with their own countrymen. They were reduced now to only twenty-five members, the different states refusing to send up fresh delegates to a body which set at defiance all the principles on which human affairs can be securely based. Washington, from whose life by Marshall we draw all these facts, and which are much more strongly stated by the English authorities, now represented that, unless a different course were pursued, all intercourse betwixt the two nations for the amelioration of the evils of war must cease; that there was an end of all public faith and honour; that his own character was being totally destroyed; and the sufferings of the prisoners and the feelings of their friends must be extremely aggravated. This had the effect: they cancelled their recent resolutions, and Washington renewed his negotiations. But so thoroughly was Howe disgusted with the unprincipled conduct of congress, that he refused to enter into any engagements for exchange of prisoners with that body, but only with Washington, and it was finally on this basis the exchange was effected.

As spring approached, the English began to show a little return of activity. In April, Lacy, a general of the Pennsylvanian militia, was surprised in an attempt to cut off the supplies from the country to Philadelphia, and to impress men for soldiers. The English made a rapid movement, nearly surrounded his brigade, killed a great number of his men, and secured all his baggage. On the 7th of May, an expedition was sent out to destroy all the American shipping up the Delaware, betwixt Philadelphia and Trenton. Forty-four American vessels were burnt, some of them of considerable size and value; a great quantity of stores and provisions were seized, and a number of men killed. To check such raids, Washington sent out La Fayette, and posted him, with nearly three thousand men, on Barren Hill—a position seven miles in advance of Valley Forge, and with the Schuylkill betwixt it and Washington's own camp. The movement was a most unmilitary one; for it was at the mercy of the enemy, who might send out a much superior force, and, by adroit management, cut off the passage across the Schuylkill, and surround the detachment. But the astounding negligence of Howe was producing an equal recklessness in the American commanders.

La Fayette sat down, on this exposed height, as securely as if he had been in an impregnable fortress. He threw out

neither patrols nor pickets. The very night after he had thus foolishly planted himself, Howe sent out five thousand of his best troops, under generals Grant and Grey, to surprise him. They took two different routes, intending to meet in his rear. Grant reached the point proposed for him, in the rear of La Fayette, an hour before sunset. Grey did not make equal expedition. Instead of having cut off Matson's Ford, the only one by which La Fayette could recross the Schuylkill, he was at some distance from it when day broke; and Washington, much more on the alert than his French subordinate, discovered by his telescope the startling position of affairs. He instantly warned La Fayette of his danger, by firing cannon; and the confounded Frenchman fled helter-skelter for the ford. Washington could spare no troops to make a diversion in his favour; for he had only four thousand remaining in camp, and it must depend on which reached the ford first, whether or not he lost nearly half his army at a blow.

Fortunately for him, La Fayette's troops were fresh, and the English ones were tired with their night's march. La Fayette, leaving his cannon, gained the ford, and got over. He then saw that, by activity, there would be time to recover his cannon; and for this purpose, he returned with a detachment, and succeeded in securing them, though he sacrificed some forty or fifty men killed and wounded, besides having some of them taken prisoners. La Fayette then planted his artillery on some rising ground on the further bank of the Schuylkill, and, with Washington in his rear, the English did not attempt to follow him. This was the last transaction of the English army under the command of Howe; and, had that general had the slightest desire to recover his reputation, even at the eleventh hour, it was perfectly possible. By marching his whole army down on Washington, under proper dispositions, he could have routed it with ease, and retired, after all his strange stupidity, with brilliant effect.

At this crisis arrived the brother of Silas Deane, Mr. Simeon Deane, the bearer of the treaty of alliance between France and the United States; and Washington, relieved as from a dismal nightmare, conscious that by the strength of America alone independence could never be attained, issued this general order:—"It has pleased the Almighty Ruler of the universe to raise us up a powerful friend among the princes of the earth: it becomes us, then, to set apart a day for gratefully acknowledging the Divine goodness, and celebrating the important event." This was done; there was public prayer, a general discharge—thirteen rounds—of the artillery in honour of the thirteen United States, and a stunning hurrah of the whole army, "Long live the King of France!"

In the month of April arrived the permission for Sir William Howe to retire, and, although he was one of the five commissioners named for carrying into effect the proposals in lord North's bill, he determined to leave at the earliest day for England. Lord Howe, the admiral, was equally impatient to return, but lord Sandwich had informed him that it would be considered a great misfortune for him to quit his command under present circumstances. This was, in fact, a command for his remaining, which the breaking out of the war with France, and the expected

arrival of a French fleet, rendered doubly imperative. The departure of his brother, the general, was contrived to be made as ridiculous, as his services had been worse than useless. Since the battle of Brandywine he had really done nothing but trifle away the time of the army in circumstances of the most vital importance to his nation. From October till May he had lain at Philadelphia, disgusting the inhabitants by his voluptuous somnolence and by the riot and oppression of his soldiers. But now, as though he had shown himself a great conqueror, and had actually suppressed the rebellion, he allowed twenty-two of his principal officers to celebrate his departure in the most absurd manner imaginable. The idea was to represent a tournament in honour of himself and his brother, the admiral, and as this tournament was mingled with other pageantries not strictly feudal, it was termed a *Mischianza*, the Italian for medley. A space of one hundred and fifty yards square was set out as the arena, which was fitted up in the manner of an ancient field of tournament, and surrounded by the royal troops. The approach to the lists was by an avenue three hundred feet long, over which were thrown two arches, one in honour of each brother. On the top of each arch stood a figure of Fame, bespangled with stars, and blowing from his trumpet the words, "*Tes lauriers sont immortels!*" These letters, when it became dark, appeared as letters of light. The device for general Howe was also a setting sun, with the motto, "*Luco discedens aucto splendore resurgam.*"

Through this grand avenue marched the two brothers, followed by a numerous train in guise of the seven silken knights of the Blended Rose and seven more of the Burning Mountain, with fourteen damsels dressed in Turkish fashion, each knight having a squire bearing a banner with some device and motto in honour of some lovely damsel. Arrived in the lists, the knights tilted with each other, lord Cathcart taking the lead, his device being Cupid riding on a lion, the motto surmounted by Love; the lady of his device, Miss Auchmuty. After the tournament the knights came into the tea-room, and on their knees received their favours from the ladies of their choice, who were costumed as nymphs of the Blended Rose and the Burning Mountain. Then followed a grand ball and a magnificent supper in a temporary banquet hall, illumined by eighteen lustres of twenty-four lights each, and the tables displaying four hundred and thirty covers and one thousand two hundred dishes. Twenty-four black slaves, in oriental dresses with silver collars and armlets, were ranged in two lines, and bowed themselves toward the earth as the general and admiral approached the table. Besides all this, and a great deal more, there was a grand regatta on the Delaware, the regimental bands being ranged along the shore, playing "God save the King!"

We have been the more particular in detailing these fooleries, as they show to what a condition of insane superannuation our commanders and officers had sunk at that period. With the nation on the point of losing one of its noblest appanages—with one fine army forced to surrender—with another which had spent its time in feasting and gambling instead of fighting—with war with France declared, and a French fleet and army on its way—so little cognisant were

our officers of the woful disappointment which they had occasioned their country, and of the imbecility of their commander, that they could spend their time in planning and executing these miserable follies. What but defeat and disgrace could be expected from such men? Was there ever a more striking example of the maxim, that "God first drives mad those whom He means to destroy"?

Sir Henry Clinton was appointed to succeed Sir William Howe, and, having arrived in Philadelphia, Howe departed six days after this extraordinary fête in his honour. Scarcely had Clinton assumed the command, when an order arrived from the government at home to abandon Philadelphia, and concentrate his forces at New York. The French fleet under D'Estaing was known to be on its way, and it was considered that we had not a fleet of sufficient strength to beat them back from the mouth of the Delaware. At almost the very moment, therefore, when the English officers were celebrating Howe's departure in the style of a grand triumph, we were about to evacuate Philadelphia in the face of Washington's shoeless and shirtless army, and to give to this movement the appearance of a flight! It is difficult for an Englishman to write of such things at this time, and persuade himself that these people were men of this kingdom, with all the trophies of our Edwards and Henrys, our Cromwells, Marlboroughs, Wolfes, and Clives in their memory.

On the 6th of June—only a fortnight after Howe's departure—the three commissioners, lord Carlisle, Mr. Eden, and governor Johnstone, arrived. They learned with consternation and unspeakable chagrin this order for the evacuation of Philadelphia, and, still more, that so important a dispatch had been kept concealed from them. They complained bitterly in a secret letter to lord George Germaine; and lord Carlisle wrote to a private friend, in equal mortification—"We arrived at this place, after a voyage of six weeks, on Saturday last, and found everything here in great confusion; the army upon the point of leaving the town, and about three thousand of the miserable inhabitants embarked on board of our ships, to convey them from a place where they think they would receive no mercy."

What men, indeed, could conceive so important a war conducted in so imbecile a manner, when they recollected how, in the last war, Chatham had rent away from France Canada, and numbers of their West India Isles; had driven them out of the East Indies, had ravaged their coasts, destroyed their fort at Cherbourg, taken possession of Belleisle, and destroyed the fleets of both France and Spain; and now English ministers were conducting this war with a handful of men, and almost no fleet? Seeing France preparing to send over fleets and armies, and standing paralyzed, as though the resources of England were exhausted, instead of having forces enough to hold New York and Philadelphia at the same time, and fleets enough at sea to intercept and disperse any armaments that bankrupt France dared to send forth, how wofully must the consciousness have fallen on them that it is not wealth or people, but genius and a good cause in which live power and glory.

There was not a single circumstance in favour of the commissioners. At the same moment that we were making this disastrous retreat from the hardly-won Philadelphia, publishing our weakness to the world, congress had just

received the mighty news of French alliance, French aid, and French ships and troops steering towards their coasts. Daring and insolent in the worst of times, it was now more than ever contemptuous and imperious. The commissioners came furnished with propositions the most honourable, and favours the most absolute. They were authorised to offer to the Americans that no military forces should be maintained in the colonies without the consent of the general congress, or of the assembly of a particular state; that England would take measures to discharge the debts of America, and to give full value to its paper money; would admit an agent or agents from the States into the British parliament; and send, if they wished it, agents to sit with them in their assemblies. That each State should have the sole power of settling its revenue, and perfect freedom of internal legislation and government; in fact, everything except total severance from the parent country. Such terms, conceded at the proper time, would have made war impossible; but the proper time was long past, and they were now useless.

The commissioners applied to Washington, through their secretary, Dr. Adam Ferguson, the celebrated, and, after this time, still more celebrated historian and moral philosopher, for a passport to congress, in order to lay the proposals brought by the commissioners before them. But Washington bluntly refused the passport; and only consented to forward the letter, brought by Ferguson to congress, through the common post. Congress took time to deliberate on the contents of the letter, and then returned an answer through their president, that the act of parliament and the terms of the commission all supposed the American States to be still subject to Great Britain, which had long ceased to be fact; and that congress could listen to no overtures from the king of England until he had withdrawn his fleet and armies, and was prepared to treat with them as independent states.

This was a humiliation for the once powerful British empire; a supercilious indifference shown by a body of men who could not find clothes, or shoes, or provisions, or money to pay the few troops which were starving in their camps! The English officers were roused by the insult, out of their childish play at mock tournaments, into a genuine rage. They demanded to be led at once against the force at Valley Forge, and had Clinton complied, Washington must have decamped in haste, or staid to be thoroughly routed. But Clinton, though a superior officer to Howe, was equally bound by the instructions from home, and felt himself tied down, not only to evacuate Philadelphia, but to proceed direct for New York. Once more, red-tapeism rescued Washington.

On the 17th of June the British troops began to march out of Philadelphia. They had been there nearly a month since the departure of Howe—a time long enough to have settled matters at Valley Forge, and now they departed with the expectant enemy at their heels. The van of the Americans entered the city at one end, as the rear of the British passed out at the other. At the same time, Washington had dispatched a brigade under general Maxwell, with Jersey, to break down the bridges, and impede the British by all modes that he could employ, till he could follow with his now rapidly increasing forces, and fall upon

their rear. A great number of royalists of Philadelphia, besides those who had been sent by sea, accompanied the indignant British troops; and the treatment of such as ventured to remain, proved that they did not abandon their homes from needless alarm. Washington, before the English marched out of Philadelphia, had entreated congress to offer pardon and protection to all who should remain, assuring them that thousands of people otherwise, and amongst them many valuable citizens, as well as large quantities of property, would be forced out of the city, if this was withheld. But that body was not equal to sentiments at once so magnanimous and politic. Arnold was put into command of the city, and, spite of every endeavour on his part, a system of proscription of the most relentless kind was inaugurated. Some of the inhabitants were stripped of their property, others were cast into prison, and Roberts and Carlisle, two of the leading quakers, and men of excellent characters, were hanged.

If Howe had most fatuously neglected Washington through the winter, Washington was too able a general to neglect the British now they were in retreat. He was at their heels, keen and vigorous as they had been dull and somnolent. Washington's army, under the encouragement of aid from France, had now rapidly swelled to ten or twelve thousand men; and, whilst Clinton was occupied in repairing the bridges and driving the militia from their forts on his way, Washington hung continually on his rear, seeking to take some advantage of him. Councils were held, in which Washington proposed to come to a general engagement, but in which general Lee declared that Clinton having ten thousand able troops would certainly beat them. Of seventeen generals, only Cadwallader and Wayne were of Washington's opinion. These deliberations took place on the 24th of June, when Clinton was at Allentown, and as the decision was against a pitched battle, Washington threw forward four thousand men under Lee, seconded by La Fayette, to press on Clinton's rear and do him all the damage they could. This continued till the 28th of June, when Clinton, finding Lee in his rear with now five thousand men and other bodies trying to outflank him, suddenly halted, wheeled with his face to the foe, and ordered lord Cornwallis to fall on them. The effect was decisive: the English soldiers dashed forward and swept the Americans from a height on which they had taken post, and Washington soon met Lee galloping back at the head of his flying squadrons. Washington saluted him with some biting words, and Lee, halting and re-forming his columns, awaited once more the British. But a second time he was forced from his ground, and was driven upon Washington's own lines, which were formed behind a morass near Freehold Court House; and there, after cannonading him for some time, Clinton left him. His object was attained—that of putting an effectual check on the Americans. He had lost in killed and wounded three hundred men, including twenty officers; five sergeants and fifty-six privates having dropped dead from the intense heat. The American loss was still more.

At ten o'clock, after a rest, Clinton resumed his march through the fine, cool summer night, not an American venturing to follow him, though he led off with a con-

siderable firing of musketry, one of the battalions having mistaken a herd of cows in a wood for a body of the enemy. He continued his course unmolested to New York, which he reached on the 5th of July. The affair at Freehold Court House had shown that one-half of the English army could readily in fair fight beat the whole of the American; but the congress, according to its false and braggart system, proclaimed the battle a splendid victory on their side. They did not, however, overlook the conduct of Lee. He had written a sharp letter to Washington, in resentment of the reproof he had given him; Washington replied, and Lee retorted more disrespectfully. He was arrested and tried by court-martial for disobedience of orders, and for insolent demeanour towards his commander-in-chief. On the first charge he was acquitted, but condemned on the second, and suspended for one year. This ended Lee's service in the American army. He had always shown himself captious, self-willed, proud of his military talent, and jealous of Washington. Soon after the expiration of his sentence he took offence at some imagined slight by congress, addressed to it an insulting letter, then he retracted and apologised, but was dismissed from the service.

Clinton having now united his forces at New York, directed his attention to the approach of the fleet of D'Estaing. This had sailed for the Delaware, expecting to find Lord Howe there; but, finding that he had sailed for New York, he followed him, and arrived there six days after him. The fleet of D'Estaing consisted of twelve sail-of-the-line and six frigates. Howe had only ten sail-of-the-line, and some of them of only forty or fifty guns, and a few frigates. Besides, D'Estaing had heavier metal, and much better conditioned ships, for those of Howe were old and out of repair, and their crews were considerably deficient. Altogether, D'Estaing had eight hundred and fifty-four guns; Howe, only six hundred and fourteen. D'Estaing had on board M. Gerard, the new minister to the United States.

From D'Estaing's superiority of force it was quite expected that he would attack Howe; but he was dissuaded by the pilots from entering the harbour, and lay outside eleven days, during which time he landed the ambassador. Lord Howe showed much spirit in preparing for an encounter, though he was daily in expectation of admiral Byron with some additional ships, the admiral coming to supersede him. He put his ships in the best order he could, and the English seamen hurried in from all quarters to man his vessels. A thousand volunteers came from the transports, and masters and mates of merchantmen offered their services. Just, however, when it was expected that D'Estaing would avail himself of the tide, on the 22nd of July, to enter the harbour, he sailed away for Rhode Island, and up the Newport river. A few days after, some of Byron's ships arrived in a shattered condition. The admiral had encountered that tempestuous weather which, strangely enough, pursued him in all his voyages, and earned for him the name of "Foul-weather Jack." Scarcely one of Byron's vessels was little better than a wreck; yet no time was lost in endeavouring to get them into sailing trim, and in a few days Howe sailed in quest of D'Estaing. They found D'Estaing joined by La Fayette with two thousand American troops, and by general Sullivan with ten thousand more, and D'Estaing proposed

to land four thousand from his fleet. The English garrison in Newport amounted to only five thousand men.

But here a contest arose betwixt D'Estaing and Sullivan for the supreme command, and this was not abated till Howe with his fleet hove in sight. Then D'Estaing stood out to sea, spite of the remonstrances of Sullivan, Greene, and the other American officers. Lord Howe endeavoured to bring him to action, at the same time manœuvring to obtain the weather-gage of him. In these mutual endeavours to obtain the advantage of the wind, the two fleets stood away quite out of sight of Rhode Island, and Sullivan commenced in their absence the siege of Newport. Howe, at length, seeing that he could not obtain the weather-gage, determined to attack the French to leeward, but at this moment a terrible storm arose, and completely parted the hostile fleets, doing both of them great damage. A day or two after part of the English fleet encountered part of the French, in which Admiral Bougainville lost an arm and an eye, but in other respects the skirmish was not decisive. D'Estaing returned into the harbour of Newport, but only to inform the Americans that he was too much damaged to remain, but must make for Boston to refit. This threw the American generals into a violent rage. During D'Estaing's absence, the storm, raging on land as fiercely as on sea, had thrown down Sullivan's tents, deluged the powder, and, besides rendering the whole army miserable, had destroyed some of the men. Sullivan and the other officers remonstrated vehemently against his departure; but in vain. They could not even prevail on him to land the promised four thousand men. All the officers, except La Fayette, signed a strong protest against this desertion of them; but D'Estaing continued immovable, and sailed away.

Scarcely had D'Estaing disappeared, when Sir Henry Clinton himself, leading four thousand men, arrived in Rhode Island, and Sullivan crossed over to the mainland in haste. He attributed the failure of the enterprise entirely to the French, and, so violent was the indignation of the Americans, that D'Estaing was very ill received at Boston: he was hooted in the streets, and, such was the ill blood which arose betwixt the republicans and their new allies, that in a scuffle a French officer was killed. Similar wranglings took place betwixt the French and American sailors in Charlestown, South Carolina, where several of the quarrellers were killed, and the Yankees began to denounce the French alliance as a hoax and delusion.

Whilst these transactions were in progress, the British commissioners continued to urge the advantage of listening to their proposals. They omitted no honourable means of inducing congress to give them their attention. Governor Johnstone wrote private letters to various members to whom he had brought introductions from their friends and connections in England, amongst these to Robert Morris, Richard, and Dana; and in some of these letters suggestions were thrown out, that friendly services in contributing to the great object of peace and reunion would not be forgotten by England. These letters were laid before congress: and Reed even asserted that ten thousand pounds had been offered him, through a certain Mrs. Ferguson, who had connections in the British army; and that he had replied



THE INDIANS ATTACKING WYOMING.

that "he was not worth purchasing; but, such as he was, the king of England was not rich enough to buy him." Upon these vague charges—for no evidence of this offer was produced—congress passed a resolution that Johnstone had endeavoured to bribe and corrupt its members, and therefore, that no communication should be held with him or the commission to which he belonged. The congress were, indeed, only too anxious to establish an excuse for this discourtesy; for the commissioners did not hesitate to press on their attention and on that of the American public very disagreeable facts. They referred to the recent conduct of the French, and asked triumphantly whether the Americans had had, for the first time, to learn that that people was habitually perfidious? They also continued to demand the fulfilment of the convention with Burgoyne. "But," says Hildreth, one of their own historians, "a new loop-hole was found by congress. It was not for nothing that so many lawyers sat in that body. As all their acts were subject to approval by parliament, congress denied the authority of the commissioners to make a definite ratification. Finding now that all appeals to such a body were useless, the commissioners prepared to take their departure: but, before leaving, they published a manifesto, charging the responsibility of the continuance of the war on the congress, reminding the Americans that they had conceded all the questions at issue, and very foolishly declaring that if, after forty days, these conditions were not accepted, they must not complain if the conflict was carried on with less regard to the property and security of the population."

La Fayette, highly incensed at the aspersions cast on his countrymen, in spite of the serious remonstrances of Washington, sent a challenge to lord Carlisle, who coolly replied that he owed no responsibility for his public acts to any one but his own sovereign.

Sir Henry Clinton, on leaving Rhode Island, proposed to stop, on his way back to New York, at New London, on the Connecticut coast, where he meant to burn out a nest of pirates, but, as the weather was bad, he continued his voyage to New York, and left major-general Grey to execute this duty. Grey had been celebrated for these raids ever since he surprised general Wayne in the wood near Brandywine Creek, and he had acquired the cognomen of "the no-flint general," because on such occasions he ordered his men to take the flints out of their guns, and trust entirely to their bayonets. Major-general Grey was eventually raised to the peerage, as lord Grey of Howick, and, finally, earl Grey, and was the father of earl Grey, the well-known whig minister.

Grey executed his orders with rapidity and entire success. He descended on Buzzard Bay, in Massachusetts, another grand rendezvous of American pirates, destroyed seventy sail of ships, many store-houses and wharves, besides demolishing a fort mounting eleven pieces of heavy cannon. Thence he proceeded to the island called Martha's Vineyard, where he burned a number more vessels, destroyed a salt-work, and levied a contribution of ten thousand sheep and three hundred oxen. To facilitate a similar expedition, Clinton himself marched his army up both sides of the Hudson at once, and destroyed a nest of pirates at Little Egg Harbour, on the Jersey coast. The town itself was

burned; Baylor's regiment of horse, on duty in New Jersey, was surprised and cut to pieces; Pulasky's legion was also surprised, and a great part of the men cut off.

But Clinton had planned a new mode of operation in the war, and now, with the approbation of his government, commenced it. The southern colonies were in a state of mutual hostility, especially East Florida, which continued to adhere to England, and East Georgia, which had been the last to join the congress. Clinton dispatched thither three thousand five hundred men, and supported their movements by the presence of a powerful squadron under Sir Peter Parker. The capital of Georgia—Savannah—which was defended by the American general, Robert How, was first attacked, carried, and the entire province speedily reduced. How's remnant of an army fled into South Carolina. The inhabitants came in on all sides and took the oath to the king; and colonel Campbell, who headed the expedition, instead of following the example of the congress, and hanging and imprisoning those who had fallen from their allegiance, frankly received all, and thus conciliated the goodwill of the most disaffected.

The greatest ferocity was everywhere in this war perpetrated by the Americans of different factions on one another. The case of Wyoming, on the Susquehanna, has become famous, through the poem of Campbell on the subject:—

On Susquehanna's side, fair Wyoming!
Although the wild-flower on thy ruined wall
And roofless homes a sad remembrance brings
Of what thy gentle people did befall;
Yet wert thou once the loveliest land of all
That see the Atlantic wave their morn restore.

Beautiful as the district certainly is, Campbell was no more correct in calling its inhabitants gentle than he was in making aloes and palm-trees flourish there. The place had been claimed equally by Pennsylvania and Connecticut. It was settled originally by Connecticut people, but fell, on laying out the states, within the limits of Pennsylvania. But the spirit of the Connecticut men was not of that kind which readily yields up anything that it can hold. The people of the two states actually went to war for the possession of Wyoming, and their mutual hostilities were so violent that they were not even suspended by the breaking out of the conflict with the mother country. On the contrary, the great quarrel added fresh elements of fury to the former one. The Pennsylvanian farmers were chiefly royalists, the Connecticut ones the firmest of republicans. Their mutual hatreds converted the place into a hell rather than into that paradise which it suited the purpose of the poet to paint it. Still worse, families were divided in themselves, and the fire of contention burnt terribly through this place, celebrated in verse as the seat of natural beauty and social harmony.

The republican party was successful in killing or driving out the royalists, and was then called on to send a larger reinforcement from their own body to the aid of congress. This left the place, to a certain degree, defenceless; and the royalists, who had taken refuge with the Indians, saw the opportunity, and determined to attack it. The inhabitants received several warnings of the tempest gathering, but they despised the fugitive royalists, and paid no attention

to the danger that threatened them. But early in July they were roused by the incursion of a body of eight hundred men, partly in the disguise of Indians, and partly real Indians. They were said to be led on by colonel John Butler, the same who had offered his troop of Indians four years before to general Carleton, for service in Canada, and by Brandt, a half-caste Mohawk, said to be as cruel as he was brave. That Brandt was the cruel man described, or that he was at Wyoming on this occasion, his son afterwards denied to Campbell the poet, in England; but, on the other hand, Marshall, the biographer of Washington, who took great pains to collect authentic information concerning the massacre of Wyoming, asserts that he was there. However this may be, colonel Butler led on his infuriated royalist fugitives and his Indians, and attacked and destroyed one of the forts called Wintermoots, which they burned. The militia, and all the inhabitants capable of bearing arms, assembled at Forty Fort, on the west side of the Susquehanna, and about four miles from the camp of the invaders. They were headed by colonel Dennison, and amounted to about three hundred men. Besides these, there were only about sixty regulars in the district, commanded by colonel Zebulon Butler, said to be of the same family as the invading colonel Butler.

Washington was sending a body of troops to encounter the invaders, but Zebulon Butler rashly determined to attack them with his insufficient force of regulars and militia. He found the American-Indian army strongly encamped in a pine wood; and, as he was leading up his miscellaneous troops, he was fired at from behind the trees and bushes at once, in flank and rear. His militia gave way and fled in complete rout, pursued by the Indians with their tomahawks, who knocked them on the head, regardless of their cries for quarter. Most of the soldiers, militia, and regulars, were massacred, but Butler escaped with a few of the latter; and Dennison, seeing that the inhabitants were paralysed with terror, capitulated on condition that the people should be spared. The inhabitants, however, did not wait to experience the mercy of those whom they had themselves ruthlessly expelled, and of their Indian allies: they voluntarily abandoned their homes and property, and became, in their turn, ruined outcasts. The invaders, hearing of the approach of Washington's detachment, collected the property and live stock, burned the houses, destroyed the forts, and retreated again into the woods with their associates, the Indians, who carried back many scalps and much booty. Sad as the tale of Wyoming was, party rage and imagination exaggerated the real terrors, and made them unexampled and incredible.

Wyoming was soon reoccupied by the troops sent by Washington. A regiment of Pennsylvania continentals, stationed at Schoharie, also pursued the plunderers of Wyoming; penetrated to the neighbouring branches of the Upper Susquehanna, and destroyed the settlement of Unadilla, occupied by Indians and refugees. The Indians and loyalists soon took their revenge, by surprising Cherry Valley. The fort, which had a continental garrison, held out; but colonel Alden, who lodged in the town, was killed, the lieutenant-colonel was made prisoner, and the settlement suffered almost the fate of Wyoming.

The feeling against the Tories was still further excited by the conduct of Arnold, who was appointed the military commander at Philadelphia, where he ingratiated himself with the rich Tories, and married from amongst them a young, beautiful, and accomplished second wife. His leaning to this faction was keenly canvassed, and brought him into collision with Reed, who was now the president of the assembly. In the south, captain Welling made an expedition against the English settlers in Florida; seized an English vessel at Manshac, and proceeded to Baton Rouge and Natchez, burning houses, abducting slaves, and com-



MONUMENT ERECTED AT WYOMING.

mitting other ravages on the English planters. A British force sent out against Welling took him prisoner; and this force built forts at Baton Rouge and Natchez, for the defence of the settlers.

Indications of Indian hostilities appearing on the western frontiers, congress sent commissioners to Pittsburg to investigate the subject. These commissioners reported that the Western Indians were stimulated to hostilities by Hamilton, the British commandant at Detroit; and they determined to send a force against that fort. Another expedition was undertaken by George Rogers Clarke, a backwoodsman of Kentucky. Furnished with men, money, and supplies for three months, by the state of Virginia, Clarke sailed from Pittsburgh to the falls of the Ohio, where he was joined by a body of Kentuckians, and descended the river to near its junction with the Mississippi. Thence they marched by land to Kaskaskia, an old French settlement. On arriving at that town, the adventurers were on the point of starvation; but the inhabitants being taken by surprise, submitted. Cahokia and two other neighbouring forts were also seized, and the commandant at

Kaskaskia, in whose possession Clarke said he found written orders from Hamilton to stimulate the Indians to hostilities, was sent prisoner to Virginia. His slaves were sold for five hundred pounds, and the money divided amongst the troops. Some of Clarke's people remained at the falls of the Ohio, and built a stockade, the first rudiment of the present city of Louisville. The conquered country, including all the country north of the Ohio, claimed as within their limits, was created into the present state of Illinois.

The American troops were huddled for the winter in a line of cantonments extending from Danbury, in Connecticut, across the Hudson at West Point, to Elizabeth Town and West Jersey. A tolerable supply of clothing had been received from France; to insure a supply of provisions, congress had laid an embargo on all exports. The commissary department was now on a better footing; and the soldiers, on the whole, better clothed and fed than they had been since the commencement of the war; but the depreciation of the currency reduced their pay to a trifle, and the officers, especially, were greatly distressed for money.

Lord Howe, when he had collected his ships after the storm which separated him from D'Estaing, again made for Boston, in the hope of being able to attack the French admiral in the harbour; but he found him too well protected by the batteries to be able to reach him. He therefore returned to New York, and, as his leave of absence had arrived, he surrendered the command to admiral Byron, and took his leave of America on the 26th of September, and reached Portsmouth on the 25th of October. Byron now had a very good fleet, consisting of ships of one size or other to the number of ninety-one sail. Such a fleet assembled on the American coast at a proper time would have intercepted and destroyed the fleet of D'Estaing, and have cleared all those waters of French and American privateers.

Byron no sooner came into command than he also made a voyage to Boston, in order to see whether he could not come at D'Estaing's fleet; but his usual weather attended him: his ships were scattered by a tempest, and D'Estaing took the opportunity of sailing out, and proceeding to the West Indies, according to orders from France. Notwithstanding the agreement of the French to assist America, they were thinking much more of recovering Canada or seizing on the British West India Islands for themselves.

The English, apprised of the views of France, determined to send a fleet and troops to the West Indies to protect them; but, instead of sending the requisite force from home, the ministers ordered Clinton to send five thousand men from New York. This was another example of the feeble and penurious manner in which they carried on this war. Clinton had recently sent three thousand five hundred men to Georgia, and now this detachment of five thousand diminished his already insufficient army by eight thousand five hundred men. It was, therefore, utterly impossible that he could take another decisive step in America during this year, and thus congress was left to strengthen its army, and to await fresh reinforcements from France.

Commodore Hotham, with only five ships of the line, a bomb vessel, and some frigates, conveyed major-general Grant and this force to the West Indies, being nearly the whole way within a short sail of D'Estaing and his much

superior fleet, without knowing it. Grant's destination was to protect Dominica; but, before his arrival, marshal de Bouillé, governor-general of Martinique, had landed with two thousand men, and had compelled lieutenant-governor Stewart, who had only about one hundred regular troops, and some indifferent militia for its defence, to surrender. Grant being too late to save Dominica, turned his attention to St. Lucia, being conveyed thither by the joint fleet of Hotham and Barrington. They had scarcely made a good footing on the island when D'Estaing's fleet hove in sight. He had twelve sail of the line, numerous frigates and transports, and ten thousand men on board, and the English would have had little chance could he have landed. But the British fleet resolutely attacked him, and, after several days' struggle, prevented his landing more than half his troops. These were so gallantly repulsed by brigadier Medows, who was at the head of only one thousand five hundred men, that, on the 28th of December, D'Estaing again embarked his troops, and quitted the island. The original French force under chevalier de Michaud then surrendered, and St. Lucia was won, though Dominica was lost.

Meantime, congress was preparing for an invasion of Canada which was to be conducted by La Fayette. According to this plan, the American army was to proceed by three routes to the common object of destination. One corps was to proceed to Wyoming, and thence to Detroit and Niagara, to dislodge the English there; the second corps was to encamp on the Mohawk river during the winter, and, being powerfully reinforced in the spring, were to seize Oswego, and to secure the navigation of Lake Ontario by building vessels there, as Carleton had done on Lake Champlain; the third was to take the old route of Montgomery, and, having entered Canada, to establish itself betwixt Montreal and Quebec till the others were sufficiently advanced to co-operate. Besides this, Franklin was to procure from Louis XVI. a fleet and army to attack Halifax and Quebec from the sea, and thus both Canada and Nova Scotia were to be reft from Great Britain for ever. So blinded was congress by its conceit, that it could not perceive that Canada and Nova Scotia would thus only be won for France. A proclamation was drawn up by D'Estaing, before leaving Boston, urging the Canadians to assume hostilities against the English, in which he said, "To bear arms against your mother country would be parricide, and must be the completion of misfortunes." This was a hard blow at his allies the Americans, who were doing this very thing. Not even this, however, opened the eyes of congress. They sent a sketch of the plan to Washington, and his sagacious mind comprehended the folly of it at once. He wrote to the president of the congress, entreating them to lay aside the fatal edict. "France," he said, "acknowledged for some time past the most powerful monarchy in Europe by land: able now to dispute the empire of the sea with Great Britain, and, if joined with Spain, I may say, certainly superior,—if possessed of New Orleans on our right, and of Canada on our left, and if seconded by the numerous tribes of Indians in our rear, from one extremity to the other—a people so friendly to her, and whom she knows so well how to conciliate—would, it is much to be feared, have it in her power to give law to these states."

Washington said that he could read, he thought, in the countenances of the French something more than the disinterested zeal of allies, and, at all events, objected to laying America under any but absolutely necessary obligations to a foreign power. These were arguments to which the Americans were accessible. The arrival of the French had brought them little satisfaction; but, on the other hand, had revived their ancient antipathies to that nation, imbibed when they had been their troublesome neighbours. Washington, therefore, told congress that he had not laid their scheme before La Fayette, as they proposed, because he considered it replete with danger, and that body agreed to postpone this scheme at least till the British were wholly expelled from the States.

La Fayette, whose health had failed considerably, now left America for a visit to his native country. He was enthusiastically received by all parties, though the king considered it a matter of etiquette to order him not to quit Paris for some days, as a nominal punishment for his having gone to America without leave, and he was commanded to avoid public places where the people "might consecrate his disobedience by loud applause." But this was mere form; he was received most cordially at court, and, at the instance of the queen, honoured with the command of the dragoons of the king's guard. "I had the honour," he says, "of being consulted by all the ministers, and embraced by all the ladies. Those embraces lasted but one day, but I retained for a greater length of time the confidence of the cabinet, and I enjoyed both favour at the court of Versailles and popularity at Paris. I was the theme of conversation in every circle." Fêtes were given in his honour, at which Franklin constantly appeared with him; thus in their two persons maintaining a constant reminder of the alliance of France and America.

The British commissioners, finding their overtures to congress rejected, prepared to return. Before doing so, however, general Clinton informed congress that he was authorised by the English government to ratify any agreement for peace independent of reference to Parliament. This was a full answer to their former quibble, and he demanded the release of general Burgoyne's army in accordance with the convention. But congress, dead to any sense of international faith, and having no other subterfuge, pretended to take offence at Clinton's language, and replied that "congress could give no answer to insolent letters;" they were, in fact, determined to hold fast Burgoyne's troops, in spite of all the laws of honour and of nations. Character they had none to lose; it was gone long before. The commissioners took their leave, after making a strong appeal to the American people against the disreputable proceedings of their government.

On the 25th of November the British parliament assembled. The king, in his speech, complained bitterly of the conduct of France, who, in defiance of her engagements, had encouraged his rebellious subjects, first, by clandestinely sending them money and arms; and since then by an open treaty with them, and by furnishing them with the aid of a fleet and army. Not content with this, she had next proceeded to invade our West Indian islands. He also alluded to the preparations making in Spain, which contra-

dicted the pacific words of that country, and he confessed that it was a conjuncture of circumstances which demanded the most serious attention.

The opposition were extremely vehement in condemnation of the stupidity with which ministers had conducted the whole war. They very justly declared that, with prompt and vigorous measures, no fleet of the French could ever have conveyed troops to the aid of the Americans, and this led to the discussion of the conduct of admirals Keppel and Palliser in the fight off Ushant. Both these officers were members of the commons, and they there defended themselves, and accused one another, demanding an inquiry, which was finally agreed to. Keppel, who was a whig, was supported by the whole body of the opposition. The trials were to take place at Portsmouth, that of Keppel to be conducted on shore, instead of on board ship, the usual custom, on account of the admiral's health; and thus closed the year 1778.

The first thing which occupied the government on the opening of the year 1779 were the trials of Keppel and Palliser. That of Keppel commenced on the 7th of January, and lasted till the 11th of February. The court consisted of five admirals and eight captains; Sir Thomas Pye, admiral of the white, being president. Keppel was acquitted, and pronounced to have behaved like a brave and experienced officer, and to have rendered essential service to the state. This sentence occasioned a wonderful rejoicing in the city, where Keppel's political principles prevailed. The portico of the Mansion-house was illuminated two successive nights, and there were general illuminations throughout London and Westminster. It had been well had the demonstration ended there; but the mob took the opportunity of the guard which had been stationed before the house of Palliser in Pall-mall being withdrawn at midnight to smash in his windows, burst in the doors, and destroy his furniture. The work of destruction once begun was soon extended. The mob demolished the windows of lord North and lord George Germaine, as well as of the Admiralty, government being looked upon as the real enemies of Keppel and accessories of Palliser. They forced the iron gates of the Admiralty from their hinges, and, collecting all the sedan chairs in the neighbourhood, made a bonfire of them in the Admiralty court. They then proceeded to the residences of lord Mulgrave and captain Hood, and destroyed the glass there. Lord North's house was only just saved from being forced open and gutted by the arrival of a party of horse-guards at nearly four o'clock in the morning. Palliser was burnt in effigy, but the riot act being read, the crowd was dispersed, and sixteen of the rioters secured; but these were not supposed to be the real instigators, for well-dressed men were observed among the mob busy giving directions.

The next day, the 12th of February, both the parliament and the city corporation gave the most unmistakable sanction to these proceedings. Both houses of parliament voted thanks to Keppel: the lords unanimously; the commons with only one dissenting voice. The court of common council not only voted thanks to Keppel, but presented him the freedom of the city in a box of heart of oak, richly ornamented, and the city was more brilliantly illuminated than before, the monument with coloured lamps.

Palliser, incensed at these marked censures on himself, vacated his seat in parliament, and resigned his governorship of Scarborough Castle, his seat at the board of admiralty, his colonelcy of marines, retaining only his post of vice-admiral, and demanding a court-martial. This was held on board the *Sandwich*, in Portsmouth harbour, and lasted twenty-one days, pronouncing finally a sentence of acquittal, though with some censure for his not having acquainted his commander-in-chief instantly that the disabled state of his ship had prevented his obeying the signal to join for the renewal of the fight. This sentence pleased neither party. Keppel thought Palliser too easily let off—Palliser that he was sacrificed to a party feeling against government.

Burgoyne but the brothers Howe had met at home, and all in the house were loudly calling for inquiry and as loudly condemning the whole conduct of the war by government. Burgoyne attributed the whole of his failure to the meddling and restricting orders and letters of lord George Germaine at home. He demanded that officers who had been present should be heard in his favour; and Sir Guy Carleton, the earls of Balcarras and Harrington, and a number of others, were accordingly heard, who bore testimony to the bravery of Burgoyne, which no one doubted, but they failed to show that his judgment was equally good. In fact, Burgoyne had committed the most palpable blunders. He had suffered his communication with Canada to be cut off before he knew



WINTERMOOTH FORT, VALLEY OF WYOMING.

Various debates followed on the subject in the house of commons, in which Fox made some attacks on lord Sandwich and the state of the navy. Lord Howe, who had now returned, complained bitterly of the way he had been left with defective forces on the American coast, and declared that he would never serve again under an administration which had shown so much weakness and treachery. In the lords, the earl of Bristol made a similar motion; and such was the dissatisfaction that Keppel resigned the command of the fleet, and his example was followed by Sir Robert Harland, Captain Leveson Gower, Sir John Lindsey, and other officers.

The same spirit pervaded the war-office. Lord Barrington had resigned last November, having long disapproved of the whole conduct of the war, his able plan for its management having been systematically ignored; and now not only

that he would be met by Sir William Howe at Albany. The expedition to Bennington and other movements were too clearly ill-planned; at the same time, they showed that the American army under Gates amounted to nineteen thousand men, of whom upwards of thirteen thousand were regular troops, so that the surrender of three thousand five hundred famished English and Germans in the midst of such a country was a victory not to be boasted of, except by a people whose only victory it was as yet.

Howe, on his part, called on lord Cornwallis, who warmly defended the generalship of his commander-in-chief; but this partial evidence was not borne out by the notorious facts, nor by the evidence of general Robertson, general Jones, colonel Dixon, and other officers, who demonstrated that whilst the Americans were divided amongst themselves, and Washington was left with a much inferior army in



ADMIRAL KEPPEL BEFORE THE COURT MARTIAL.

destitution of almost everything, Sir William had made no effort to defeat him; that his neglect to send the necessary force to co-operate with Burgoyne, at Albany, was the cause of the defeat and disgrace there, and that after the affair at Trenton his conduct had been nothing but a series of blunders or neglects. Sir William insisted on bringing up fresh witnesses on his side, but the committee had now sat till the end of June, and it was dissolved, leaving the impression much against him, as it deserved to be.

Great as the discussions were in the houses of parliament, the discontent out of doors was still greater. In Scotland these took the form of resentment at the relief given to the catholics. In January and February there were riots in Edinburgh and Glasgow. The houses of the catholics were assailed, their furniture destroyed, and their persons insulted in the streets. At Edinburgh a new house was burnt down in Leith Wynd, because it had a room in it appropriated to catholic worship. Wilkes, in the commons, demanded of the lord advocate when he meant to introduce his promised bill for the relief of the Scotch catholics; but he replied that the catholics themselves had entreated him to defer it, as its agitation was certain to draw down furious persecution on them. Lord George Gordon was made president of protestant associations, both in Scotland and England, and this hot-headed fanatic boldly declared that the king himself was a papist at heart, that he had tens of thousands of men ready at his call to put down all popery.

In Ireland the effervescence assumed the shape of resistance to commercial injustice. It was, indeed, impossible to condemn too strongly the injustice which that country had endured for ages, and in nothing more than in the flagrant restrictions heaped upon its commerce and manufactures in favour of English interests. The Irish now seized on the opportunity while America was waging war against the very same treatment, to imitate the American policy. They formed associations in Dublin, Cork, Kilkenny, and other places, for non-importation of any British goods which could be manufactured in Ireland, till England and Ireland were placed on an equal footing in all that related to manufactures and commerce. Ministers, who had turned a deaf ear for years, and almost for ages, to such complaints, were now alarmed, especially as there was a rumour of French invasion, which might be so materially aided by disaffection in Ireland. They therefore made a pecuniary grant to relieve the commercial distress in Ireland, and passed two acts for the encouragement of the growth of tobacco and hemp, and the manufacture of linen in that island. These concessions, however, were not deemed sufficient, and the people formed themselves into volunteer associations, appointing their own officers, and defraying the cost of their own equipments. This was done under the plea of the danger of invasion; but government knew very well that American agents had been very busy sowing discontent in Ireland, and they saw too much resemblance in these things to the proceedings on the other side of the Atlantic, not to view them with alarm. The marquis of Rockingham, who had been well instructed in the real grievances of Ireland by Burke, moved in the house of lords, on the 11th of May, for the production of all papers necessary to enable the house to come to a full understanding of the trade and of mercantile

restrictions on Ireland, with reference to doing impartial justice to that kingdom. Lord Gower promised that these should be ready for production next session.

On the 16th of June, just as the house was growing impatient for prorogation, lord North announced intelligence which put such prorogation out of the question. He informed the house that the Spanish ambassador had delivered a hostile manifesto, and had thereupon quitted London. On the 17th, a royal message was delivered, asserting his majesty's surprise at this act of Spain, and declaring that nothing on his part had provoked it. But it by no means took anybody else by surprise, and the opposition strongly reproached government for not giving credit to their warnings on this head. In the commons, lord John Cavendish, and, in the lords, the earl of Abingdon and the duke of Richmond, moved that the fleet and army should be immediately withdrawn from America, that peace be made with those states, and all our forces be concentrated in chastising France and Spain, as they deserved, for their treachery and unprovoked interference. They called for a total change of ministers and measures.

These motions were defeated, and lord North, on the 21st of June, moved for the introduction of a bill to double the militia and raise volunteer corps. The proposal to double the militia was rejected, that to raise volunteer corps accepted. To man the navy a bill was brought in to suspend for six months all exemptions from impressment into the royal navy. In fact, the moment that the rupture took place with Spain, press-warrants were issued, and press-gangs were in full activity in all our ports. This bill was, therefore, termed a bill of indemnity, as it was necessary to indemnify ministers for so strong and unpopular a measure, adopted on their own responsibility. The attorney-general did not attempt to vindicate so odious a measure, except on the ground of urgent necessity. He declared that there were six or eight ships of the line lying at Portsmouth ready for sea, but destitute of crews. The bill was introduced on the night of the 23rd of June, at the extraordinary hour of twenty minutes past twelve o'clock, just as the house was on the point of adjourning, and that on the plea that, if not carried at once, the newspapers would sound the alarm, and defeat the measure by putting every one on his guard. The opposition violently opposed it, and Sir George Saville declared that it was reducing the house to a body of midnight conspirators, coming like hired ruffians with poniards under their cloaks. "Methinks," he said, "I hear the heart-felt shrieks of the miserable wife, or the aged and helpless parent, entreating the midnight ruffians not to drag from them a tender husband, or a dutiful and beloved son." The measure, however, was passed through two stages before rising, and carried the next morning, and sent up to the lords. There it met with strong opposition, and did not receive the royal assent till the last day of the session. This was the 3rd of July, and was followed, on the 9th, by a royal proclamation ordering all horses and provisions, in case of invasion, to be driven into the interior. The batteries of Plymouth were well manned, and a boom drawn across the harbour at Portsmouth. The duke of Richmond, indeed, asserted in parliament, before it closed, that he had been down to Plymouth and found five thousand land forces, but

only about forty invalid artillerymen set to attend to one hundred guns on the batteries. This was instantly contradicted by the first lord of the admiralty, who stated that there were five hundred seamen on shore there well acquainted with the working of artillery. A large camp of militia was established at Cox-heath, in front of Maidstone, and, in truth, this demonstration of a patriotic spirit was unequivocal in the public. Both private gentlemen and public bodies—the East India Company conspicuous amongst them—came forward with liberal subscriptions for raising troops, enlisting seamen, and equipping privateers. It was said that fifty thousand militia were in arms, and the king declared that, if the French landed, he would put himself at their head. Such was the enthusiasm that, in a dramatic piece by Sheridan, called “The Camp,” Sir Harry Bouquet is made to say, “As I travelled down, the fellows of the turnpikes demanded the counter-sign of my servants, instead of the tickets! Then, when I got to Maidstone, I found the very waiters had got a smattering of tactics; for, inquiring what I could have for dinner, a drill-waiter, after reviewing his bill of fare with the air of a field-marshal, proposed an advanced party of soup and bouille, to be followed by the main body of ham and chickens, flanked by a fricassee, and with a corps-de-reserve of sweetmeats.”

During the early part of the session ministers had felt themselves so weak that lord North made another attempt to retire, and proposed that the government should invite the duke of Grafton to take his place, with the assistance of lords Shelburne and Camden. These noblemen would not, however, consent without bringing in the marquis of Rockingham and the duke of Richmond; but this was refused, and the scheme fell through. They, however, were greatly benefited by the rapid ascendancy which the new lord chancellor acquired. The duke of Richmond, by endeavouring to cast a slur on his humble birth, drew forth his thunder in such tones as deterred any one from following that track, and made Thurlow's power sensibly felt. “I am amazed,” he said, “at the attack the noble duke has made on me. Yes, my lords”—and here he raised his voice to its loudest tones—“I am amazed at his grace's speech. The noble duke cannot look before him, behind him, or on either side of him, without seeing some noble peer who owes his seat in this house to successful exertions in the profession to which I belong. Does he not feel that it is as honourable to owe it to these as to being the accident of an accident? To all these noble lords the language of the noble duke is as applicable and insulting as it is to myself. But I do not fear to meet it single and alone. No one venerates the peerage more than I do; but, my lords, I must say, that the peerage solicited me, not I the peerage. Nay, more, I can say, and will say, as a peer of parliament, as speaker of this right honourable house, as keeper of the great seal, as guardian of his majesty's conscience, as lord high chancellor of England—nay, even in that character alone, in which the noble duke would think it an affront to be considered, as a MAN—I am at this moment as respectable—I beg leave to add, I am at this moment as much respected—as the proudest peer I now look down upon!” And, in so saying, Thurlow looked full at the duke of Richmond. The effect was stupendous, and never to be forgotten.

Spain having now, most fatally for herself, been persuaded to join France in the war with England, turned her first attention to Gibraltar, which she hoped France would enable her to conquer. Charles III. but very reluctantly acceded to the proposals of France. He could not forget that he, too, had colonies, and that the way to retain them in subjection was certainly not to encourage their neighbours to rebel against the mother country; nor that in the former war England had annihilated the fleet of Spain, ravaged her colonies, seized her treasure ships, and reduced her to a most humiliating condition. But France now endeavoured to persuade her that the period of England's greatness was over; that there needed only the hearty combination of France and Spain in Europe, and America beyond the Atlantic, to completely humble her; and France held out magnificent prospects of the Spanish share in the plunder and possession of the British colonies.

But, so far from putting Spain in possession of our colonies, France showed no disposition to enable her to regain Gibraltar. Count Florida Blanca, the Spanish minister, commenced his operations for the conquest of Gibraltar, by making a treaty with Morocco, to cut off thus the large supplies which the English garrison drew from that country, and to secure themselves from an attack by the Moors on Ceuta, whilst they themselves were besieging Gibraltar. The Spaniards then collected large forces at St. Roque, Algeziras, and the Campo, and began to cast up works as a preparation for reducing the place. At the same time, the great object was to accomplish the union of the French and Spanish fleets, which they deemed must then be invincible, and not only drive the English from the seas, but enable them to land in England itself. The French, though now on the verge of bankruptcy, by the measures of M. Necker, a banker of Geneva, who had undertaken to put their finances into some degree of order, managed to muster fifty thousand men, whom they marched to the different ports on the channel, from Havre to St. Malo. By this means, keeping England in fear of an invasion, their fleet slipped out of Brest on the 3rd of June, under the command of D'Orvilliers, and effected the desired junction with the Spaniards at Cadiz. The French fleet consisted of thirty sail of the line; the Spanish, of thirty-eight; making the united fleet sixty-eight sail, besides numerous frigates and smaller vessels. Never, since the days of the Armada, had such a mighty squadron threatened the shores of Great Britain.

To oppose this tremendous force, our admiral, Sir Charles Hardy, had only thirty-eight sail. In the confidence of their overwhelming strength, the Franco-Spanish fleet sailed directly for the English coast. Hardy, who was a brave seaman, but somewhat past his prime, endeavoured to prevent their insulting our shores, and pursued them first near the Scilly Isles, and then towards the straits of the Channel. Some French frigates anchored in Cawsand Bay, and captured some merchant vessels. The Ardent, of sixty-four guns, also mistaking the foreign fleet for the English one, was surrounded and taken. On shore the panic was intense, the French and Spaniards being expected every hour to land. But on the 31st of August, the wind veering, enabled Hardy to get the weather-gage of them;

and being now in the Channel, he was prepared to engage their fleet, though so much superior in numbers; and on shore great quantities of military and volunteers had collected. Hardy anchored off Spithead.

At the sight of this combination of circumstances, the courage of the Spaniards and French evaporated. They began to quarrel amongst themselves. The Spaniards were for landing on some part of the British coast; the French admiral contended that they should have the equinoctial gales immediately upon them, and that many of their vessels were in bad condition. The Spanish commander declared, that, this being the case, he would relinquish the enterprise, and return to his own seaports. D'Orvilliers was necessarily compelled to return too, and retired to Brest, where a pestilential disease attacked the French, from having been so long cooped up in foul ships. Great numbers of them perished; and this was the case with the Spaniards also, who are said to have lost three thousand men. D'Orvilliers was so mortified with the wretched result of this magnificent armament, that he resigned his command, and afterwards, it is said, retired to a convent, where he spent the remainder of his days. The Spaniards fared still worse. Three or four of their men-of-war were taken; two of their treasure ships—the richest prize since the time of Anson—and a vast number of their merchant craft. Their hopes, as in all cases of invasion of England, were lamentably blighted. Their success against Gibraltar and Minorca amounted to nothing but the loss of much labour, money, and ammunition. They were grievously disappointed in the French showing no disposition to assist them to recover Jamaica and the Floridas; and the French themselves were as unfortunate in an attempt to seize on the island of Guernsey. The prince of Nassau Siegen, who commanded the expedition against it, was only rewarded by laughter and ridicule. Well might lord North, on the meeting of parliament, say, "Our enemies fitted out a formidable fleet; they appeared upon our coasts; they talked big; threatened a great deal; did nothing, and retired."

In America, the belligerents were early a-foot this year; but the attention and the forces of the English were drawn from the States to the West Indies by the determined attempts of the French to make themselves masters of our islands there. D'Estaing, who was joined by another French squadron under the marquis de Vaudreuil, was early opposed by admiral Byron, who arrived at St. Lucia from the American coast on the 6th of January. This admiral Vaudreuil, on his way, had visited our settlements on the coast of Africa, and taken from us Senegal; but Sir Edward Hughes soon arrived there, and took their settlement of Goree, so that it was a mere exchange of territory. In June admiral Byron was obliged to escort our merchant fleet to a certain distance, and D'Estaing seized that opportunity to make himself master of St. Vincent and Grenada, where the garrisons were weak. On the return of Byron, on the 5th of July, he came to an engagement with D'Estaing off Grenada; but the French admiral, after an indecisive action, took advantage of the night to sail away, boasting of a great victory. The character of D'Estaing for veracity, however, was very low. He had broken his parole to the English at Madras, and lived to cajole his

queen, Marie Antoinette, with the hope—but a vain one—of saving his head from the guillotine. He now made for Georgia and Carolina, to assist the Americans in endeavouring to wrest from us our recent conquest of Savannah.

In the different operations in this quarter, the English, under colonel Campbell and lieutenant-colonel Hamilton, took Augusta, the capital of Upper Georgia, but soon after evacuated it. It was then re-entered by the American general Ashe, and again seized by general Prevost, who entirely routed Ashe, and captured all his baggage and ammunition. This spreading terror throughout the neighbouring state of South Carolina, John Rutledge was made governor, with very arbitrary powers for summoning militia and managing them. General Lincoln was sent by congress to co-operate with Rutledge, and he marched with five thousand men to surprise Savannah whilst Prevost was on an expedition to surprise Charlestown, leaving general Moultrie with one thousand men, principally Carolina militia, to defend the lower part of the Savannah. Moultrie fled before Prevost in utter disaster. Prevost marched on to Charlestown after him; but Moultrie contrived to throw himself into that place, and was soon supported by count Pulaski, whilst Lincoln, abandoning the design on Savannah, was hastening on in the rear of Prevost. On this, Prevost left Charlestown, and hastened to meet Lincoln, whom he met and defeated at Stono River. General Prevost then, leaving a strong garrison at Beaufort under colonel Maitland, retired to Savannah during the heat of the season.

During this period an expedition was made by Sir George Collier, as commander of the squadron, and general Matthews, as leader of the forces, against Virginia. The tobacco of that state was the great dependence of congress for maintaining its credit with foreign countries, and for provisioning Washington's army. Had the English had the army in America which they ought to have had in such a contest, and which they would have had with such a minister as Chatham, they would have established a settlement on the Chesapeake, and have thus cut off all these supplies, and inflicted an insurmountable blow on the Americans. Sir Henry Clinton was completely disabled from accomplishing any such effectual measures; but he might still make flying visits to Virginia, and do incredible temporary mischief. Accordingly, on the 8th of May, a small armament entered the Chesapeake, consisting of one ship of the line, three frigates, a sloop, and some smaller craft. These carried out colonel Maitland with about eighteen hundred men. They cast anchor in Hampton Roads, in ominous vicinity to the flourishing towns of Norfolk, Portsmouth, and Gosport. At Gosport the American congress had collected great quantities of timber for ship-building, and valuable naval stores. They raised batteries along the shores for the defence of these places, and also along the banks of Elizabeth River. There was a Fort Nelson, defended by a major Matthews; for English and American officers of the same name—Howes, Clintons, Lees, Matthews—were continually pitched against each other.

The garrison of Fort Nelson fled on the first attack, and took refuge in the celebrated Dismal Swamp. All the stores and vessels at these principal towns were quickly seized or

destroyed. They then ascended the Nansemond River to Suffolk, and again seized or destroyed immense quantities of stores and provisions as well as vessels. Seven or eight men-of-war on the stocks were burnt; two French merchantmen loaded with tobacco shared the same fate, besides great numbers of other vessels and a man-of-war which the Americans set fire to before retreating. Having swept the whole of the lower Chesapeake with the bosom of destruction, including the forts and dockyards, the expedition returned to New York.

This expedition was speedily followed by another, having the same commanders, under Clinton himself. The Americans were erecting forts at Verplank's Neck and Stoney Point, on the Hudson. The fort at Stoney Point was not complete, but that at Verplank's Neck was finished and strong. The Americans were immediately driven from their works; and Clinton, leaving garrisons, ordered the fort at Stoney Point to be finished, and returned to New York. This was a heavy blow to the Americans, because it cut off the communication betwixt the northern and southern provinces.

Clinton followed up these raids by an expedition to the coast of Connecticut, to chastise that fierce and vindictive people; and at the same time to tempt Washington to come down from his high lands, and defend the sea-coast. Governor Tryon was placed at the head of two thousand six hundred troops, which were conveyed in these ships. Tryon landed at Newhaven, the chief port of Connecticut, which had sent out, during the war, its horde of privateers to molest our merchantmen. Tryon easily took the place, but found himself perseveringly fired at from the windows. It was in vain that he issued a proclamation menacing destruction to those who continued this practice; he therefore seized all the artillery, ammunition, stores, and vessels in and around the town and harbour, and, destroying such as he could not carry off, sailed away. He next landed at Fairfield, nearer to New York; and, having received a most murderous reception, he carried the town, and burned it to the ground. Thence he sailed for Norwalk and Greenfield, which received the same fate. But by this time the alarm was general; the militia were all out, reinforced by a detachment from Washington's army; and Tryon returned to New York, loaded with spoil.

Great was the indignation of the people of Connecticut, that Washington had not marched down his main body on the marauders; but the commander-in-chief was effecting a diversion in their favour in another quarter, and thus obstructing the march of a much more powerful and desolating force, headed by Clinton himself, as was intended. Washington dispatched a strong detachment, under general Wayne, to drive the British again from Stoney Point and Verplank's Neck, and thereby open his communications with the provinces east and west of the Hudson. Wayne succeeded in surprising the garrison at Stoney Point in the night; and as the works there were not yet completed, the garrison, consisting of five or six hundred men, after losing a fourth of their number, was compelled to surrender. The Americans suffered considerable loss, and Wayne himself was wounded in the head. He commenced firing across the Hudson on Verplank's Neck, as Clinton had done,

while another detachment invested its fort of La Fayette from the land-side. Fort La Fayette, however, was a strong place, quite complete, and the garrison defended itself with damaging effect on the assailants. Clinton dispatched a number of transports up the river to relieve the garrison, and followed them himself in force, hoping to draw Washington down to defend this important position. But the Americans no sooner saw the transports than they retreated; and Clinton, finding he could not inveigle Washington from his camp, placed more efficient garrisons in the forts, and retraced his course to New York.

The English expedition for punishing the Connecticutans was diverted to a more distant point. In the Bay of Penobscot, in the month of June, Francis Maclean, commander of the royal forces in Nova Scotia, had commenced a settlement, to prevent the incursions of the Massachusetts men, and to furnish timber for the king's dockyards at Halifax and other places. He conveyed thither six hundred and fifty men in three sloops of war, and was busy in clearing the ground, and preparing for the erection of a fort on a peninsula, and close upon a small bay, which was easy to defend. The news of this settlement roused the ire of the people of Massachusetts. The assembly of Massachusetts, for the purpose of extirpating this embryo settlement, laid an embargo on all the shipping in the harbour of Boston, and offered an extraordinary bounty to all who would engage in the service. By the 25th of June, the armament, thus improvised, arrived in the Bay of Penobscot, consisting of three thousand troops under general Lovel, and of nineteen sail of armed vessels of one sort or other, carrying from ten to thirty guns each, besides the twenty-seven transports which conveyed the troops. The three English sloops, however, lay across the harbour before the settlement, and the Americans sought another place of landing. On the night of the 28th they managed to get on shore, and, dragging up some artillery, erected a battery within seven hundred and fifty feet of a rising fort. As the land force commenced to play on the fort, the armament endeavoured to force its way into the harbour to co-operate. But, both from Maclean's unfinished works, and from the ships, they received so smart a fire, that the American forces, though greatly superior, consisting chiefly of raw militia, were soon daunted; and Lovel dispatched a message to solicit reinforcements from Gates; but, before these could arrive, Sir George Collier, the English admiral, hove in sight with a squadron and fresh troops.

At this sight there was a rapid run. Some of the larger vessels endeavoured to escape out to sea, but found this impracticable. Two were taken; one was blown up by its own crew; the rest of the ships and transports made a rush for the mouth of the Penobscot river, where both troops and sailors leapt to shore, and fled for their lives. The English sailors soon captured the American vessels, taking such as they chose, and burning the rest. The men, thrown on a wild and inhospitable shore, more than a hundred miles from the nearest settlements, set out on their melancholy journey to reach, if possible, a populated place. On the way, the seamen and landmen fell into mutual recriminations, and broke into actual fight, in which fifty or sixty of them were killed. Many of the rest perished miserably in the pathless woods.

Sir George Collier, who had shown himself an active and successful commander, on his return to New York found himself superseded by admiral Arbuthnot, a much inferior officer, such as it was the fatality of that fatal English ministry generally to appoint. The new admiral had brought some new ships and forces, but in no degree in proportion to the wants of a vigorous and effective campaign.

But the chief scene of the war during this year continued to be south. In September, D'Estaing arrived off Savannah, to co-operate with the American forces in recovering that important place. He brought with him twenty-four ships of the line and fourteen frigates, and was moreover attended by a numerous squadron of French and American privateers, besides carrying a considerable body of troops. On learning D'Estaing's approach, general Lincoln and governor Rutledge began to march their troops towards Savannah, and sent a number of small vessels to enable the French to carry their troops up the river, and land them near the town. General Prevost made the most active preparations to receive them. He called in his different garrisons, evacuated Sunbury and Beaufort, and employed all his men in raising new works, and strengthening the old ones at Savannah. The vessels in the river, consisting of only four brigs and a few galleys, were drawn close under the town, their guns landed and placed on the batteries. One brig only retained her guns, and this was so disposed as to cover the right of the British line. Vessels were sunk and barriers stretched across the river, both above and below the town, to prevent fire-rafts coming down and the French ships coming up. D'Estaing had agreed to wait for the arrival of general Lincoln, with the South Carolina force, but, with the want of faith characteristic of the man, on the 12th of September he landed three thousand men, and summoned general Prevost to surrender in the name of the French king. Prevost claimed twenty-four hours to decide, and this time he employed in strengthening his defences. Before the expiration of this time, colonel Maitland, who was on the march for Beaufort with eight hundred veterans, came in, and Prevost returned for answer that he would defend the place to the utmost. On the 16th, general Lincoln arrived, and was greatly incensed to find that D'Estaing had broken the agreement to wait for him, and still worse, had summoned the place in the name of France instead of the congress. High words ensued; the old suspicions of the Americans, that the French were rather inclined to conquer for themselves than them, revived; and there was a danger that the allies would come to blows one with the other, instead of with the British. It was found, too, that D'Estaing had boastfully summoned the English to surrender before he had brought up his heavy artillery from the ships, to compel them if requisite. It was the 24th of September before this was effected, owing to the deep, swampy ground through which they had to drag the cannon; and it was the 4th of October before their batteries began to play. Prevost not only returned them their fire with interest, but captain Moncrieff, a very able engineer officer, continued to build fresh redoubts with green wood that would not burn, and filled up the hollows with earth and sand. At the same time, he made continual sorties, which impeded

the operations of the assailants, and destroyed many of them. Rutledge's militia had now arrived, and the allied army amounted to ten thousand men, whilst that of general Moncrieff did not exceed two thousand five hundred. But he had contrived to mount about one hundred cannon; and, whilst it was found the artillery of the allies made little impression on the works of Moncrieff, these made deadly havoc amongst the besiegers.

D'Estaing, who expected to have taken the place with little trouble, greatly alarmed lest the English should seize most of the French West Indian islands in his absence, urged an assault contrary to the wishes of Lincoln, and this was made on the 9th of October. The forces, five thousand eight hundred in number, were led on in two columns, one of these columns by D'Estaing and Lincoln themselves, the other by count Dillon, a man of Irish extraction; but they were received by such a raking fire from walls and redoubts, and from the brig flanking the right of the British line, that they were thrown back in confusion; and, before D'Estaing and Lincoln could restore order, colonel Maitland made a general sortie with fixed bayonets, and the whole attacking force fled in utter route. D'Estaing himself was wounded, with several of his principal officers; Pulaski, the Pole, was killed; there were nine hundred of the allies killed and wounded, and only fifty-five killed, wounded, or missing, on the side of the English. D'Estaing would now remain no longer, but re-embarked his forces, and sailed away, to the unspeakable chagrin of the Americans, who retreated in all haste, the greater part of the militia breaking up and returning home. This attack on Savannah was a striking proof of what might have been done on the plan laid down by lord Barrington, of sitting down in force in the chief sea-ports, blockading the rivers, and being prepared to repel the French from sea, and the Americans from land wherever they ventured to approach.

The only other operations which the Americans undertook this year were some excursions to chastise the Indians, which produced more furious retaliations from the Indians on the settlements of the whites. The Senecas and the refugees amongst them harassed the frontiers of New York and Pennsylvania. The Onandagas, though professing neutrality, were believed to share in these hostilities, and a detachment was sent suddenly from Fort Stanwix, which destroyed their villages. The Indians retaliated by destroying the settlements of Schoharie, in New York, and similar depredations were committed in Pennsylvania, especially around Pittsburg.

A much greater force was dispatched against the Six Nations, a chief object of which was to capture at the same time Fort Niagara. But the officers of the New Jersey regiments ordered for this expedition refused to march without proper supplies of both officers and men. This, in the low condition of the treasury of congress, was no easy matter, and occasioned much delay. At length, the sum of two hundred pounds was sent to each officer, and forty dollars to each private. The command, being declined by general Gates, was given to general Sullivan. To the New Jersey troops others from Pennsylvania and New Hampshire were added, and they assembled at Wyoming. A New York brigade, hitherto employed in defending the frontiers of that state,

crossed from Mohawk to Lake Oswego, dammed the lake, and so raised its level, that by again breaking the dam, they made a temporary flood, on which their boats descended the north-east branch of the Susquehanna, and thus joined Sullivan's troops. This junction, however, was not effected before Brandt had taken and burnt the village of Minisink, near the north-west corner of West Jersey, and surprised, by an ambush, a detachment of militia sent to chastise him, and nearly exterminated the whole of them.

At length, on the 22nd of August, Sullivan's army, amounting to five thousand men, advanced up the Chemung branch of the Susquehanna. At Newtown, near Elmira, they fell in with a mingled force of Indians and Tories, under the command of Brandt, the Butlers, and Johnson, whom they defeated, and then proceeded to lay waste the Indian settlements. They cut down the ancient Indian orchards, destroyed great quantities of corn, and burned down eighteen

During the whole of this time nothing could be more melancholy than the whole condition of the United States. Congress, elated by the French alliance, had imagined that they had little to do but to sit still and see the French play the game for them. They fondly believed that England would find enough to do to defend its own shores and its West Indian Islands from their Gallican neighbours, little dreaming that those neighbours were on the very verge of bankruptcy. But, so far, all these fairy hopes had been rudely disappointed. The depreciation of the currency still went on. Twenty to one was the very most that the United States' paper would represent against gold or silver. In many cases it had fallen to one-thirtieth, and even to one-hundredth of its nominal value. In the State of Maryland, in December of this year, an English officer paid his bill at an inn. In English gold it amounted only to four guineas and a half, but it stood nominally, as calculated in state



villages, composed chiefly of framed houses. Sullivan continued so long engaged in this work of devastation, that he could not attack Fort Niagara. Simultaneously, an expedition from Pittsburg ascended the Alleghany, and destroyed the villages and orchards of the Indians on that river. But these ravages only incited the Indians to more deadly ones on the white settlements in other quarters; and though congress passed a vote approving of Sullivan's operations, the murmurs of the ravaged white population soon awoke them to a different mood. Washington complained that his proceedings had been checked by the large detachment thus withdrawn, for no good result, for Sullivan's expedition; and Sullivan himself complained of the insufficiency of means placed at his disposal. He offered to resign his commission on the plea of ill health, and congress readily acquiesced; though his friends sought to make it a short release from active service rather than resignation. He soon after became a member of congress for New Hampshire.

paper, at seven hundred and thirty-one pounds! This officer, major Anbury, has printed the bill at large in his Travels.

Washington describes, in a letter to a friend, the dreadful depreciation. "Without some new measures," he says, "what funds can stand the present expenses of the army? What officer can bear the weight of prices that every necessary article is now got to? A rat—in the shape of a horse—is not to be bought at this time for less than two hundred pounds, nor a saddle under thirty or forty pounds; boots twenty pounds, and shoes and other articles in like proportion. How is it possible, therefore, for officers to stand this without an increase of pay?" He adds that flour is from five to fifteen pounds a hundredweight; nay, from ten to thirty pounds, and beef and everything else in proportion; that a wagon-load of money could scarcely purchase a wagon-load of provisions. Yet, with one hundred millions of paper already out, congress issued, during this one year, one hundred millions more!

This was not the worst: the more rascally part of the community took the opportunity, as the paper was still a legal tender, to pay off their debts in it, at or about nominal rate, and Washington, amongst others, suffered from this species of robbery at the very moment that he was spending his life and energies to free his country. No persons, however, were more alive to this species of transaction than congress itself. It indignantly resented any suspicion of its ever paying less than the full value of its currency, and on one occasion observed, "It is with great regret and reluctance that we can prevail upon ourselves to take the least notice of a question which involves in it a doubt so injurious to the honour and dignity of America. A bankrupt, faithless republic would be a novelty in the political world!" Within two years the United States were that very bankrupt, faithless republic! But long before that, in selling old cannon, stores, &c., it took great care not to receive the value in its own paper, but exacted *specie*. (See their own historian, Dr. Gordon, vol. iv., p. 143.) Let us also quote the opinion of the brave commander-in-chief, Washington, of this model congress, and of American patriots generally:—"If I were to be called upon to draw a picture of the times and of men, from what I have seen, heard, and in part know, I should, in one word, say that idleness, dissipation, and extravagance seem to have laid fast hold of them; that speculation, peculation, and an insatiable thirst for riches seem to have got the better of every other consideration, and of almost every order of men; that party disputes and personal quarrels are the great business of the day; whilst the momentous concerns of an empire, a great and accumulating debt, ruined finances, depreciated money, and want of credit, which, in its consequence, is the want of everything, are but secondary considerations, and postponed from day to day and from week to week, as if our affairs wore the most promising aspect.

"Our money is now sinking fifty per cent. a day in this city (Philadelphia), and I shall not be surprised if, in the course of a few months, a total stop is put to the currency of it; and yet an assembly, a concert, a dinner, a supper, that will cost three or four hundred pounds, will not only take men off from acting in their business, but even from thinking of it—while a great part of the officers of our army, from absolute necessity, are quitting the service. I have no resentments, nor do I mean to point at particular characters. This I can declare upon my honour, for I have every attention paid me by congress that I can possibly expect. But such is the picture which, from my soul, I believe to be a true one."

To add to these discreditable features, there was nothing but dissension from congress downwards. Often there were not more than twenty members who took any active part in business, and they were in violent dissension. La Fayette, whilst away in France, was thunderstruck by the rumour of division which reached him. "For God's sake," he wrote to Washington in June of this year, "prevent the congress from disputing loudly together!" But whilst they disputed loudly, they professed to be very secret, and therefore recorded very little in their journals; and these journals have therefore been pronounced by their contemporaries "painfully meagre." The same violent

squabbles were as conspicuous amongst their delegates in France, with heavy charges of dishonesty against some of them.

When John Adams arrived at Paris, he found a violent quarrel going on between Deane and Franklin on the one part and Arthur Lee on the other part. The congress, to get rid of this dispute, appointed Franklin sole commissioner to the court of France, allowing Lee to retain his commissionership to Spain, though the Spaniards persisted in refusing to admit him to the country. Adams was taken no notice of by congress, and returned home much disgusted. Lee had accused both Franklin and Silas Deane of embezzling the money of congress which passed through their hands. Isard and Carmichael, the latter now in America, made the same charges, especially against Deane. Deane was called before congress to give an account of himself, and Carmichael was heard against him. There were violent disputes—partisans taking some one side, some another. Deane published an address to the people, not only vindicating himself, but claiming the merit of obtaining a loan from the French government, before the alliance, through the medium of Beaumarchais. Thomas Paine, who was secretary to the committee for foreign affairs, availed himself of the papers in his possession to publish an answer, showing that the arrangement with Beaumarchais had been made, not by Deane, but by Arthur Lee, in London. Upon this Gerard, the French ambassador, complained loudly of Paine's accusing France, at a time that she was at peace with England, of furnishing funds to assist her rebellious subjects.

The fact was notorious enough: congress knew it well enough; and the examination of the French treasury-books subsequent to the French Revolution showed that their loan was a million of livres, and did really pass through Beaumarchais' hands; but Paine was a poor and friendless man, and therefore, though he had rendered signal services to the American cause by his writings, congress was very willing to make a victim of him to appease the sensitive sense of an offended honour which did not exist either in themselves or France. A resolution of congress denied stoutly that any loan had been advanced at that time; and Paine found himself assailed with a torrent of vituperation and contumely which would have been disgusting in the most aristocratic assembly, but which has since been often matched, but never surpassed, in the republican congress of the United States.

In the speech of governor Morris, one of the members for New York, who hotly defended Deane, he spoke of Paine thus:—"Who is the secretary styling himself the secretary of foreign affairs? And what would be the idea of a gentleman in Europe of this Mr. Paine? Would he not suppose him to be a man of the most affluent fortune, born in this country, of a respectable family, with wide and good connections, and endued with the nicest sense of honour? Certainly he would suppose that all these pledges of fidelity were necessary to a people in such critical circumstances. But, alas! what would he think should he accidentally be informed that this—our secretary of foreign affairs—is a mere adventurer from England, without fortune, without family or connections, and ignorant even of grammar?"

This certainly was a pretty strong foreshadowing of those

strange specimens of slang and abuse which have so often astonished Europe as reported in the speeches of honourable members of congress; but surely Thomas Paine, the author of the "Rights of Man," though the quondam staymaker of Thetford, was fitting society for Samuel Adams, the embezzler of the public money—for Arnold, the horse dealer, though now a general, and for others who by affixing, with much ostentation, the epithet "honourable" to their names, could with little difficulty trace back their origin to the lucky thieves and paupers who had been sold from the gaols of England to serve their time on the plantations of Maryland and Virginia. Paine found it necessary to give way to the storm and resign his office, though in less than two years

tercepted, his name became an abomination to the patriots of the states.

In the ideal of a people contending for their liberty there mingles involuntarily the sublimest conceptions of the noblest virtues, the most exalted sentiments. We see before us a national presentiment of great men, great deeds, great thoughts and principles; hearts warmed by the spirit of the heavens; souls brilliant with a divine inspiration. With the exception of a Washington, at once grave, simple, and heroic, and perhaps a Schuyler or a Laurens, we seek in vain for the trace of these noble men and things in the revolutionary strife of America, and decline in melancholy wonder to the contemplation of courage indeed, but attended by the



THE BOULEVARDS OF PARIS IN THE REIGN OF LOUIS XVI. AFTER A PAINTING BY M. ST. AUBIN.

this very honourable and high-blooded congress were only too glad to avail themselves of his talents again!

But the retirement of Paine did not end the affray. It grew hotter and hotter; Isard and William Lee were recalled; nothing could be made out sufficiently against Deane, who defended himself by bringing such charges of villany and corruption against members of congress and other public men that they were glad to be rid of him, and dismissed him, allowing him a paltry sum in recompense for his lost time, which he refused to accept. Innocent or guilty, he was only in the predicament of Wadsworth, Morris, Greene, and even Franklin, against whom similar charges were freely advanced, and which congress would afford no means of probing by appointing any committee to examine the accounts of their agents abroad. Deane afterwards appears to have wheeled round to the cause of that England which he had used every means, through John the Painter and similar agents, to destroy, and his letters being in-

strange concomitants of public and private fraud, chicanery, and the entire absence of every feature of an elevated mind. No man felt this more, and lamented it more, than the one great man, Washington. He declared that friends as well as foes were combining to pull down that fabric of freedom which they had been raising at the expense of so much blood and treasure. We have already quoted his own words; we may quote those of Henry Laurens, who had now retired from the presidency of congress in disgust, his place being re-filled by John Jay. To the astonishment and indignation of the Americans, a private letter of his to governor Huiston, of Georgia, was seized by the English on their invasion of that province, and published in Rivington's "Royal Gazette," at New York:—"Were I to unfold to you," wrote the late president, "the scenes of venality, peculation, and fraud, which I have discovered, the disclosure would astonish you; nor would you, sir, be less astonished were I by a detail to prove to you that he must be a pitiful rogue

who, when detected or suspected, meets not with powerful advocates among those who, in the present corrupt time, ought to exert all their powers in defence and support of these friend-plundered, much-injured, and I was almost going to say, sinking states. Don't apprehend, sir, that I colour too high, or that any part of these intimations are the effect of rash judgment or despondency. I am warranted to say they are not; my opinions, my sentiments are supported every day by the declaration of individuals; the difficulty lies in bringing men collectively to attack with proper vigour a proper object." Low as was the tone, despotic as was the temper of England at that time, it had still a far higher sense of what was honourable and true; but the conflict might in one sentence be expressed as a conflict betwixt honest imbecility on the one side, and a sharpening meanness on the other. These characteristics in each party, from first to last, are too prominently projected on the scene to be mistaken or denied.

The adhesion of Spain to the French and American alliance greatly elated the congress, and had the effect of relaxing their own efforts for defence. They thought now that all was certain, and that France and Spain together would be more than a match for England. And, indeed, on the American coast, southward, Spain commenced operations that for awhile appeared likely to cause England some trouble. No sooner had Spain formally recognised the independence of the United States, than Don Bernardo Galvez, governor of Louisiana, burst into West Florida with two thousand men. We had then but one thousand six hundred men to defend the colony, and that scattered into different and distant parts of it. Galvez ascended the Mississippi, and, after a siege of nine days, reduced a garrison of five hundred men at Iberville. He then proceeded to the Natchez province, occupied all the forts and settlements along its western frontier, and overran a vast extent of nearly unoccupied country. He did not, however, approach the eastern parts of the province, defended by the strong fort of Mobile.

Another attempt of the Spaniards was to drive our log-wood cutters out of the Bay of Honduras. The governor of Yucatan led on this expedition, but here he found a more determined resistance than Galvez had done in Florida. The wood-cutters were a daring race, consisting in a great degree of seamen, and they retreated on the approach of the Spaniards into an inaccessible place, and sent off for aid to Dalling, the governor of Jamaica. Dalling dispatched, in the Porcupine sloop of war, a small party of Irish volunteers under captain Dalrymple to the assistance of the wood-cutters. They were soon joined by captain John Luttrell, with a small squadron which had been in chase of some rich Spanish register ships, which had now taken refuge under the guns of the fortress of St. Fernando de Omoa. The Spaniards were speedily driven from St. George's Bay, and all parts of the coast. The bold wood-cutters thus liberated, united with Dalrymple and Luttrell to make an assault on the fortress of St. Fernando de Omoa. The garrison at St. Fernando amounted to six hundred men: all the forces of soldiers, sailors, wood-cutters, &c., which the English could muster were only five hundred, and they had no artillery that they could land and plant before the fort, but they determined to dare

an assault notwithstanding. It was intended to steal on the fortress by surprise, but they were discovered. This, however, did not prevent their rushing on the place under a hot fire, throwing ropes upon the walls, and climbing up them like cats. The Spaniards, astonished, fled from their guns, and the governor, on being told that the English had scaled the ramparts, would not at first believe it. The garrison surrendered at discretion, and the medley troop of wood-cutters, soldiers, and sailors, thence descended to the harbour, where they soon made themselves masters of the ships. A great deal of the treasure, however, had been removed, but they obtained altogether three millions of piastros. The Spaniards consented to exchange prisoners and evacuate the coast, and a small garrison was left in St. Fernando de Omoa, but it was found too sickly to remain long there. On the heels of the report of this transaction came the news to the States of the miserable failure of the grand armada of France and Spain, and of their return to their own ports. Meantime, the depreciation of the United States paper had advanced to thirty to one. The effects of a naval warfare on the part of the Americans were by this time fully experienced. Several of the continental vessels had been captured or lost; others, for want of funds, remained on the stocks uncompleted. The vigilance of the British squadron had much reduced the privateers. Several armed vessels, however, both public and private, still kept the seas, and part of the money received from France was expended in fitting out cruisers in the French ports.

At the head of a squadron of these figured the most daring privateer of the time, Paul Jones. John Paul, or Paul Jones, was born at Selkirk, in 1736. His father is said to have been a gardener of Galloway, and to have been in the employ of the earl of Selkirk. Jones early took to the sea, and one of his first voyages was to America. He settled in Virginia in 1773, and acquired some property. On the breaking out of the quarrel betwixt Great Britain and her colonies, Jones, like numbers of other Englishmen, took up arms for his adopted, against his native, country. He soon distinguished himself by a dogged courage, and was appointed by congress the first of the first lieutenants. In 1775 he was appointed to the command of a ship under commodore Hopkins, and so distinguished himself in several engagements, that he received his commission as captain of marines. In May, 1777, he was sent to France, and was appointed by Franklin, the other commissioner there, captain of a French ship, under American colours. In the course of the following year he kept the Irish coast and the northern coasts of England in continual terror. He is described as a short, thick, little fellow, about five feet eight in height, and of a dark, swarthy complexion. Romancers have adorned him with many of the features of a hero; but he had nothing of the hero about him but a savage physical courage. He was a coarse, uneducated man—said to have fled from his own country to escape the gallows, and to the gallows he would have been led as a ruthless pirate had he been taken at sea by the English.

He particularly haunted, in 1778, his native coast of Galloway, as knowing it well. He made a dash into the mouth of the Dee, near Kirkeudbright, and plundered the house of the earl of Selkirk, his father's former employer,

carrying off all his plate and other valuable property. He next fell on Whitehaven, where he spiked the guns, and burnt some vessels in the harbour. He continued to prowl along the coast between the Solway Firth and the Clyde, without any man-of-war offering to check his career, and kept the whole country there in terror, the memory of which remains to the present day. As winter approached, he returned to Brest, with two hundred prisoners and much plunder.

In the summer of the present year (1779) he appeared at the head of a small squadron, consisting of three large ships, a brig, and a cutter. These ships, except the *Alliance*, an American one, were all French, and Jones bore a French commission. He now sailed along the eastern coast of England and Scotland, just as unmolested as he had done on the western in the former summer. He lay in wait for the Baltic fleet, and fell in with it off the Yorkshire coast, convoyed only by the *Serapis*, of forty guns, captain Pearson, and the *Countess of Scarborough*, of twenty guns, captain Piercy.

Warned by the mayor of Scarborough of the suspicious-looking craft, captain Pearson ordered all the merchantmen into the harbour of Scarborough, and awaited the coming up of the hostile squadron. In a terrible action, which lasted from eight o'clock in the evening till half-past ten of the 23rd of September, the *Serapis* was engaged with Paul Jones's ship, the *Bon Homme Richard*, and the American frigate, *Alliance*, the *Alliance* sailing round and raking the *Serapis* till almost every man on the main or quarter decks was killed. Captain Pearson, having suffered from an explosion on board from some of his gunpowder, which blew up all the officers and men abaft the main-mast, and the main-mast itself going by the board, was compelled to strike, but not till he had killed three-fourths of Jones's crew, and so battered his vessel that it sank. Captain Piercy was, meanwhile, as desperately engaged with the three other vessels of different sizes, and was, finally, also compelled to strike, having greatly damaged his opponents. The merchantmen all escaped; and Jones, on returning to France, was honoured with the order of merit and the gift of a gold-hilted sword, by Louis XVI., and afterwards received a vote of thanks from congress, and the appointment to the command of a new ship, the *America*. This was the crowning point of Jones's life. He was made a lion of in the polished circles of Paris, where he is said to have carried himself better than might have been expected from his education, and was regarded as a poet as well as a hero. But, being invited by Russia into her service, with the rank of rear-admiral, he was disappointed in not receiving the command of the fleet acting against the Turks in the Black Sea, grew discontented, and was dismissed with a pension that was never paid. He returned to Paris, and died there in poverty in 1792.

Some other sea conflicts took place about this time, most of them in favour of England; and the East India Company presented to government three fine seventy-four gunships, and offered bounty-money for raising six thousand men. It is clear, however, that the coasts of the island must have been badly watched whilst Jones, for two summers could thus prowl about unmolested.

The effect of the American war, so extremely unsatisfac-

tory to the nation, had now perceptibly reduced the influence of lord North and his ministry. Their majorities, which had formerly been four to one, had now fallen to less than two to one; and this process was going rapidly on. The changes in the cabinet had been considerable, but they had not contributed to re-invigorate it. The removal of Thurlow to the house of lords had left nobody equal to him in the commons to contend with the power of such men as Fox, Burke, Barré, and the like. Wedderburn had taken Thurlow's place as attorney-general, and Wallace had stepped into Wedderburn's as solicitor-general. Lord Weymouth, who had held the posts of secretary of state for both north and south departments since the death of the earl of Suffolk, now resigned, and lord Hillsborough was appointed to the southern department, and lord Stormont to that of the northern department. Neither of these were popular changes. Hillsborough was a hasty man, of no great talent; and lord Stormont, though superior to him, had shown so little acuteness while ambassador at Paris, as to let the court completely keep him in the dark as to its intrigues with America. On this account he was intensely unpopular. Lord Carlisle, since his return from his American commission, had taken the office of first lord of trade and plantations; and lord Gower had resigned his post of lord-president of the council, and was succeeded by lord Bathurst—a change, in point of efficiency, greatly for the worse. The duke of Bedford's party had become more and more cool towards lord North, and in every respect there was a declining power in the cabinet. It was at variance in itself, and it was fast losing the confidence of the public. Lord George Germaine was still retained by the king as secretary of the colonies, notwithstanding the disgust he had excited by the unfortunate planning of the expedition of Burgoyne. This was a fatality in the king, that, however deficient in management were men, once in his employment, he would retain them, spite of the strongest expressions of the public displeasure. He still retained Palliser, though the public saw their favourite, Keppel, induced to resign in consequence of Palliser's behaviour towards him; and it is certain that no other king would have continued the administration of lord North, which had now for years resulted in nothing but one unbroken series of disaster, and at this moment presaged nothing less than the loss of the North American colonies.

On the 25th of November parliament was opened, and the king, in his speech, made a strong appeal to the country for support against the perfidious and unprovoked war on the part of France and Spain. He congratulated the nation on the manifest defeat, up to this time, of their armament and designs. Of America he, strangely enough, said not a word. But, indeed, what could be said? That war was dragging its slow and undecisive length along, and at the time when, as was immediately afterwards shown by the duke of Richmond, we had already spent sixty-three million pounds; adding to the debt the interest of eight million pounds a-year; we could scarcely be said to have an army there. Contending with a country on the verge of bankruptcy, where a vigorous force of thirty thousand men, under one able general, could tread out the last embers of contention in a few months, we were contenting ourselves with just beating off the half-starved

hordes of Washington. But on another discontented country, Ireland, his majesty was explicit. The discontents there, too, were so clamorous under this most deplorable reign, that rebellion was also menaced, unless some relaxation of the selfish policy of England was conceded, and George informed them that he had ordered the necessary papers to be laid before the commons, to enable them to decide what should be done.

The marquis of Rockingham, in moving an amendment on the address in the lords, was extremely severe. He described every part of our government, the management at home, our diplomacy abroad, the war everywhere, as conducted with an unexampled imbecility. He declared that lord Stormont had been most grossly duped by France, and lord

had to ravage and terrify our coasts. If he turned his gaze towards Ireland, nothing but discontent, excited by the grossest folly and the most absolute bad faith, met him. If he extended the survey to America, there he beheld the fruits of the same folly, the same tyranny, the same bad faith, ready to fall in rottenness and ruin. He especially condemned the menace of a new and terrible kind of warfare held out in the mischievous proclamation of the commissioners before leaving, which, he contended, had converted the contest there into one marked by every feature that was bloody, malignant, and diabolical. He concluded this bitter, but only too well deserved censure, by moving that every part of the address, except the title, should be expunged, and that, instead of what then stood, to insert a prayer,



WASHINGTON'S HEAD-QUARTERS AT CAMBRIDGE.

Grantham by Spain. He referred to the expression in the address, of the happiness of living under his majesty's benign government, and declared that really it was insulting the common sense of the house; for that all our blessings, by the management of the king's government, had been converted into curses, and that security and honour were driven from the kingdom. He remembered, he said, the glory and lustre of the nation, when his majesty ascended the throne; but, since then, there had been a constant declension. The most pernicious counsels—the most unconstitutional tyranny—had prevailed. Never had this people, once so great, recently so great, fallen into such utter degradation. He expressed his astonishment that the ministers should dare to remain in office, after they had reduced the country to so deplorable a condition, and especially the lord at the head of the admiralty, lord Sandwich, when he had seen the oldest of our naval officers driven from the public service. He very justly upbraided them with the free license which Paul Jones had

that his majesty would reflect on the extent of territory which marked the opening of his reign, the opulence and power, the reputation abroad, the concord at home, to which he had succeeded, and now on the endangered, impoverished, enfeebled, distracted, and even dismembered, state of the whole, after the enormous grants of his successive parliaments, and calling on him, as the only remedy of impending ruin, to dismiss his present evil councillors, and summon new and more auspicious ones.

The language was crushing, but it derived its force from its undeniable truth. Lord John Cavendish moved a similar amendment in the commons; and the opposition declared that it was well that his majesty's speech expressed trust in Divine Providence, for Providence was the only friend that his government had now left; that our arms, both on sea and land, were paralysed by the scandalous practice of putting at the head of the army and navy mere court favourites and aristocratic blockheads, and by the



PAUL JONES AND HIS CREW PLUNDERING THE HOUSE OF THE EARL OF SELKIRK.

want of all vigour and sagacity of planning and following up our campaigns. Charles Fox went farther, and asserted that mere weakness and stupidity could not effect the wholesale shame and ruin that surrounded us: there must be treachery somewhere; and that, if this was driven a little farther, the people would seize on arms, and chase the miserable cabinet from its abused seat. Lord North made the best reply that the circumstances admitted; but there were no symptoms of the ministers resigning, or being removed by the infatuated monarch, and the amendments were rejected in both houses, as a matter of course.

During this debate, the state of Ireland had been repeatedly alluded to, and, on the 1st of December, the earl of Shelburne moved that the house should take into consideration the recommendation of his majesty regarding Ireland, of the 11th of May last. He censured ministers for their neglect of his recommendation, affirming that it was the settled conviction of all classes that nothing but the grant of an entirely free trade would remedy the evils of the sister island. Lord Gower, who had so lately resigned, opposed the motion, on the plea of giving ministers some time to answer the accusation, but confessing that, before quitting office, he had seen such things pass of late at the council-table, that no man of honour or conscience could any longer sit there!

Lord North, in the commons the same day, promised that the subject should have immediate attention; but, nothing being done, five days after, the earl of Upper Ossory, sitting in that house, moved for a censure on ministers, on the same ground as lord Shelburne had done in the lords. Lord North, in reply, declared that ministers were the warmest friends that Ireland had had for a long time; that they had enlarged the trade of the Irish: they had given bounties to encourage the Irish Newfoundland fisheries, for the growth of tobacco and hemp: and had granted free exportation of woollen cloth, and other articles. Fox, who had been some time absent from the house, in consequence of a wound received in a duel with Mr. Adam, who had taken offence at some of his remarks on the first night of the session, supported lord Ossory's motion with all his eloquence; but it was rejected by one hundred and seventy-three votes against one hundred.

On the 13th of December, lord North, however, brought forward his promised scheme of Irish relief, which consisted in extending the exportation of woollen cloths to wool, and wool-flocks, to all kinds of glass manufactures, and in free trade to the British colonies—privileges that it seems wonderfully strange to us, at the present day, could ever have been withheld from any portion of the same empire. The critical state of America, no doubt, had much to do with the grant of these privileges, for all of them were conceded.

The ruinous expenditure of the war, and the continual difficulties into which the civil list had fallen, now roused throughout the country a strong demand for economical reform. It was notorious that the expenditure was not only lavish in every department of the state, but that numbers of men had got into parliament to enable them the more readily to secure contracts for the army and navy, which were most scandalously executed, to the great injury

and discomfort of our soldiers and sailors. It was not only that our expenditure was greatly exaggerated by these means, but, as a natural consequence, the efficiency of our military and naval operations was destroyed. We did not procure our money's worth by any means. If our funds had not been corruptly expended, we could have maintained far more and better ships and regiments, and our men would have been better clothed and fed. It is by the influence and the villanies of this base brood of contractors that our service has always been infected, our arms paralysed, and our debt increased. It would make a fearful portion of the great debt if we could analyse it, and discover how many of its millions have gone into the pockets of contractors fraudulently. The contract for hats, clothes, and arms, in the American war, were described often in terms of extreme ridicule, but which were, in reality, no laughing matters to the nation. At no period did the abominations of this system flourish more fatally, whilst men, bloated by the national wealth, thus obtained, sate numerously in the house of commons, selling their votes to ministers for these unholy gains.

Then, again, the civil list, which had been raised to within a little of a million a-year, was loaded with all sorts of extravagant charges. There appeared little control exercised in purchasing the necessary articles for the royal household, or in checking the sums charged for them. The royal *menage* was notoriously at once mean and monstrously expensive. Well might Pepys, in his time, exclaim, "I see it is impossible for the king to have things done as cheap as other men!" But, had he lived now, his astonishment would have been far greater. Besides this, there were innumerable pensions granted on the most ludicrous pleas to the connections of the ministers and their friends, and equally amazing catalogues of sinecure posts, with heavy sums attached to them. The whole of the royal government establishments were overrun by these flagrant corruptions. The governmental life was like that ancient image of the goddess Rhea, with her whole body covered with besoms, at which the multitudinous broods might hang and suck. The sinecures were become of the most barefaced character in both court and office, in courts of judicature, and wherever they could be affixed.

What these impositions on a suffering people really amounted to was not destined to be known then, nor for a long time after, but we may now form some idea of them from the inquiries, and experiences, and loppings that have been made in our time. The royal household was one scene of useless offices and extravagances, which so completely drained the royal substance that the king's and queen's own mode of living was remarked on as mean and parsimonious. So devouring was this state of things in that great nursery of indolence, favourites, and courtier leeches, that the civil list of George III. was repeatedly increased during his reign, till it averaged upwards of one million annually, and at length, in 1816, amounted to one million four hundred and eighty thousand pounds. The debts of this same pattern king, moreover, during his reign, discharged by parliament, amounted to three million one hundred and thirteen thousand and sixty-one pounds!

The royal household is founded on manners and habits

which have long been obsolete—upon old baronial customs and arrangements. There is the lord chamberlain, lord steward, groom of the stole, master of the horse, &c., each, in his department, covering an expenditure royal of itself. The lord chamberlain has oversight of all officers and servants of the royal chambers, except those of the royal bedchamber, which are under the groom of the stole. He is master of the officers of the wardrobe, of tents, revels, music, comedians, handicrafts, and artisans; though a layman, he has the oversight of all the royal chaplains, heralds, physicians, and apothecaries; and examines—or should examine—all charges of coronations, marriages, public entries, cavalcades, and funerals, and of all furniture in the parliament house, and the rooms of address to the sovereign. The lord steward has the like control of the servants of the household, clerks of the green cloth, &c. The master of the horse, of the royal stables and horses, and all the necessary, or unnecessary, equerries, pages, footmen, grooms, farriers, smiths, saddlers, &c. &c. The master of the hawks has, it is to be presumed, the care of the hawks that once were; yet this officer has a salary of one thousand three hundred and seventy-two pounds a-year; and the master of the dogs two thousand pounds a-year. The money expended by the lord chamberlain in George III.'s reign often amounted to one hundred and ten thousand pounds a-year; by the lord steward, from eighty thousand to one hundred thousand pounds; by the master of the horse, from thirty thousand to fifty thousand pounds. No wonder that he was poor. How unnecessary was this cumbrous establishment was, in after years, strikingly shown, when the prince regent discharged all the duties of royalty on his establishment as prince of Wales.

But, besides the immediate household, every government establishment was surcharged with sinecures, and offices all but sinecures, such as the chief-justiceships in Eyre, with salaries amounting to four thousand five hundred and sixty-six pounds; the vice-admiralty of Scotland, the privy seal of Scotland, offices of keeper of the signet and register of sasines, chancellor, justice-general, &c. of Scotland, all of which ought to have been abolished at the union, but which are kept up as rags for aristocratic families. The auditorship of the exchequer, the registrarship of the admiralty, were immensely overpaid for the amount of duty, the latter office amounting eventually to sixteen thousand pounds a-year. Then there were the four tellerships of the exchequer, the four clerkships of the Pells, clerks of the Hanaper, both here, in Scotland, and in Ireland, the *custos brevium* in the court of king's bench, the six clerks in chancery, &c., all notorious jobs, and, where there were any duties capable of being discharged, these were done by persons at very light salaries. But many of these things were become hereditary, and high-born ladies were even invested with collectorships of the customs; one was sweeper of the mall; another chief usher of the court of exchequer; a third *custos brevium*. Noble lords were wine-tasters, storekeepers, craners and packers to the court in Ireland. There were hereditary tide-waiters, clerks, harbour-masters, searchers, gaugers, wharfingers, prothonotaries, nay, royal and vice-royal ratecatchers, honourable and right honourable gentlemen, ladies, and even children; and finally, many of these hereditary offices, when at a later

day the besom of reform came amongst them, had to be purchased off by large compensation sums. The sinecures towards the end of this reign amounted to three hundred and fifty-six thousand five hundred and fifty-five pounds a-year: the pension list had grown, before it received a searching revision, to eight hundred and five thousand and twenty-two pounds per annum, loaded with almost every imaginable hauger-on of the aristocracy, men—numbers of whom more richly deserved a halter—and women and children whom the country at large had never heard of. The exceptions for real merit were few and far between, and very slightly benefited the possessors of it.

It was into this condition of the Augean stable of corruption and national robbery that the duke of Richmond and lord Shelburne in the lords, and Edmund Burke in the commons, now instituted an inquiry. It was not likely that so widely-spread and deeply-rooted a disorder, which involved the interests of so many powerful families, would be at once remedied; we have seen that, after eighty years of perpetual pressure on this subject, we are yet far from the bottom of this Sorbonian bog of governmental abuse, but these statesmen had the honour of being the first to put in their draining spades.

The duke of Richmond introduced the subject into the upper house by moving, on the 7th of December, that an address be conveyed to his majesty representing the distress of the country, the heavy demands upon it for the complicated war, and recommending a reduction of all useless expenses; that profusion, so far from being strength, was weakness; that it behoved all classes of officials to consent to a curtailment of the lavish salaries in existence; and that it would be a noble and effective example in the crown to take the lead, and could not fail of enhancing the love of his people, and diffusing an excellent influence throughout every department of the state. His grace represented that the present vast military establishment by sea and land could not include less than three hundred thousand men; that, since the commencement of the American war, as we have already stated, the expenditure had added sixty-three millions of pounds to the debt, and its interest, eight millions, to our annual payments. The interest of the debt had, in fact, now become of itself equal to the whole of our expenditure in years of peace before. This gave a fearful idea of the wastefulness and worse than wastefulness of our system, considering how little of effective service we had derived from this enormous outlay. He laid much stress on the belief that the example of the king would induce all orders of men to make equal sacrifices to the needs of their country. But no such desire animated the bosom of George III., who continued through the whole of his reign, at least during the period in which he retained his sanity, to suffer his expenditure to exceed his magnificent income. Richmond declared that he had no wish to curtail the pensions of those who had wasted their fortunes in the service of their country, as the Pelhams, for the duke of Newcastle was said to have sunk five hundred thousand pounds during the years that he so fondly adhered to office. The Pelhams, the Walpoles, and the Pitts, he deemed well entitled to what the country had conferred on them. Horace Walpole, the son of the minister, was now

and had been long enjoying six thousand pounds a-year. The duke of Richmond gave the ministers and the aristocracy credit for a disinterestedness which they did not possess. They admitted the vastness of the expenditure, and that there was wastefulness, and that they were desirous of economy; but they could not believe that any reduction of the civil list would be sensibly felt, whilst it would reflect dishonour on the country, as if it were incapable of maintaining the crown in due credit. Lord chancellor Thurlow affected not to believe in the distress, or that any case of public extravagance had been made out. The duke of Richmond's motion was negatived by seventy-seven votes against thirty-six.

But on the 15th of December, only eight days later, lord Shelburne followed up the question with moving that the alarming additions annually made to the debt, under the name of extraordinaries incurred in different services, demanded an immediate check; that the distresses of landed and mercantile interests made the strictest economy requisite, and that the expenditure of such large sums without grants from parliament was an alarming violation of the constitution. He showed that these expenses bore no proportion to those of any former wars as to the services performed for them, and stated plainly that the cause was notorious—that the greater part of the money went into the pockets for the ministers' contracting friends. The ministerial party endeavoured to answer these too-well pointed charges by lauding the integrity and disinterestedness of lord North, as though such disinterestedness would have been any excuse for mismanagement; but the truth was, and it was no secret, that lord North, though not avaricious himself, was much too free-handed in gratifying the cupidity of others at the expense of the country, and, indeed, it is impossible to see how a minister of such ordinary powers and narrow views could have secured so long a tenure of office under such a career of disgrace and disaster, except by the indulgence of a boundless corruption to sustain his majority. Lord Shelburne's motion was also rejected. He then gave notice for a further motion of a like nature on the 8th of February.

The matter was not to be lightly or easily dismissed. On the very same day that lord Shelburne made his motion in the lords, Edmund Burke gave notice of a series of resolutions which he should introduce after the Christmas recess. He stated the outline of his intended measures for economical reform. Whilst he was delivering a very fine speech on this occasion, Fox came in from the house of lords, where he had been listening to the debate on lord Shelburne's motion, and warmly supported him, lamenting that there was not virtue enough in the house to carry through so necessary—so patriotic a measure. "I am just come," he said, "from another place where the first men in this kingdom—the first in abilities, the first in estimation—are now libelling this house." The announcement excited, as Fox intended, much surprise; and he continued—"Yes, I repeat it. Every instance they give—and they give many and strong instances—of uncorrected abuses, with regard to the public money, is a libel on this house. Everything they state on the growth of corrupt influence—and it never was half so flourishing—is a libel on this house."

The corruptionists in parliament were deaf to eloquence

or remonstrance; the base contractors sitting there, and the other base engrossers of the money voted by the country for the most sacred purposes, for the preservation of the integrity and very status of the empire, sat still in impudent hardihood; but the sound of these stirring words were already out of doors. The public started at the note of reform, and at the prospect of the exposure of its bloodsuckers. The city of London voted thanks to the duke of Richmond and the earl of Shelburne for their motions, and for their promised resumption of the subject on the 8th of February. A great meeting was called at York to induce that county to prepare a petition for *reform in parliament*. Many efforts were made by persuasion and by menace to prevent these freeholders meeting. The marquis of Carmarthen, who, for his concurrence in the object of the meeting, was dismissed from the lord-lieutenancy of the county, described the means used to prevent the meeting as "mean, shabby, pitiful, and unwarrantable." But the marquis of Rockingham and Sir George Saville stood boldly forward, attended the meeting, and encouraged the freeholders. The meeting was held on the 30th of December, and, besides these distinguished men, was attended by noblemen, gentlemen, clergymen—the richest and noblest in the county. A petition was adopted to the house of commons in the strongest terms. After enumerating the great facts of the revolt of the colonies, the aid given them by France and Spain, and the consequent war with those two countries, and all its train of expenditure, debt, and distress, it proceeded thus:—"Alarmed at the diminished resources and growing burthens of this country, and convinced that rigid frugality is indispensable to every department of the state, your petitioners observe with grief that, notwithstanding the calamitous and impoverished condition of the country, much public money hath been improvidently squandered; and that many individuals enjoy sinecure places, efficient places with exorbitant emoluments, and pensions unmerited by public services, to a large and still increasing amount; whence the crown has acquired a great and unconstitutional influence, which, if not checked, may soon prove fatal to the liberties of the country. Your petitioners, conceiving that the true end of every legitimate government is not the emolument of any individuals, but the welfare of the community, and considering that, by the constitution of this realm, the national purse is intrusted in a peculiar manner to the custody of this honourable house, beg leave further to represent that, until effectual measures be taken to redress the oppressive grievances herein stated, the grant of any additional sum of public money, beyond the produce of the present taxes, will be injurious to the rights and property of the people and derogatory from the honour and dignity of parliament." It then called upon the house, before laying any fresh burthen on the country, effectually to inquire into and "to correct the gross abuses in the expenditure of public money: to reduce all exorbitant emoluments; to rescind and abolish all sinecure places and unmerited pensions, and to appropriate the produce to the necessities of the state."

Before separating, this most important meeting appointed a committee of correspondence, consisting of sixty-one gentlemen, to carry out the objects of the petition, and still

further to prepare the plan of a national association for the promotion of the great business of reform. This was following so directly in the steps of the Americans as to strike a new and yet unknown terror into all the hearts of the corruptionists, and of ministers their fosterers. Even some of the friends of reform, the marquis of Carmarthen amongst them, were startled at these committees of correspondence, resollecting what an engine of agitation they had proved in the United States. But, spite of all timid tremors, and of all interested opposition, the petition of Yorkshire received eight thousand signatures. The contagion spread rapidly; in numbers of other counties, and in many of the leading cities, similar petitions were got up, and committees of correspondence formed. In various counties violent opposition was made by leading noblemen and gentlemen. Lord Sandwich tried this at Huntingdon, but only to rouse a more determined spirit. The great landowners, in many places, when they saw their efforts to quash such petitions fail, entered public protests against them, insisting that the whole matter should be left to the wisdom of parliament. In vain; the great reformers were at their posts encouraging the public. Conspicuous amongst these were lord Rockingham, in Yorkshire, lord Shelburne, in Buckinghamshire, and lord Mahon, the son-in-law of Chatham, in Kent.

The result was that very soon, in the counties of Middlesex, Chester, Hants, Hertford, Sussex, Huntingdon, Surrey, Cumberland, Bedford, Essex, Gloucester, Somerset, Wilts, Dorset, Devon, Norfolk, Berks, Bucks, Nottingham, Kent, Northumberland, Suffolk, Hereford, Cambridge, Derby, Northampton, and the towns of York and Bristol, Cambridge, Nottingham, Newcastle, Reading, and Bridgewater, petitions were prepared, and in most of them corresponding committees organised.

This terminated the year 1779. It closed amid very gloomy circumstances and auguries. The nation was involved in a dreadful and wide-spread war; was on the eve of losing its most valuable colonies; was ruled by a king, who, whatever domestic virtues he might possess, had neither the capacity to manage his own affairs nor those of the kingdom, and by a ministry which had all the qualities necessary for the ruin of a great people. No imbecility, no amount of mismanagement, no career of loss, and blunders, and damaging incapacity ever induced that king to dismiss such ministers, and there was no power in the nation to unseat them, because, with the money which the people furnished to maintain the domestic government, and prosecute those luckless wars, they hired standing majorities to sanction all their proceedings. But, at this moment, as good comes out of evil, as day springs out of night, the necessity of an extirpation of this odious system was forcing itself on the more reflective and honest minds. We owe it to the duke of Richmond, to the earl of Shelburne, and pre-eminently to Edmund Burke, that the nation was now taught that the funds of a nation are not raised to maintain a greedy and lazy brood of aristocrats, and contractors, and parliamentary adventurers, but are raised for the discharge of the necessary business of the community. It has taken a long time to inculcate effectively this lesson. We are fast hastening to the completion of a century, and it is not yet accomplished, and never will be accomplished till the people

are really the controllers of their representatives; but that day is hastening on, and no future government of England will, in the course of a hundred and fifty years, be able to spend three thousand millions sterling, nominally in wars, but of which a large part was really expended in feeding a more ravenous brood of placemen, contractors, aristocrats, and all their progeny and kin, than the world ever saw.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE REIGN OF GEORGE III.—(Continued.)

Burke's Motion for Economical Reform—The Pension List—Defended by Lord Nugent—Duels of Fox and Lord Shelburne—Bills to disqualify Revenue Officers and Contractors—Meeting in Westminster—Dunning's Motion to reduce the Influence of the Crown—These neutralised—Protestant Associations—The Gordon Riots—Burning of Catholic Chapels—Newgate burnt—Other Prisons broken open—Lord Mansfield's House ransacked—Attempts on the Bank of England—Thirty-six Conflagrations at Night—Lord George Gordon arrested—Burke and North in concert—Special Commission—Rodney defeats Don Juan de Langara—Relieves Gibraltar—Resentment of the Empress Catherine—Campaign in North America—Capture of Charlestown—Action at Wax-haws—Cornwallis and Lord Rawdon—Battle of Camden—Surprise at King's Mountain—La Fayette's Return—Count Rochambeau—French Fleet blockaded—American Headquarters—Career of General Arnold—Major Andre meets him—Andre arrested—Escape of Arnold—Andre hanged as a Spy—Offers to the Opposition in England—Dissolution of Parliament—Pitt and Grenville—Secret Overtures for Peace by Necker—War with Holland—Erskine's Defence of Captain Baillic, Admiral Keppel, and Lord George Gordon—First Speech of Sheridan—Pitt's rising fame—French Descent of Jersey—French and Spaniards in Minorca—Descent upon Virginia—Mutiny amongst the American Troops—Campaign in the Carolinas—Action at Cowpens—Battle of Guilford—Campaign in Virginia—Retreat of La Fayette—Action at Hobkirk's Hill—Case of Colonel Hayne—Battle at Eutaw Springs—Expedition to Connecticut—Quarrel of Clinton and Cornwallis—French Fleet in the Chesapeake—Washington's Conference with De Grasse—Cornwallis besieged in York Town—His Surrender.

WHEN parliament re-assembled, after the Christmas recess, the great question of economical reform took the first place in its deliberations. The great Yorkshire petition was introduced on the 8th of February by Sir George Saville, who, as the forms of the house then allowed, made a speech on its presentation. He was a small, weakly man, but of the most upright character, and was listened to with the highest respect. On the 11th Burke rose to bring forward his extensive schemes of retrenchment and reform. Those who have witnessed the long series of arduous campaigns on these subjects, and the vast amount of the labour which, nearly a century later, still remains to be done, must smile at the very Quixotish air of Burke's attempt. It was no less than a scheme of reforms so vast and multiform as to require five bills to include them. It went to the sale of the crown lands; the abolition of the separate jurisdictions of the principality of Wales, the duchies of Cornwall, Chester, and Lancaster; of the court offices of treasurer, comptroller, cofferer, keeper of the stag, buck, and fox hounds, of the wardrobe, robes, jewels, &c.; of the recently-instituted office of third secretary of state; the reduction and simplification of offices in the ordnance and mint departments; of the patent office of the exchequer; the regulation of the pay offices of the army, navy, and of pensioners; and, finally, of the civil list.

Such a host of corrupt interests was assailed by this wholesale scheme, that it was certain to receive a most

determined opposition; and it might have been supposed that it would be encountered by the most rabid rage. But not so. The great tribe whose interests were affected were too adroit strategists for that; they were too well assured that, being legion, and all knit up together from the crown downwards, embracing every branch of the aristocracy, they were safe, and might, therefore, listen to the fervid eloquence of the poetic Irishman, as they would to a tragedy that did not affect them, further than their amusement was concerned. All parties, therefore, professed a singular delight in listening to the exposure of their selfish gnawings of the very vitals of the country. Not only did the reformer, Dunning, declare that Burke's opening speech "must remain as a monument to be handed down to posterity of his uncommon, unrivalled industry, astonishing abilities, and invincible perseverance;" but lord North, on hearing Burke assert that, "as things now stand, every man, in proportion to his consequence at court, tried to add to the expense of the civil list, by all manner of jobs, if not for himself, yet for his dependents," eulogised the speech "as one of the ablest he had ever heard; a speech such as no other member could have made." He was in raptures with it, and so were crowds of the grossest corruptionists, just as a lazy man, on a hot day, is pleased with the tickling of a straw. Even Gibbon, who lost his salary of eight hundred a-year, as a commissioner of the board of trade, by the sole piece of retrenchment that Burke accomplished, suffered the amputation under the spell of Burke's oratory, just as a man now loses a leg under the influence of chloroform, and imagines all the time that he is making a delightful walking tour through enchanting scenery. "I can never forget," he says, "the delight with which that diffusive and ingenious orator was heard on all sides of the house, even by those whose existence he proscribed."

Burke's style of eloquence was, in fact, as different as possible to parliamentary oratory of the present time. It was as diffuse and full of descriptive and imaginative flights as a romance. With its ornaments and its whole landscapes of flowers, no wonder that the listeners forget the real business of the speaker, who would be heard with amazement by our mere matter-of-fact senators now. Even at that day his speeches of three or four hours in length thinned the house on many occasions. As a specimen of his style on this occasion, we may quote a passage in which he could not allude to the retention of worn-out customs without advancing into a rhetorical description of our palaces, the desolate haunts of jobbery:—"When the reason of old establishments is gone, it is absurd to preserve nothing but the burthens of them. This is superstitiously to embalm the carcass, not worth an ounce of the gums that are used to preserve it. It is to burn precious oils in the tomb; it is to offer meat and drink to the dead, not so much an honour to the deceased as a disgrace to the survivors. Our palaces are vast inhospitable halls; there the bleak winds—there

"Boreas and Eurus and Caurus and Argestes loud,"

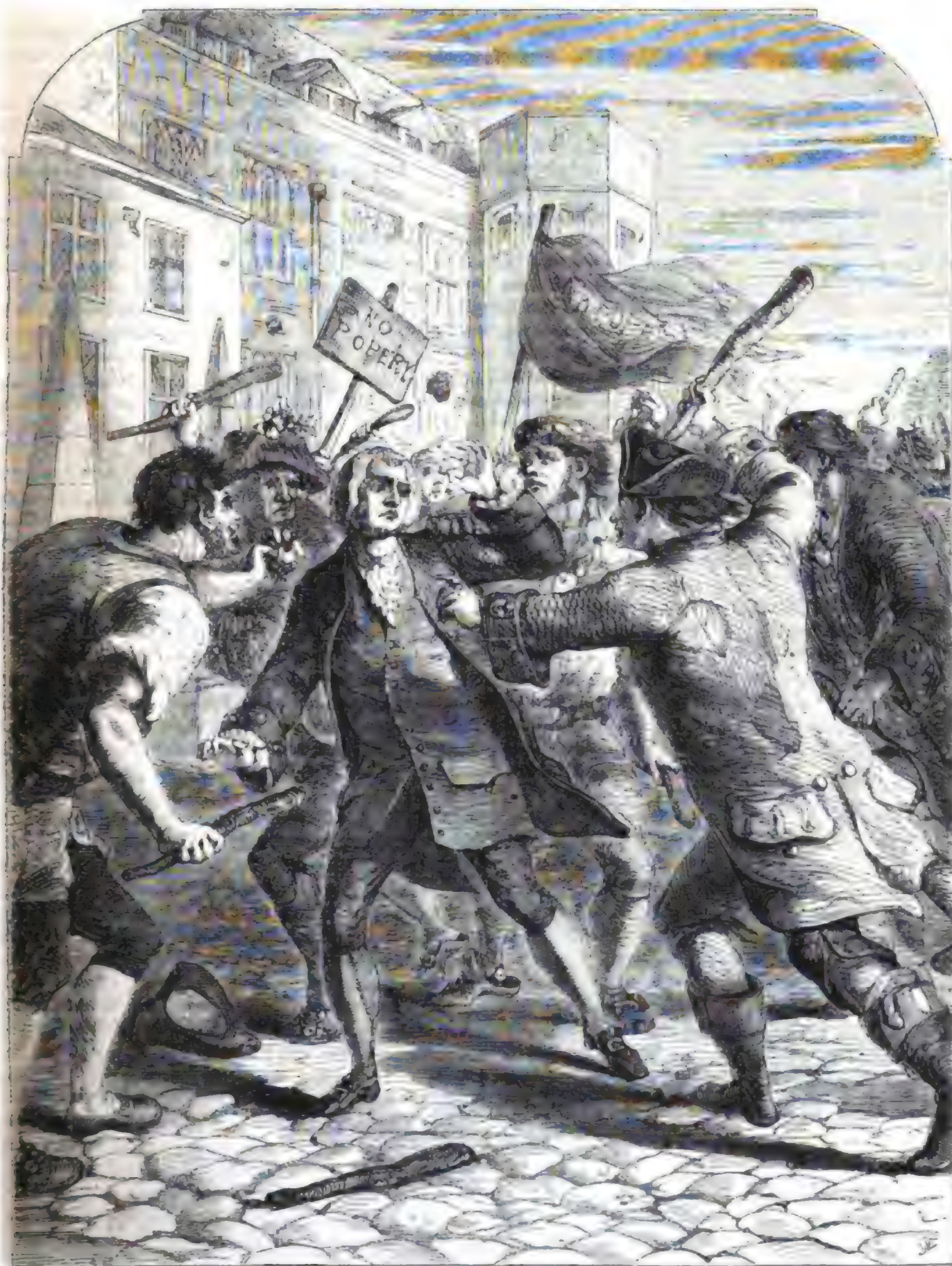
howling through the vacant lobbies, and clattering the doors of deserted guard-rooms, appal the imagination, and conjure up the grim spectres of departed tyrants—the Saxon, the Norman, and the Dane—the stern Edwards and fierce Henries—who stalk from desolation to desolation

through the dreary vacuity and melancholy succession of chill and comfortless chambers. When this tumult subsides, a dead and still more frightful silence would reign in the desert if every now and then the tacking of hammers did not announce that those constant attendants on all courts, in all ages, jobs, were still alive; for whose sake alone it is that any trace of ancient grandeur is suffered to remain. These palaces are a true emblem of some governments: the inhabitants are decayed, but the governors and magistrates still flourish. They put me in mind of Old Sarum, where the representatives, more in number than the constituents, only serve to inform us that this was once a place of trade, and sounding with the busy hum of man, though now you can only trace the streets by the colour of the corn, and its sole manufacture is in members of parliament."

In the same luxuriantly-imaginative style, he is not content to tell you that the duchies of Lancaster, &c., are cumbrous antiquities, better swept away, but he thus picturesquely embellishes the very fact:—"Ours is not a monarchy in strictness, but, as in the Saxon times, this country was a heptarchy, so now it is a strange sort of pentarchy. Cross a brook, and you lose the king of England; but you have some comfort in coming again under his majesty, though shorn of his beams, and no more than prince of Wales. Go to the north, and you find him dwindled to a duke of Lancaster; turn to the west of that north, and he pops upon you in the humble character of the earl of Chester. Travel a few miles on, the earl of Chester disappears, and the king surprises you again as count palatine of Lancaster. If you travel beyond Mount Edgecombe, you will find him once more in his *incognito*, and he is duke of Cornwall. So that, quite fatigued and satiated with this dull variety, you are infinitely refreshed when you return to the sphere of his proper splendour, and behold your amiable sovereign in his true, simple, undisguised character of majesty."

Lord North, with all his admiration of Burke's speech, very soon managed to put the principality and the duchies out of the range of his inquiries. He declared that nobody was more zealous for a permanent system of economy than he was; but then, unfortunately, the king's patrimonial revenue was concerned in these duchies, and therefore he must be first consulted; and, what was still more embarrassing was, that these proposals affected the rights of the prince of Wales, and therefore could not be mooted till he was of age; so that branch of the inquiry was lopped off under the gentle phrase of postponement.

When the discussion reached the reform of the king's household, Burke was compelled to admit that a former attempt to reform this lavish yet penurious household by lord Talbot, had been suddenly stopped, because, forsooth, it would endanger the situation of an *honourable member who was turnspit in the kitchen!* That his lordship, observing the lavish expense of the king's kitchen, had reduced several tables, and put the persons entitled to them on board wages; but, as the duties of these persons had to be performed, they continued still to live where they were employed, and the only result was that the expense was doubled! The end of it was, that though all expressed themselves as delighted and as acquiescent, almost every detail was thrown out in



THE "NO POPEERY" RIOTERS ATTACKING THE MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT IN PALACE YARD.

committee. The only point carried was that which, as we have said, abolished the Board of Trade, by a majority, however, of only eight. By this Gibbon lost his post as a commissioner, and Cumberland, the dramatist, that of secretary to the board. Gibbon's income being but small, he retired to Lausanne in Switzerland, where he completed his great work, "The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire." The Board of Trade was ere long restored again. The other portions of Burke's great scheme occupied the house through March, April, and May, and then was got rid of by a manoeuvre in the committee, Burke declaring he would bring the measure forward again next session.

In the meantime, lord Shelburne had introduced his promised motion for a commission of accounts. This was to consist of members of both houses, who were neither in office nor possessed pensions. They were to examine the public expenditure; to inquire into the grant of all contracts, and their execution; and to consider what retrenchments could be made consistent with the public dignity and justice by abolishing useless offices. Lord Shelburne said that his object was not to weaken the proper administration of the government, but to increase it, by cutting off all these drains upon the public money, which, through undue influences operating on the two houses, had fastened themselves on the country, and were sapping its honour and its strength. He showed the salutary effect of such committees in former reigns. He was ably supported by the earl of Coventry and the duke of Grafton, who drew in melancholy colours the condition of the country; but he was boldly contradicted by the young earl of Chesterfield and by lord Mansfield and the chancellor Thurlow, who resorted to the usual cry, that there would be a violation of the constitution, the constitution being the most convenient of all words when there is any attack contemplated on the diseases and polypi of the constitution. The motion was negatived by one hundred and one votes against fifty-five.

But the subject was not so easily disposed of. Colonel Barré, in the house of commons, only three days after Burke introduced his great motion, declared that Burke's measure did not go far enough; that Burke did not mean to interfere with the enormous pensions and overpaid places already in possession; and that he would himself introduce a motion for a committee of accounts, to probe all these depths of corruption, and to examine into the army extravagancies, which were excessive, and to him unaccountable. Lord North, so far from opposing this motion, declared *his surprise* that no one had thought of introducing it before. That he was extremely anxious himself for the reduction of all needless expenditure. The opposition expressed their particular satisfaction: but they were rather too precipitate, for North, with a trickiness disgraceful in a British minister, made haste to get the business into his own hands; and, on the 2nd of March, was ready with a bill of his own framing. The opposition were lost in astonishment; and Barré denounced this perfidious conduct in the minister in terms of a just indignation. The whole opposition, who found themselves impatiently outwitted, declared that the scheme, so far from being intended to relieve the country, was meant to shield all the existing abuses, and they accordingly resisted it to the utmost.

North, however, by his standing majority of myrmidons, carried the bill through the house; and Sir Guy Carleton, late governor of Canada, and five others, were appointed commissioners. Thus the whole motion was in reality shelved.

Sir George Saville moved, that at least the names of all pensioners for life, and of all places held by patents, should be laid before the house; but North rushed to the rescue of those tender scions of aristocracy, who were hardy enough to solicit any amount of emolument in places or pensions, but too susceptible to be told of it. He said, "To expose the necessities of ancient and noble families to the prying eye of malignant curiosity; to hold up the man who has a pension, to the envy and detraction of him who hates him, because he has none; to prepare a feast for party writers, and furnish materials for magazines and newspapers, which would magnify and misrepresent every circumstance: these are the bad effects; but I know of no good ones that could result from such indiscriminate exposure, since the civil list money was granted freely, and without restriction or control to the person of the king."

This was the kind of language by which, for a century, the most shameful grants of the public money to people who had never rendered, and never could render, the smallest service in return, was defended. True, the civil list was granted to the king, and, had he confined his expenses within it, the country would have been silent. But George was continually coming to the parliament for augmentations, and payment of debts, for the very purpose of feeding all these aristocratic incubi. North, who was at the same time losing America, and thus throwing the resources of the country to those who enabled him to keep his place and effect this ruin, was supported by Dundas, the lord advocate, and Wedderburn, the attorney-general, in artful speeches. Barré, justly provoked at the advocacy of corruption by these two Scotchmen, exclaimed, "That not a single Englishman dared to stand forth in defence of the minister, that he had only two Scots!" This remark excited the nationality of the Scottish members, and there was a great uproar. Lord Nugent, though an aristocrat himself, could not help exclaiming, cynically, "There would be many lady Bridgets, lady Marys, and lady Jennys, who would be much hurt at hearing their names entered on the proceedings of the house as pensioners of the state." North moved an amendment, that the resolution should be restricted to such pensions only as were paid at the Exchequer, thus exempting those upon the civil list, and this he carried at one o'clock in the morning, though only by a majority of two. A similar motion was, on the 10th of March, introduced into the house of peers by the earl of Effingham, which was promptly negatived. In that debate, a great exposure was made of the *pauperised* condition of the Scottish peerage, the members of which almost entirely, with a vast tribe of their needy relations, hung on place and the pension list like a whole hive of bees at a swarming.

The rancour which these revelations of the hordes of high-bred parasites who were battenning on the strength of the country excited, became so intense that duels grew into fashion. Mr. Fox had had to fight his man, and now lord Shelburne was called out. He had proposed an address to

his majesty to inquire whether he had been pleased to dismiss two lord-lieutenants of counties on account of their conduct in parliament, and in his speech had commented strongly on a regiment having been given to a Mr. Fullarton, the member for Plympton, who was a civilian, and had been secretary to the late lord Stormont, at Paris. Lord Shelburne had therefore styled him a *commis*, or mere clerk. For this, and for saying that men thus appointed—not for their fitness, but their subservience—would be as ready to lead their regiments against the people as against their enemies, Fullarton challenged Shelburne, and severely wounded him. The affair, coupled with that of Mr. Fox, excited a great sensation, both in and out of parliament. Sir James Lowther said, in the commons, that such practices would soon reduce the English parliament to the level of a Polish diet; but it was replied that a few such correctives would teach gentlemen to speak with *better manners*. Not a word was uttered as to the folly and wickedness of duelling in general; the day when that light should dawn upon the *Christian* mind was yet far off.

The affair of Mr., or colonel, Fullarton excited a strong spirit of jealousy against this and the other new regiments which had been raised chiefly by private gentlemen, who thus, however, obtained great influence with government, and were enabled to put in their friends as officers, and were, in return, ready to support ministers in their despotic conduct. Mr. John Chewé reproduced the bill of Mr. Dowdeswell, to disable revenue officers from voting at elections, which was at once rejected. Sir Philip Jennings Clerke then reproduced his bill, to exclude contractors from the house of commons, unless their contracts were obtained at a public bidding; this was suffered for appearance's sake to pass the house with very little opposition, but it was arrested in the peers by the law lords, at the head of whom were Mansfield and Thurlow, and thrown out.

In a debate on the army estimates and the new levies, which immediately followed, on the 5th of April, Sir Philip Jennings Clerke made some strong remarks on the new regiment of the Cinque Ports, which lord North had raised, and to which he had appointed his son as colonel. This called up lord North's son, who was in the house, and the discussion grew warm, drawing into it the regiments of Fullarton and colonel Holroyd, the friend of Gibbon. The colonels defended themselves with much fire, but the agitation of the question tended to throw still more light on the manner in which even ostensibly patriotic movements were made the engines of ministerial domination.

The next day, April 6th, a great meeting was held in Westminster, avowedly to add weight to the county petitions for economical reform, which were now pouring into the house of commons. Fox presided, and was supported by the dukes of Devonshire and Portland. Government, to throw discredit on the meeting, affected alarm, and, at the request of the Middlesex magistrates, who were believed to have been moved by ministers to make it, a body of troops were drawn up in the neighbourhood of Westminster Hall. The indignation of the opposition was so much excited that Burke, in the house of commons, commenting on this attempt to insinuate evil designs against the friends of reform, denounced the Middlesex magistrates as creeping

vermin—the very “scum of the earth;” and Fox declared, that if soldiers were to be let loose on the constitutional meetings of the people, then all who went to such meetings must go armed!

Whilst these indignant sentiments were uttering, the petitions for economical reform were pouring in from all parts of the country in such numbers that the table of the house appeared buried under them. The house went into committee upon the subject, and then Dunning rose and introduced his famous motion for a resolution in these words:—“That it is the opinion of this committee that the influence of the crown has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished.”

Dunning declaimed in language bold and unsparing, and expatiated at great length on the alarming influence of the crown, purchased by the lavish expenditure of the people's money, the people thus being made the instruments of their own slavery. He censured in stinging terms the treatment of the economical plans of Burke, the treacherous terms of approbation with which ministers had received them, and then had trodden on them piecemeal till they had left of them the merest shred. He trusted the nation would still resent this audacious mockery of reform—this insult to the most distinguished patriots. This was the way, he contended, that this administration had again and again acted; adding ridicule to oppression. He was followed by others, who also averred that it was by this corrupt influence, this lavish distribution of the money of the deluded people, that lord North had alone been able to maintain himself in power; a great truth when combined with the obtuse obstinacy of the king.

Sir Fletcher Norton, the speaker, seized the opportunity of the house being in committee, when he was at liberty to take part in debate, to wreak his own sense of injury on the ministers. The post of chief-justice had been held out to him as an inducement to accept the speaker's chair, but now the chief-justice De Grey was asked to retire in order that the attorney-general, Wedderburn, might succeed him. This was too much for Norton. When Burke's resolutions were before the house in committee, he had upbraided North with this transaction, and North had coolly replied that he was not bound by the promises of his predecessor. Wedderburn, too, incensed at the mention of his name, poured the vials of his wrath on Norton, and told him that he had already, in acknowledgment of his services, received one of the richest sinecures in possession of the crown—one of the chief-justiceships in Eyre. Norton now repaid this severity by cordially supporting the motion of Dunning, declaring from his heart the conviction that the power of the crown was enormous, and also increasing. He reminded the house that the parliamentary term was drawing to an end, and he wished those members joy of going down to their constituents who should now vote the petitions of the people unfounded.

Lord North defended his conduct by declaring that he never had asserted that his abilities were equal to his arduous post; but that it was clear that he had retained it simply because the people had a still less opinion of the fitness of his opponents. There was, however, so ominous a feeling in the house—such a persuasion that Dunning's

motion could not well be negatived—that Dundas, the lord advocate, endeavoured to get rid of the debate by moving that the chairman should leave the chair; but this was so ill received that it was withdrawn. Still, Dundas made another effort, which was this time in the contrary direction—that is, to tire out the house by proposing, as an amendment, that the words, "It is now necessary to declare," should be prefixed to Dunning's motion. Fox at once seconded the motion, by which the intended delay of a debate was prevented. It was put to the house and carried; and Dunning's motion was also carried, at a late hour of the night, by two hundred and thirty-three votes against two hundred and fifteen.

Encouraged by this unwonted success, for the words of the speaker, reminding them of the coming elections, had sunk deep into many hearts, Dunning immediately moved a second proposition, namely, that it was competent to that house to examine into and correct any abuses of the civil list, as well as of any other branch of the public revenue. Lord North begged the committee not to proceed any further that night; but the opposition had no idea of being stopped in their new career of success. The resolution was carried without a division. Immediately on the heels of this, Thomas Pitt moved that it was the duty of the house to redress without delay the grievances enumerated in the petitions of the people. Lord North again implored that they would not proceed any further that night; but this resolution was also put and carried, likewise without division. Immediately, though it was past one o'clock in the morning, Fox moved that all these motions should be reported. Lord North, in the utmost consternation, declared this procedure was "violent, arbitrary, and unusual;" but Fox pressed his motion, and it was carried, like the rest, without a division, and the report was brought up.

When the committee on the petitions next met, on the 10th of April, Dunning, elated with his success, was ready with fresh resolutions. His first was that it was necessary for the purity and independence of parliament that the proper officer should, within ten days of the meeting of parliament in each session, lay before the house an account of monies paid out of the civil list, or out of any part of the public revenue, to any member of parliament. This, too, was triumphantly carried, only to be followed by another from Dunning, that the persons holding the offices of treasurer of the chamber, treasurer of the household, or clerkships of the green cloth, with all their deputies, should be incapable of sitting in the house of commons. Here the confounded ministerial members began to recover their spirit under the sweeping sentences passed against them, and Dunning only carried this resolution by a majority of two.

On the 14th of April the house was adjourned for ten days, on account of the illness of the speaker, Sir Fletcher Norton; and, on assembling again, it was found that the ministerial majority had recovered its old hardihood. Either they thought they had done enough by their late votes to satisfy their constituents, or ministers had found means to render them obedient by menacing losses from their side. For, when Dunning proposed a resolution that his majesty should be requested not to dissolve or prorogue parliament until proper measures had been taken to secure to the people

the benefits prayed for in their petitions, the motion was rejected by a majority of fifty-one in a very full house.

Fox and Dunning vented their indignation at this result on the ministerial phalanx, whom they declared to be the worst of slaves—slaves sold by themselves into the most contemptible thralldom. But their castigation was in vain; the troop was brought back to its primitive compliance, and defeated every future motion from the opposition. On the 19th, Mr. Serjeant Adair moved that the supplies should be withheld till the public grievances were redressed. This was negatived by eighty-nine votes against fifty-four; and, finally, on the 26th of May, when Dunning moved for the bringing up the report of the committee on the 10th of April, an amendment was moved and carried that the chairman should quit the chair.

Thus, all the result of these triumphant motions of the opposition was the simple fact of the resolutions of the 10th of April remaining on the journals; everything which could give effect to them was swept away again, and they were left little better than a dead letter. Fox denounced the whole proceeding as most treacherous and unmanly; and the opposition declared that it was an insolent announcement that the prayers of the people should receive no attention from that house.

Amidst this domestic debate, the affairs of America excited very little discussion. General Conway, indeed, on the 5th of May, brought in a bill for restoring peace to the colonies; but it was so little acceptable to either party, that it was got rid of by passing to the order of the day.

Whilst the opposition was in the dejection of disappointed hopes, suddenly there arose an explosion of popular opinion against the catholics, stimulated and led on by an insane fanatic, which threatened the most direful consequences, and produced sufficiently frightful ones—the so-called Gordon Riots.

We have already noted the excitement in Scotland at the act which was passed in 1778, for the repeal of some of the severest disabilities of the catholics; and this had been greatly increased by the proposal to extend its operation by a second act to Scotland. The fanatics of Scotland called upon the general assembly to petition government against any such act for Scotland; but the assembly most meritoriously refused. This, however, only increased the fury of the fanatical portion of the public. The clergy, many of them, showed a very different disposition to the general assembly, and from their pulpits excited the people against any relaxation of the laws against catholics, which were much more harshly administered in Scotland than in England. They declared that the church was in danger; that popery was going to be restored again, in all its horrors. Pamphlets of the most rancorous kind were printed and circulated all over the country, in which the pope, the devil, and Sir George Saville, who had introduced the catholic relief bill, were put pretty much on a par.

The synod of Glasgow passed resolutions for opposing any bill which should be brought into parliament for relaxing the penal laws against catholics in Scotland; and its example was widely followed by other synods and presbyteries, denouncing vengeance against all who should favour any measures for the relief of the catholics. Not so the

synod of Edinburgh, which was distinguished by many members of literary eminence, and who had read to a more Christian purpose the sublime tolerance of the Saviour; they refused to take any part in the illiberal agitation, but this only incited the intolerant masses the more. They formed themselves into a "Committee of the Protestant Interest," and, headed by shopkeepers and their apprentices, they held meetings and passed resolutions of the bitterest and most vindictive kind. The odious sentiments which they, and which a society calling itself a Christian Knowledge Society, promulgated, were speedily answered by acts of fierce assault on the catholic population, and by riots. The catholics, alarmed for their lives and property, implored lord North to lay aside any intention of passing an act in their favour, as its certain consequence would be an intolerable aggravation of their sufferings. They also published in the newspapers a statement that they sought no exemption from the existing laws; but this had no effect on the insensate zealots. In January, 1779, the mobs assembled in Leith Wynd, and about what they called the Pillar of Popery, a catholic chapel and priests' house, which had been lately erected. These they demolished and set on fire; thence they adjourned to Blackfriars Wynd, where they destroyed another chapel, after plundering it and carrying off or burning a fine collection of books. The magistrates scarcely attempted to check their destructive fury. They continued to parade the streets, breaking the windows of all who were catholics, or the friends of catholics. They particularly vowed vengeance against Robertson, the historian, who was averse to all religious persecutions, and assembled in a tumultuous mob to pull down his house. By this time, however, a party of dragoons had arrived, who preserved for the learned historian his house and library.

These riots might soon have been quelled, but the corporation of Edinburgh was deeply infected with the anti-catholic spirit. They were very willing to lie still, and let the populace do its worst. In Glasgow the mob had no such indulgence, for there was not a catholic chapel or a catholic priest to be found in that zealous presbyterian city; but they found a Mr. Bagnal, a catholic earthenware manufacturer from Staffordshire, and they fell upon his house, and drove him and his family, with the fiercest insult and violence, thence, and destroyed his property. In Edinburgh, the duke of Buccleuch, who commanded a regiment of fencibles, offered to march in and quell the mob, but the corporation repelled his offer. A lieutenant of the navy, who was lying at Leith, offered the same service, but the provost ordered him at once out of the city. When the mischief was pretty well completed, the provost issued a proclamation, calling on the mob to return to order, so as to quiet the fears of many well-meaning people, assuring them that the bill for the repeal of the penal statutes against the catholics was quite laid aside, and that it was expected that for the future the people of Edinburgh would avoid connecting themselves with any tumultuous assembly. Not the slightest attempt was made to punish the ringleaders of these abominable outrages; and, though the riots were over, no catholic was safe that dared to appear abroad.

Wilkes, in the house of commons, demanded of the lord advocate whether it was intended to keep the promise which

had been made to the catholics of Scotland, to repeal the laws against them, but Dundas replied, that, in consequence of the excited state of the public mind in Scotland, it was agreed to postpone any measure of the kind to a future day.

The persecuted and despoiled catholics of Edinburgh presented, by Burke, a petition for compensation for the damages sustained, and for measures of future security. Fox, in supporting this petition, commented in severe terms on the bitter spirit of Scotch theology, and contrasted it with the all-tolerant spirit of the Founder of Christianity; demanding that parliament, in defiance of these broils and popular violences, should repeal the penal laws *in toto*.

But the same unchristian spirit had now spread to England, and protestant associations, as they were called, linked together by corresponding committees, were established in various towns, and had elected as their president and parliamentary head lord George Gordon, a brother of the duke of Gordon. This young man, who was about nine-and-twenty, had been some time in parliament, and had attracted attention by the eccentricity of his manners and the slovenliness of his dress. Especially during the present session he had spoken a great deal, and in a style which was already full of a fanaticism fast ripening into insanity. Sometimes this fanaticism produced flashes of what looked like inspiration, at other times it descended to a low buffoonery. Early in the year he obtained an interview with the king, and read over to him the greatest part of an Irish pamphlet to show him the dangerous character of popery; for he suspected that George himself was in heart a papist.

To abate the virulence of the dissenters, it was resolved to give them an act of parliament, relieving them from subscription to nearly the extent of the bill rejected in 1772, and again in 1773. But this act, now passed without debate, had no effect in reducing the anti-catholic excitement. Lord George Gordon continued his wild harangues in the commons, at which the members often laughed, and treated his menaces as mere sounds. He assured them that every man in Scotland, except the papists, was ready for a revolution; he moved that the petition introduced by Burke should be thrown over the table; and he declared that he would come down to the house with one hundred and fifty thousand men of the protestant associations at his back; that he would besiege both houses of parliament, the king, and the prince of Wales, with petitions. He asserted in the house in November, 1779, that the Scotch were quite satisfied that the king was a papist. During the spring of 1780 he presented several petitions from the people of Kent, and he then conceived his grand idea of a petition long enough to reach from the speaker's chair to the centre window at Whitehall, out of which Charles walked to the scaffold. At a meeting of the protestant association, held towards the end of May in Coachmakers'-hall, he announced that he would present this petition on the 2d of June. Resolutions were passed that the whole body of the association and all their friends must go in procession on that day to present the petition. They were to assemble in St. George's-fields, every one must have a blue cockade in his hat, to distinguish them from the enemies of the cause, and lord George, to stimulate them, told them that unless the assembly amounted to twenty thousand he would not present the petition. On the 26th

of May he announced in the house of commons that he should appear there with the petition at the head of all those who had signed it. Accordingly, on that day vast crowds assembled on the appointed spot, amounting to sixty thousand, or, as many asserted, one hundred thousand men. This formidable throng was arranged in four battalions, one consisting entirely of Scotchmen, who received lord George with enthusiastic acclamations, and, after a vapouring speech

purposes. Though government had had abundance of warning from lord George Gordon himself, they had taken no measures of precaution whatever. So far from having bodies of troops drawn up, as they had been too ready to have at the harmless meeting at Westminster, they had not even sworn in a single special constable. Thus the metropolis was left at the mercy of this mob, with no persons authorised to keep order except the feeble parish beadle,



EDMUND BURKE. FROM AN AUTHENTIC PORTRAIT.

from him, marched by different ways to Westminster. The main body, however, headed by lord George, with his blue cockade in his hat, passed through the Borough, over London-bridge, and thence all the way through the city, marching six abreast, with a very tall man going before them, carrying the huge petition on his head, said to contain, not twenty thousand, but one hundred and twenty thousand signatures and marks.

As the so-called protestants advanced, shouting "No popery! no popery!" they were joined by all the scamps and pickpockets, who increased the tumult for their own

who were, for the most part, old and useless. Thus marching on without any opposition, this immense mob filled up all the open spaces around the houses of parliament, and compelled all who approached to put on blue cockades, and cry "No popery!"

The lords had been summoned to discuss a motion by the duke of Richmond on universal suffrage and annual parliaments, and lord Mansfield was to preside in the absence of the lord chancellor Thurlow. Mansfield had excited the especial resentment of these zealots by having acquitted a catholic priest, who was charged with the crime of celebrating



THE "NO POPERY" RIOTERS BURNING THE PRISON OF NEWGATE.

mass, and no sooner did he make his appearance than he was assailed with the fiercest yells and execrations. His carriage windows were dashed in, his robe torn, and he escaped finally into the house with his wig in great disorder, and himself pale and trembling. The archbishop of York was an object of the especial fury of these protestants. They tore off his lawn sleeves and flung them in his face. The bishop of Lincoln, a brother of lord Thurlow, had his carriage demolished, and was compelled to seek refuge in a neighbouring house, where he is said to have made his way in women's clothes over the roof into another dwelling. The secretaries of state, lords Stormont, Townsend, and Hillsborough, were rudely handled. Lord Bathurst, the president of the council, had his wig pulled off, and was complimented by the epithets of "the pope" and an "old woman." The duke of Northumberland, having a gentleman in black with him, the mob declared that this must be a jesuit, and the duke was quickly dragged from his carriage, and was robbed of his watch and purse.

When thus a certain number of the lords had made their way into the house, they were only secured from the invasion of the mob by the doorkeepers closing the doors. The peers, however, proceeded to business amid this strange confusion, and the duke of Richmond attempted to make his motion, but in vain. "At this instant," says a writer of the time, "it is hardly possible to conceive a more grotesque appearance than the house exhibited. Some of their lordships with their hair about their shoulders; others smothered with dust, and most of them as pale as the ghost in 'Hamlet'; and all of them standing up in their several places, and speaking at the same instant. One lord proposing to send for the guards, another for the justices or civil magistrates, many crying out, 'Adjourn! adjourn!' while the skies resounded with the hissing and hootings, shoutings and huzzas, in Palace Yard. This scene of unprecedented alarm continued for about half an hour."

In the midst of this chaos lord Montfort rushed into the house, exclaiming that lord Boston was dragged out of his carriage, was in the hands of the mob, and in danger of being murdered. It was proposed by lord Townshend that they should rush out in a body to the rescue of lord Boston and any others of the members, but then arose a debate whether they should take the mace with them, and at length it was decided in the negative; but, before this debate had terminated, lord Boston had managed to make his escape and his appearance in the house whitened all over with his own hair-powder.

Then two of the Middlesex magistrates were summoned to the bar to give a reason for there being no precautions taken against this riot, and the magistrates declared that they had received no orders from government, and, though they had endeavoured to collect some aid to prevent mischief on their own account, they had only been able to assemble six constables!

The opposition then accused ministers of this gross neglect, and charged all the violence on the pusillanimity of ministers in not punishing with a proper severity the popery rioters of Edinburgh. It was found impossible to proceed with the orders of the day. The peers retired as best they might, one by one, making their way home on

foot, or in hackney coaches, in the dark, and no one was left in the house except lord Mansfield and a few servants.

The members of the house of commons had to run the gauntlet of these furies much like the lords. They pulled many of them out of their carriages, tore their clothes from their backs, and maltreated them, crying continually, "Repeal the bill! No popery! Lord George Gordon!" The frantic multitude forced their way into the lobby of the house, and attempted to break into the house itself. They thundered at the doors, and there was imminent danger of their forcing their way in. Meantime, lord George Gordon and alderman Ball were presenting the petition, and moved that the house should consider it at once in committee. An amendment was moved, that it should be considered on Tuesday, the 6th; but there were not means of putting either motion or amendment, for the mob had possession of the lobby, and the serjeant-at-arms declared it was impossible to clear it.

Whilst this confusion lasted, lord George Gordon exerted himself to excite the mob to the highest possible pitch. So long as members were speaking, he continued to go to the top of the gallery stairs, ever and anon, to drop a word to the crowd below likely to exasperate them against the particular member speaking. "Burke, the member for Bristol, is up now," he cried; and then coming again, "Do you know that lord North calls you a mob?" This he repeated till the crowd was worked up to a maddening frenzy, and made so desperate a battering at the door, that it was momentarily expected they would burst it open. Several of the members vowed to lord George, that, if his rabid friends did violate the sanctity of the house, they would run him through as the first man stepped over the lintel. Henry Herbert, afterwards the earl of Caernarvon, followed lord George closely for this purpose; and general Murray, brother to the duke of Athol, and a kinsman of lord George, told him plainly that, should a single man of the mob enter, he would run his sword, not through that man, but through lord George himself. Colonel Holroyd laid hands on the great agitator, and told him that, if he attempted to go out again, he would immediately move for his commitment to Newgate; that hitherto he had attributed his conduct to insanity, but now he regarded it as something much worse.

These determined proceedings daunted lord George. He retired to the eating-room, and sank quietly into a chair. Meantime, lord North had privately dispatched a messenger for a party of the guards. Till these could arrive, some of the more popular members went out, and used their endeavours to appease the rage of the multitude. Lord Mahon harangued them from the balcony of a coffee-house, and produced considerable effect. About nine o'clock, Mr. Addington, a Middlesex magistrate, came up with a party of horse-guards. He spoke kindly to the people, and advised them to disperse quietly, which, the exasperator being absent, many of them did. Soon after came a party of foot-guards, who were drawn up in the Court of Requests, and they soon cleared the lobby. The members then boldly proceeded with the debate, and, undeterred by the cries still heard from without, carried the amendment for deferring the consideration of the petition by a hundred and ninety-four votes.

including the tellers, against only eight. The house then adjourned.

Imagining that the crowd would now disperse, the soldiers were dismissed, and the magistrates returned home. But this was premature. There were shoals of hot-headed fanatics, who were not willing to depart without some damage inflicted on the catholics. One division of these attacked the Bavarian chapel in Warwick Lane, Golden Square, and another attacked the Sardinian chapel in Duke Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields, destroyed their interiors, and set them on fire. These chapels existed on the faith of treaties. The engines arrived only in time to see a huge bonfire before the Sardinian chapel made of its seats, and both chapels too far in flames to be stopped; indeed, the mob would not allow the engines to play. The soldiers, too, arrived when it was too late to do anything, but seized thirteen of the rioters.

The next day, the house of lords met; the commons had adjourned till Tuesday. Lord Bathurst moved and carried an address, praying the king to prosecute the authors and abettors of the riots; and lord Shelburne pointed out the necessity of the institution of a police on the system of that of France, but employed as became a free and constitutional country. That day all seemed quiet; but at evening, the men having got their Saturday's wages and their usual beer, there were some disturbances in Moorfields, and the mob abused some of the catholics there. The next day, Sunday, fresh crowds assembled in the same quarter, and attacked the dwelling-houses and chapels of the catholics. Troops were sent to quell them; but, having orders not to fire, the mob cared nothing for them. They knew, says a writer of the time, that the military did not dare to fire without the command of the civil power; and, so far from fearing them, in many places they pulled the noses of the soldiers and spat in their faces. The soldiers, therefore, thought it best, as they could not effectually act, to be on good terms with the mob to prevent such insults; and therefore a rumour soon grew that the soldiers were fraternizing with the rioters, which greatly increased the alarm. The mob attacked the chapels and the dwelling-houses of the catholics about Moorfields, the soldiers looking on. Kennett, the lord-mayor, was a man of no mind or energy, and therefore took no active means to quell the riots.

The next morning, Monday, a cabinet council was held at St. James's, to consider what steps should be taken; but nothing was done, except to offer a reward of five hundred pounds for the discovery of the persons concerned in destroying the Sardinian and Bavarian chapels. Lord Mansfield, the lord chief-justice, even treated the affair as altogether trivial, and when, in the course of the same day, Strahan, the printer, called on him to express his far greater apprehensions, he continued to treat it in the same light. After the council a grand drawing-room was held by the king, in celebration of his birth-day, and the courtiers were all fluttering about in their finery, and the choristers were going through the farce of chanting one of the laurate Whitehead's wretched odes in worship of majesty, while the whole metropolis was left at the mercy of the fanatic mob!

The blue cockades were, in fact, growing every hour more numerous and audacious. A few of them were seized, and

committed to Newgate; but the guards, who escorted them thither, were pelted and insulted. Some of the rioters took their way to Wapping and East Smithfield, to destroy the catholic chapels in that neighbourhood; and others burst into and plundered the shops and houses of Messrs. Rainforth and Maberly, tradesmen, who had been bold enough to give evidence against the rioters taken on Friday. Another detachment took their way to Leicester Fields, to ransack the house of Sir George Saville, the author of the bill for the relaxation of the penal code against the catholics. This they stripped and set fire to, and some of the pictures and furniture, as well as some of the effects taken from the catholic chapels and houses in Moorfields, were paraded before the house of lord George Gordon, in Welbeck Street, in triumph. All that night London was in the hands of this destructive and unchecked mob.

On the morning of Tuesday, the 6th, both houses of parliament met, according to adjournment. A detachment of foot-guards was posted in Westminster Hall; but the mob, knowing that their hands were tied, stopped and insulted the members on their way to either house as they had done on Friday. Lord Sandwich was dragged from his carriage, his carriage was demolished, and he was himself most violently treated. Mr. Hyde, a justice of peace, hastened to his rescue with a party of light horse, and succeeded—though one scoundrel declared, that if he could not murder Sandwich there he would murder him yet. Hyde rode amongst the crowd with the light horse to disperse them, but the soldiers, fearful of executing the law, would not even strike the rioters with the flat of their swords. The furious crowd was busy with huge oaken cudgels in their hands, compelling the ministers as they went to the house to cry "No popery!" and chalking those words on their carriages. Lord Stormont had his carriage destroyed, and was slightly wounded himself. A number of them, as Hyde rode amongst them, cried out, "To Hyde's house, a-hoy!" and they marched to his residence in St. Martin's Lane, and in a very short time pulled it down. Burke, who had fled for refuge with his family to the house of general Burgoyne, was stopped by the mob, and dared to remonstrate with them, but, as probably there were legions of Irish in the crowd, he was allowed to proceed.

About two hundred members assembled in the commons, where lord George Gordon appeared, wearing his blue cockade. Colonel Herbert, afterwards created lord Porchester, on seeing this, declared that he would not sit and vote in the house while he saw a noble lord with the ensign of riot in his hat, and that, if his lordship would not take it out, he would step across the house and do it for him. Lord George Gordon submissively took the cockade from his hat, and put it in his pocket. In fact, that strange madman was as strange a compound of audacity and timidity. He had now grown greatly alarmed at the features which the riots had assumed, and would fain have put an end to them. He had issued a handbill in the name of the protestant association, disavowing any concern in the riots; but, like the conjuror's 'prentice, though he had learned the art of raising the devil, he was ignorant of the power of laying him again.

Burke and Sir George Saville, who were both in the

house, recommended all parties to forget their differences, and unite, to enable ministers to take strong measures; but the majority were like lord George now—afraid of the mob, and carried a resolution, that the protestant petition, which had been made the immediate cause of these disturbances, should be taken into consideration. Burke stoutly opposed this as mean and truckling; but he afterwards expressed his satisfaction that they had done so, as otherwise the disgraceful outrages which took place would have been attributed to their obduracy. The resolution, which was moved by general Conway, only pledged the house to consider the petition when the disorders had subsided. There was some talk of committing lord George to the Tower, and expelling him from the house, but in the midst of the discussion fresh and alarming news came from the city, and the house adjourned in a hurry. The lords had only assembled in very small numbers, and had already adjourned to the 19th.

The mob had now acquired a more desperate character. The fanatic members of the protestant association had retired in consternation from the work of destruction, seeing fresh elements introduced into it—elements not of simple religious frenzy, but of plunder and revolutionary fury. They had begun the disturbance, and the thieves, pick-pockets, burglars, and all the vilest and most demoniacal tribes of the metropolis had taken it up. Like lord George Gordon, the originators would fain have set limits to the work of darkness, but it was gone out of their hands, and stood in triumphant devilry, ready to sack the city and overturn the very government. Pandemonium seemed to have broken loose, and the metropolis was at its mercy. The government was paralysed by the greatness of the evil, just as they had been from the first by the American war, and sate helpless as infants, while victorious anarchy raged through the city. While the house of commons had been sitting, the mob had attacked lord North's house, in Downing Street, just by; but a party of soldiers had succeeded in interposing themselves between the mansion and its assailants. The house of the minister was saved; but the gigantic mass of rioters then rolled towards the city, vowing that they would sack Newgate, and release their comrades, who had been sent there on Friday. They appeared in vast and infinite numbers before that prison, and demanded of Mr. Akerman, the keeper, the delivery of their associates. Their cry was still "No popery!" though their object was havoc: they were armed with heavy sledge-hammers, crow-bars, and pickaxes; and on the keeper refusing to liberate the prisoners, they commenced a desperate attack on his doors and windows, and, collecting combustibles, flung them into the dwelling. It was speedily in flames, and, whilst it burned, the mob thundered on the iron-studded doors of the prison with their tools. But, as they made no impression, they brought heaps of the keeper's furniture, and made a fire against the doors, as the mob at Edinburgh had done in the Porteus case.

The fires spread from the keeper's house to the prison chapel, and thence to some of the doors and passages leading into the wards. The mob raised terrible yells of rage and triumph, which were as wildly echoed by the prisoners within, some of whom were exulting in the expectation of

rescue, and others shrieking, afraid of perishing in the conflagration. The crowd, now more furious than ever, from greedily drinking the wine and spirits in the keeper's cellar, rushed through the gaps made by the flames, and were masters of the prison.

They were led on by ferocious fellows, who were but too familiar with the interior of the place. The different cells were forced open, and the now half-maddened prisoners were either rudely dragged out, or they rushed forth in maniacal delight. Three hundred of these criminals, some of them stained with the foulest offences, and four of them under sentence of execution on the following Thursday, were let out, to add to the horrors of the lawless tumult. Not one was left unreleased, not one perished. They came out into the surging, roaring multitude to raise their shouts at the sight of the great prison, which had lately been rebuilt at a cost of one hundred and forty thousand pounds, in one great conflagration. Nothing was left of it the next morning but one great skeleton of blackened and frowning walls.

The same evening the new prison of Clerkenwell was broken open, and all the prisoners there let loose. These joined the drinking, rabid mass, and, in their turn, attacked and gutted the houses of two of the most active magistrates—Sir John Fielding and Mr. Cox—as they had previously done that of Mr. Hyde. As they went along, they compelled the inhabitants to illuminate their houses, under menace of burning them down. Everywhere they seized on gin, brandy, and beer, and thus, in the highest paroxysm of drunken fury, at midnight they appeared before lord Mansfield's house, in Bloomsbury Square. His lordship must have bitterly rued his blindness then, in having slighted the warnings of the privy council and of Mr. Strahan, the printer. He was quickly obliged to escape with lady Mansfield by the back door, and to take refuge in the house of a friend in Lincoln's Inn Fields. The mob broke in, and, having demolished the doors and windows, proceeded to destroy and fling out into the square the furniture, pictures, and books, of which their fellows outside made several bonfires. Then perished one of the finest libraries in England, not only of works of law but of literature, which his lordship, through a long course of years, had been collecting. Besides the books, wearing apparel, furniture, and paintings, a great mass of private deeds and other papers, particularly of letters of eminent men, which it had been the great object of lord Mansfield to preserve, as it was said, for the purpose of writing the memoirs of his own times, were piled on the fires. The crowd, declaring that they were not doing this for plunder, but to execute justice on the friends of popery and the enemies of their country, would allow none of these things, if possible, to be carried off. So the destruction became complete. The same patriotic principle did not prevail in the cellars of Mansfield House. There the mob drank themselves mad or stupid on the finest wines, and consummated their work by setting fire to the house itself, and burning it to the ground.

The most extraordinary part of the transaction was, that almost at the commencement of the outrage a party of foot-guards arrived upon the spot, and stood quietly surveying the annihilation of the property. The gentleman who had conveyed away lord and lady Mansfield, on his return to the

spot, beheld a scene which has been vividly depicted by a writer of the time:—"The violence and ferocity of the ruffians, armed with sledge-hammers and other instruments of destruction; the savage shouts of the surrounding multitude; the wholesale desolation; the row of bonfires blazing in the street, heaped with the contents of the sacked mansion, with splendid furniture, books, pictures, and manuscripts, the loss of which was irreparable; the drunken wretches staggering against each other, or rolling on the ground; the fires lighted in every room, and the flames soon rushing upwards from windows and roof in one magnificent conflagration." Attracted by the flare of the burning, the inhabitants streamed from all quarters of London, where they were not detained by similar sights, to witness it, for, during the whole of this eventful night, similar fires of anarchy were raging, all London was awake, and the streets lighted up by the fierce and general illumination.

The gentleman referred to did not stand an idle spectator. He demanded of the commanding officer why he permitted this, and he replied that the magistrates had all run away, and that without the sanction of one of them it was impossible to act. When a magistrate at length was found, the mischief was done, and they could then only fire on a throng of wretched people, utterly stupefied with drink, and kill several of them.

The next morning, Wednesday, the 7th of June, the consternation was universal. The shops continued closed, and people barricaded their houses as well as they could, many of them chalking "No popery!" on their doors, or hanging blue silk, the protestant association colour, from their windows. In the midst of these horrors there were, as usual, some features of the ludicrous. The Jews in Houndsditch and Duke's Place chalked on their doors and shutters, "This house is a protestant!" An Italian, the clown of one of the theatres, chalked on his door, "No religion." Dr. Johnson, in a walk from Fleet Street to see the ruins of the Old Bailey, describes the coolness and composure with which "the protestants," men and boys, were employed in plundering and stripping houses, unmolested by soldiers, constables, or any one. Great numbers of the mob were going about, armed with iron bars torn from the railings in front of lord Mansfield's, to levy contributions on the householders. Some went singly; three mere boys were observed thus engaged in company; and one man, mounted on horseback, refused to receive anything less than gold.

A strong party, not satisfied with having destroyed lord Mansfield's town house, set off to burn that at Caen Wood, near Highgate. They were met and turned back by a detachment of cavalry. They were equally disappointed in their intended sack of the Bank of England. They found this mine of wealth guarded by "Arimaspians" in the shape of infantry, who had here orders to fire, and did it without scruple, killing and wounding a great many. They were more successful against the prisons. They broke open the King's Bench, the Fleet, the Marshalsea, and all the other prisons except the Poultry Compter, and set at liberty all the prisoners. They plundered the toll-houses on Blackfriars Bridge, and then burnt down these and other houses and all the prisons except the Poultry Compter. There

were many other public buildings on their list to be destroyed; the Mansion House, the British Museum, the Royal Exchange, and the Tower amongst them.

"The sight of the metropolis," says Dr. Johnson, "at this period was dreadful. Before the day had dawned, the whole sky was glaring with the light of conflagrations. The number of separate fires burning at the same time was counted up to thirty-six. Had the weather been stormy, the whole of London must have been laid in ashes; but, providentially, the weather was perfectly calm. The scene of the greatest catastrophe was at the distillery of a Mr. Langdale, on Holborn Bridge. This gentleman was a catholic, and his stores of spirits were a violent temptation. They broke open his premises in the evening, and destroyed everything. They staved in his hogheads of spirits, and others collected them in pails and in their hats, and drank voraciously. The kennel ran a mingled river of gin, brandy, and pure alcohol, and men, women, and children were seen on their knees sucking up the stream as it flowed! Fire was set to the premises, and catching the spirits which flooded the floors, the flames shot up to the sky like a volcano. The unhappy wretches, who had stupefied themselves with the fiery fluid, perished like flies in the raging element. No such scene of horror had been seen in all these spectacles of violence and crime. The loss of Mr. Langdale alone was estimated at one hundred thousand pounds.

Up to this point, the whole government and magistracy appeared as much stupefied as the poor miscreants who had perished in the flames of the distillery. The same sheer imbecility which had marked the whole conduct of the ministry from the commencement of the American war, distinguished them now. With abundant warnings of the growth of the tumult, no measures had been taken in preparation. When the outrages had begun, they met in council and treated that which all persons of any sagacity saw was tending to infinite damage, as a mere trivial affair. When the monster riot had assumed all its terrible, and ruinous, and murderous greatness, North and his colleagues ate like men under a nightmare, showing no ability to cope with the popular frenzy. The king was the first to awake from this fatal lethargy. He summoned a council on this memorable morning, at which he presided, and demanded what they had to propose for the suppression of these unparalleled disorders. Such had been the cowardly spirit of ministers, according to the memoirs of the duke of Grafton, that their servants had been going about with the blue cockade in their hats. At the king's question, the whole cabinet appeared dumbfounded. They reminded the king of the avidity with which juries in 1768 passed verdicts against officers for the discharge of their military duty in the riots which followed lord Barrington's letter of thanks for their services. It was the general opinion that no officer could proceed to extremities against a mob, however it might be breaking the law, until an hour after the riot act had been read by a magistrate. This was a monstrous perversion of the meaning of that act; but, had even this been zealously followed out, the riots must have been promptly suppressed. Officers, however, had sat for many hours together on their horses, with their troops, quietly watching the destruc-

tive fury of the crowd. There had prevailed one general stupor of cowardice and feebleness. Luckily, at this moment Wedderburn, the attorney-general, answered the king's interrogation boldly, that the riot act bore no such construction as was put upon it. In his opinion, no single hour was required for the dispersion of a mob after the reading of the riot act; and not even the reading of the act at all was necessary for the authorisation of military force where a mob was found actually committing a felony by firing a dwelling-house, and could not be restrained by other means.

Encouraged by Wedderburn's declaration, the king declared that that had always been his own opinion, and that now he would act upon it. There should be, at least, one magistrate in the kingdom who would do his duty. The council, gathering courage, then concurred, and a proclamation was issued, warning all householders to keep within doors with their families, the king's officers being now ordered to put down the riots by military execution, without waiting for any further reading of the riot act.

This proclamation was speedily followed by the steady march of soldiers to various quarters. At one moment was heard the loud roar of innumerable voices in the full commission of outrage, and at the next the rattle of musketry and the shrieks of the wounded and dying, followed by a strange silence. The first troops who commenced the bloody duty of repression were the Northumberland militia, who had come that day by a forced march of twenty-five miles, and who were led by colonel Holroyd against the rioters at Langdale's distillery in Holborn. A detachment of the guards at the same time drove the mob from the possession of Blackfriars Bridge. Numbers were there killed, or were forced by the soldiers or their own fears over the parapet of the bridge, and perished in the Thames. Where the mob would not disperse, the officers now firmly gave the word of command, and the soldiers fired in platoons. Little resistance was offered; in many quarters the inhabitants, recovering their presence of mind, armed themselves, and came forth in bodies to assist the soldiers. The number of troops now assembled in and around London amounted to twenty-five thousand, and before night the whole city was as quiet—far quieter, indeed—than on ordinary occasions, for a sorrowful silence seemed to pervade it; and besides two hundred men shot in the streets, two hundred and fifty were carried to the hospitals wounded, of whom nearly one hundred soon expired. But these bore no proportion to the numbers who had fallen victims to their own excesses, or who had been buried under the ruins of falling buildings, or consumed in the flames in the stupor of intoxication.

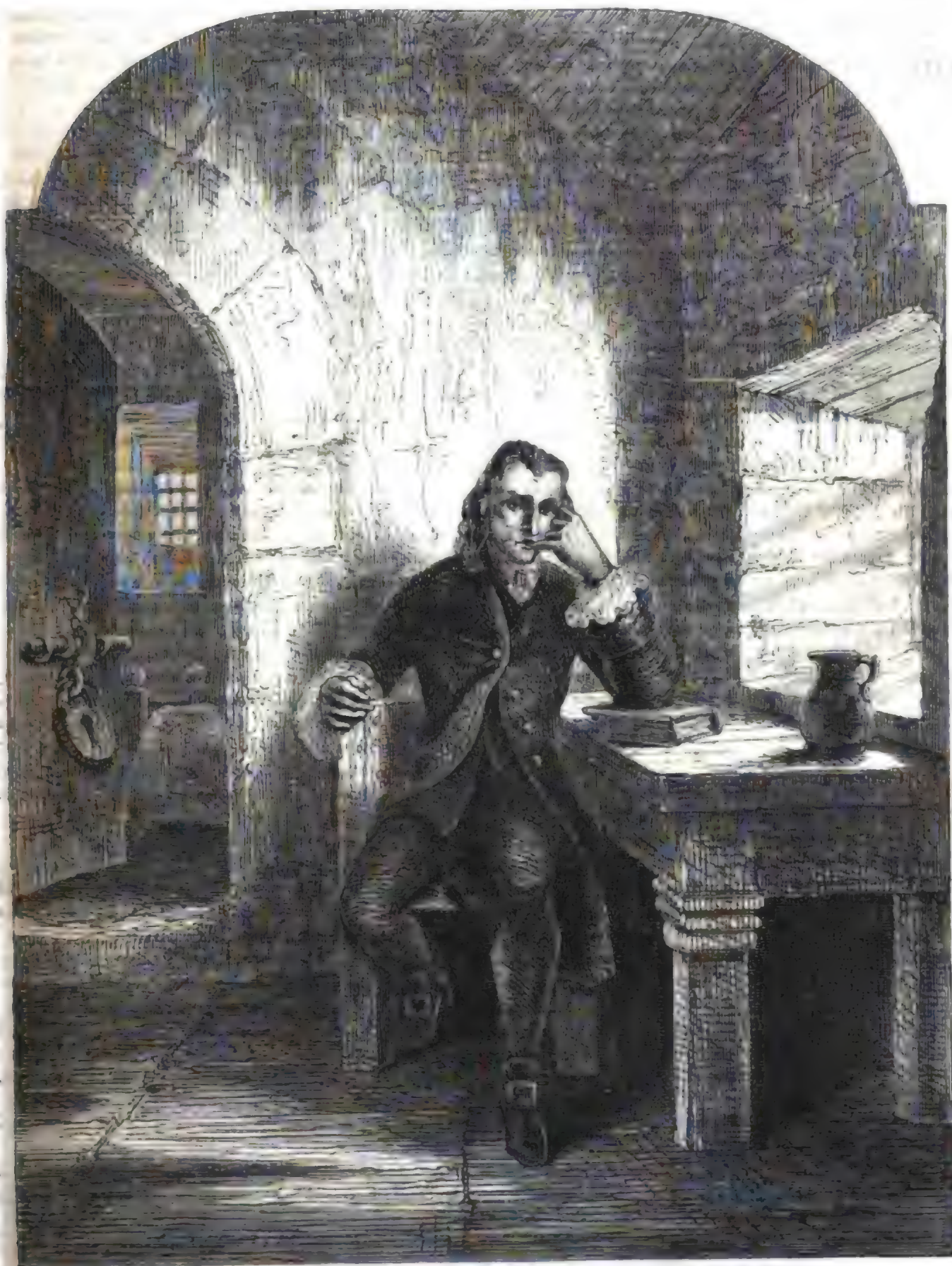
On the morning of Thursday, the 8th of June, the metropolis had, to a degree, resumed its usual aspect. All was quiet. The shops, indeed, continued closed, and no business was transacted, except at the Bank of England. Numbers of people were seen lying about asleep after their frightful carouse—on bulks and stalls, and at the doors of empty houses. Men, women, and children were sleeping off the fumes of their debauch, and some of them were women with infants in their arms. The city looked, in places, as if it had been sacked by an invading army. Amid the smoking ruins of prisons and other buildings, firemen were seen

endeavouring to extinguish the smouldering combustion. Troops were stationed in the Parks, the Museum Gardens, Lincoln's Inn Fields, at the Royal Exchange, and other places. There was blood on the pavements where the military had fired on the crowd, but the crowd itself had vanished, and was, doubtless, sunk in drowsy oblivion of its worst excesses.

On the morning of Friday, the 9th, the law courts resumed their sittings, the shops were again opened, and business resumed its regular course. The author of all these calamities, lord George Gordon, was arrested that day at his house in Welbeck Street, by a secretary of state's warrant. He gave himself up with the strange remark, "If you are sure it is me you want, I am ready to attend you." He showed little spirit or sense when brought before the privy council, and was committed to the Tower on a charge of high treason. A strong guard escorted him to his prison; but it was needless; his furious adherents were now tame enough, and half-a-dozen constables would have been amply sufficient for his security. A rumour having been circulated that the prisoners were to be tried by martial law, government issued a proclamation contradicting it.

Both houses of parliament met, according to adjournment, on the 19th, and the king delivered a speech in justification of the strong measures which he had adopted in suppressing the riot. The only fault in the public mind was, that these measures had been so long delayed. Had the government adopted them at once, these riots would have been instantly suppressed, and the lamentable loss of life and property prevented. Certainly no ministry ever showed so utter a lack of business-like tact and energy, or so justly deserved the censure of the public. Addresses were moved in each house, thanking his majesty for his paternal care of the public interest, and they were very properly carried, with scarcely a dissentient voice, for he was the only man in office who had shown the least spirit. Lord Mansfield, in the peers, defended the employment of the military. What was heard with extreme surprise was his statement, that he had never been present at any consultation relative to taking effective measures earlier, never was summoned to attend any consultations on that head, nor had his opinion been asked, nor had he heard the reasons which induced the government to remain passive so long, and to act at last. The wonder was very natural, for this assertion was directly opposed to the equally positive one, that the question was discussed in his presence in the privy council on the Monday morning, and that he treated the danger lightly; equally opposed to the statement of the warning from Mr. Strahan, and his similar reply. But, as all had been apathetic or inapprehensive at first, so all were ready, now the mischief had occurred, to excuse themselves.

In speaking of the legality of the martial measures, lord Mansfield referred to the loss of his library. "I have not," he said, "consulted books—indeed, I have no books to consult." This simple passing allusion to so great a calamity, produced a deep effect on his auditors, and he went on to say, "His majesty, and those who have advised him, I repeat it, have acted in strict conformity to the common law. The military have been called in, and very wisely called in—not as soldiers, but as citizens. No



LORD GEORGE GORDON A PRISONER IN THE TOWER OF LONDON.

matter whether their coats be red or brown, they were employed, not to subvert but to preserve the laws and constitution which we all so highly prize."

This speech of lord Mansfield—regarded as one of the finest he ever made—has always been referred to as high authority on this point, the employment of military in cases of riot. In fact, the speech expresses the simple constitutional law on the subject; it goes not an atom beyond it. Soldiers are to be employed to suppress riot where civil authority fails, but only under that civil authority. The riot act must be read by a magistrate, and then the military authority may legally be exercised without further ceremony, where a mob is in actual commission of destruction of property. As lord Mansfield expressed it, their act then ceases to be mere riot, it becomes felony. The doctrine, however, did not escape animadversion from the dukes of Richmond and Manchester; and some parties out of doors averred that lord Mansfield seemed to think, his law books being burnt, all law books were burnt.

The next day, the 20th of June, the commons entered on the consideration of the great protestant petition, praying for the repeal of Sir George Saville's act for the relief of catholics. On this occasion, Burke and lord North went hand in hand. Burke drew up five resolutions, which North corrected. These resolutions declared that all attempts to seduce the youth of this kingdom from the established church to popery were criminal in the highest degree, but that all attempts to wrest the act of 1778 beyond its due meaning, and to the unnecessary injury of catholics, were equally reprehensible. Burke, lord North, lord Beauchamp, Fox, and Wilkes, all spoke in favour of toleration. Alderman Bull and Sir Joseph Mawbey took the intolerant side. Fox spoke for upwards of two hours, saying, "I am a friend to universal toleration, and an enemy to that narrow way of thinking that makes men come to parliament, not for the removal of some great grievances felt by them, but to desire parliament to shackle and fetter their fellow-subjects." Burke spoke still longer, declaring that he was a firm friend to the established church, but an enemy to intolerance and persecution. John Wilkes, on the whole of this occasion, had shown himself remarkably wise and courageous. He had headed the armed inhabitants of his ward for the defence of the peace there; and now he severely condemned Kennett, the lord-mayor, and alderman Bull, who was taking the bigoted side in this debate. Bull had gone about the city arm-in-arm with lord George Gordon, with the blue cockade in his hat; and had allowed the constables of his ward to wear them. Wilkes declared, that if the lord mayor had done his duty, the riot would have been quashed in its birth.

The most melancholy sight was that of Sir George Saville, who, alarmed at the consequences of his bill of 1778, now seemed anxious to explain away his former votes, and to neutralise the bill which had done him so much honour. He brought in another bill to deprive the catholics of the right of keeping schools, or receiving youth of either sex as boarders at their houses. Not content with this, he moved another clause in it, to prevent Roman catholics taking protestant children as apprentices. This was opposed by lord Beauchamp, as a restriction upon trade, but it was

carried; and Burke, in great indignation, declared that he would have nothing more to do with the measure. He went further: he drew up a strong petition against it to the lords, and, fortunately, the bill was there thrown out, the bishops, for the most part, very laudably voting against it. When the estimates were sent in of the losses occasioned by the riots, Sir George Saville as well as lord Mansfield most liberally declined making any claim for compensation.

The session was closed by the king on the 8th of July, in a speech in which, after noticing the unhappy occurrence of the riots, he announced the prosperous condition of the affairs of the American war, and still flattered himself that his subjects there would be brought to a reunion with the parent state. These anticipations were premature; the successes were only temporary.

In the course of July the rioters were brought to trial. Those prisoners confined in the city were tried at the regular Old Bailey sessions; those on the Surrey side of the river by a special commission. The lord chief justice De Grey, being in failing health, resigned, and Wedderburn took his place as lord chief justice, under the title of lord Loughborough. His appointment gave great satisfaction; but this was considerably abated by his speech at the opening of the commission, in which he indulged in very severe strictures on the rioters, who had to appear before him as judge. Of the one hundred and thirty-five tried, about one-half were convicted, of whom twenty-one were executed, and the rest transported for life. Amongst the convicted was Edward Dennis, the common hangman; but he received a reprieve. The trial of lord George Gordon was postponed through a technical cause till the following January, when he was ably defended by Mr. Kenyon and Mr. Erskine; and the public mind having cooled, he was acquitted. Probably, the conviction of his insanity tended greatly to this result, which became more and more apparent—his last strange freak being that of turning Jew.

From this episode of fire and fanaticism we recur to the general theme of the war with Spain, France, and America, in which England was every day becoming more deeply engaged. From the moment that Spain had joined France in the war against us, other powers, trusting to our embarrassments with our colonies and those great European powers, had found it a lucrative trade to supply, under neutral flags, warlike materials and other articles to the hostile nations; thus, whilst under a nominal alliance, they actually furnished the sinews of war against us. In this particular, Holland, the next great commercial people to ourselves, took the lead. She furnished ammunition and stores to the Spaniards, who all this while were engaged in besieging Gibraltar. Spain had also made a treaty with the Barbary States, by which she cut off our supplies from those countries. To relieve Gibraltar, admiral Sir George Rodney, who was now appointed to the command of our navy in the West Indies, was ordered to touch there on his way out. On the 8th of January, when he had been only a few days out at sea, he came in sight of a Spanish fleet consisting of five armed vessels, conveying fifteen merchantmen, all of which he captured. These vessels were chiefly laden with wheat, flour, and other provisions, greatly

needed at Gibraltar, and which he carried in with him, sending the men-of-war to England. On the 16th he fell in with another fleet off Cape St. Vincent, of eleven ships of the line, under Don Juan de Langara, who had come out to intercept the provisions which England sent to Gibraltar. Rodney had a much superior fleet, and the Spanish admiral immediately attempted to regain his port. The weather was

treacherous shore, continued the fight, and the Spaniards for a time defended themselves bravely. The battle continued till two o'clock in the morning; one ship, the *San Domingo*, of seventy guns, blew up with six hundred men, early in the action; four ships of the line, including the admiral's, of eighty guns, struck, and were carried by Rodney safe into port; two seventy-gun ships ran on the



NAVAL ENGAGEMENT OFF CAPE ST. VINCENT.

very tempestuous, and the coast near the shoal of St. Lucar very dangerous; he therefore stood in as close as possible to the shore, but Rodney boldly thrust his vessels betwixt him and the perilous strand, and commenced a running fight. The engagement began about four o'clock in the evening, and it was, therefore, soon dark; but Rodney, despite the imminent danger of darkness, tempest, and a

shoal and were lost; and of all the Spanish fleet only four ships escaped to Cadiz.

Bearing his prizes with him, Rodney proceeded to Gibraltar, carrying great exultation into the besieged rock by the news of such victory and the timely supplies. He sent on some ships to convey similar relief to our garrison at Port Mahon, and, after lying some weeks at Gibraltar, he

dispatched admiral Digby home with a portion of the fleet, and then with the rest made sail for the West Indies. Digby, on his homeward route, also captured a French ship of the line and two merchant vessels laden with military stores. This blow to the Spanish maritime power was never altogether recovered during the war. Other English captains were nearly as successful as Digby.

Rodney, on arriving in the West Indies, found a combined fleet of French under the count De Guichen, and of Spanish under admiral Solano; but he was not able to bring them to a general engagement, and they eventually managed to elude him, Solano taking refuge in the Havannah, and De Guichen conveying the home-bound merchant ships of France. Disappointed in his hopes of a conflict with these foes, he sailed for the North American coasts. Scarcely had he quitted the European waters, however, when the Spaniards took a severe revenge for his victory over them at St. Vincent. Florida Blanca, the minister of Spain, learnt, through his spies in England, that the English East and West Indian traders were going out under a very foolishly feeble escort—in fact, of only two ships of the line. Probably the great defeat of the Spaniards at St. Vincent had made the English government rashly confident, for nothing but the rashest confidence could have sent out such a fleet, freighted with two millions' sterling worth of merchandise, in a time of war, when French and Spanish squadrons were abroad. Elated at the news, Florida Blanca collected every vessel that he could, and dispatched them, under admirals Cordova and Gaston, to intercept this precious prize. The enterprise was most successful. The Spanish fleet lay in wait at the point where the East and West India vessels separate, off the Azores, captured sixty sail of merchantmen, and carried them safe into Cadiz. Never, it was said, had so rich a booty entered that port before. The two vessels of war escaped, but in the East Indiamen were eighteen hundred soldiers going out to reinforce the troops in the East.

This, though it was a severe blow to our trade, was but a small part of the damage which the active spirit of Florida Blanca did us. He promoted with all his energies the system of armed neutrality which had long been projected on the continent to cripple our power. As we have said, many nations—Swedes, Danes, Russians, and Hamburgers, but pre-eminently the Dutch—whilst professing alliance, or at least neutrality, as regarded us, were secretly sustaining our enemies—the French, Spanish, and Americans—by carrying them not only general merchandise, but actually military stores.

England knew that if she permitted this process there was little chance of bringing any of her antagonists to terms; she therefore insisted rigidly on the right of search, and on the seizure of all such contraband articles under whatever flag they were conveyed. Not only did Holland supply France and Spain in Europe, but she allowed the American privateers to carry their English prizes into their West Indian ports for sale. All this time Holland was not only bound by the most immense obligations to this country for the millions of money and the tens of thousands of men which we had sacrificed for the security of her independence against France, but she was also bound by treaty to furnish

us certain aids when we were attacked by France. From the year 1778 Sir Joseph Yorke, our ambassador at the Hague, had made continual remonstrances against this clandestine trade with our enemies; and France, on the other hand, had, by alternate menace and persuasion, exerted herself to induce the Dutch to set England at defiance. In this she succeeded to a great extent. Count Welderen, the Dutch ambassador in London, complained of the interruptions of their trade by the English, and continued to ship supplies to France and America. Sir Joseph Yorke, on the other hand, assured the States General that we should be ever ready to restore any goods seized that were not strictly contraband, but that the combination of France and Spain against us, to maintain the rebellion of our colonies, rendered vigilance indispensably necessary, that any ships seized for carrying contraband articles should be restored on the easiest and most amicable terms. He also reminded them that the king of England had refrained from claiming the succours stipulated for by the most explicit treaties, and to be rendered on demand under circumstances like the present; that, more than this, it was not the wish of his Britannic majesty to interfere with the exportation of any articles to France, except warlike and naval stores. Sir Joseph assured them that, having been official resident at the court of Holland for seven-and-twenty years, their high mightinesses had always found him most zealously disposed towards them, and might now estimate accordingly the sincerity of his assurances.

This statement called forth a similar appeal from the duke de Vauguyon, the French ambassador, accompanied with a menace, that if they did not resist the claims of England, France would withdraw the advantages promised to their flag. The Dutch were not bold enough to encounter at once the vengeance of England, and France therefore issued an order, revoking all the privileges promised to the flag of Holland, except so far as regarded the inhabitants of Amsterdam. Much correspondence ensued, the Dutch maintaining a specious neutrality, but still continuing to carry timber and naval stores to France. Sir Joseph Yorke was therefore instructed to demand from the States the succours stipulated by treaties, and which might have been demanded the moment that France declared war against England. He observed that Spain had now joined France, and that the moment was arrived for the Dutch government to show their sense of all the blood and money which England expended for the defence of their country and the protestant religion; or whether she was to be left, now her turn of trial came, to contend against the whole house of Bourbon alone, abandoned by those whom she had so long and so essentially served.

The result was precisely such as has always been the case when generous and prodigal England has called for a return of her gigantic efforts for the continental nations. Four months were suffered to elapse without an answer, and, before this period had passed, the Dutch had offered a fresh insult to her ancient and quixotic ally, by allowing Paul Jones to bring into their ports the English prizes taken off Scarborough. Sir Joseph Yorke demanded that the ruffian, who was at once a rebel and a pirate, should be

given up to the English authorities, together with his ships and the English ships of war—the *Serapis* and the *Countess* of Scarborough. This was declined, the States affirming that they could not assume to be judges of the legality or illegality of captures made by foreign vessels which sought shelter from storms in their ports: they could only require them to leave again, and, when at sea, the English could take them again as they had been taken.

On this, Sir Joseph Yorke demanded again in explicit terms the stipulated succours, on the 26th of November, and received not only a positive refusal, but a fresh complaint of the interruption of their trade by the English men-of-war. Whilst affairs with Holland were in this position, count Florida Blanca, the Spanish minister, had adopted the system of seizing all neutral vessels, of whatever nation, that were found carrying British goods, and conveying them into Spanish ports as lawful prizes. This, as he calculated, raised the resentment of all the neutral powers—Russia, Sweden, Denmark, Prussia, Holland, and the trading states of Italy—who denounced these outrages on their flag. But Florida Blanca replied, that so long as England was suffered to pursue this system, Spain must continue to make reprisals; that it was, however, in the power of the neutral nations to combine and defend their flags, by compelling England to desist. The result was as he had hoped. Catherine of Russia, who had hitherto considered herself an ally of England—who had, at one time, contemplated furnishing soldiers to assist in reducing the American rebels, and who protested against the monstrosity of France encouraging the colonies of England to throw off their allegiance—was suddenly induced to change her tone. She had lately been greatly exasperated by the seizure, by the Spaniards, of two Russian trading vessels, which were carrying supplies to Gibraltar. She exclaimed, "My commerce is my child," and she was preparing retaliatory measures, when the news of a striking seizure of Dutch vessels by the English, on the 1st of January, 1780, reached her.

The affair was thus:—The Dutch admiral, count Byland, with two ships of the line and two frigates, was carrying a merchant fleet to the French ports with stores, but nominally to the Mediterranean. Commodore Fielding was dispatched with a squadron to intercept and examine this fleet, and he fell in with it a little to the westward of the Isle of Wight. Fielding sent out boats with crews, who demanded leave to search the merchantmen for any contraband stores. Admiral Byland refused, and fired on the boats. At this, Fielding fired a shot ahead of the Dutch admiral, and Byland replied by pouring a broadside into him. Fielding returned the salute with interest, on which Byland struck his colours. Fielding then seized six or seven of the trading vessels, the rest escaping through the darkness of the night, and getting safe into Brest. The vessels taken were found to be laden chiefly with naval and military stores. On this, Fielding signalled to the Dutch admiral that he might hoist his colours and proceed on his voyage with the ships of war; the merchantmen he should carry to Spithead. Byland hoisted his colours, and saluted the British flag, but declared that he could not proceed without the merchant vessels, and he followed Fielding into Spithead, and anchored alongside of him.

This seizure produced a violent remonstrance from Holland; but the English government replied that, as the States not only refused to furnish the succours which they were bound by the most solemn engagements to supply, but assisted our enemies with warlike stores, they could not expect a continuance of our friendship; that Holland was pursuing not only a most ungrateful, but a most suicidal course; for that, if France could succeed in ruining Great Britain, the ruin of Holland would speedily follow. Thus the two countries continued in a state of naval warfare, though without open declaration of war. But the moment this news reached St. Petersburg, count Panin, the minister of Catherine, a man hostile to England, represented to the empress that, so long as this system continued, all trade would be at an end, and England would domineer over the commerce of the world; that nothing would prevent it but a league amongst all nations to protect neutral ships. Catherine was at once seized with the ambition of reducing our naval power, forgetting that it was by the friendship of England that she possessed a navy at all; and, on the 26th of February, she issued her famous proclamation, "that free ships should make free goods." This meant that all neutral nations should continue to carry all kinds of articles to powers at war with one another, without search or question, except such goods as were expressly specified in treaties. Sweden, Denmark, Prussia, France, and Spain, all readily entered into this league, which assumed the name of the 'Armed Neutrality,' the object of which, though ostensibly to control all belligerent powers, was really to suppress the naval power of England. Holland loudly eulogised this league, but did not yet venture to join it; but prohibited the exportation of stores to our garrison in Gibraltar, whilst her ships were busy carrying supplies to the Spanish besiegers. Sir Joseph Yorke, therefore, on the 21st of March, informed the States that, unless the stipulated succours were furnished within three weeks, England would suspend, *pro tempore*, the regulations in favour of the Dutch commerce. The States still refused to furnish the succours, and at the specified time the privileges in question were suspended, though count Welderen still continued in London, and Sir Joseph Yorke at the Hague. It was evident that Holland could not long continue in this position, and Frederick of Prussia was soliciting Catherine of Russia to enter into an engagement to protect the Dutch commerce in every quarter of the globe. If Frederick could have prevailed, he would have stirred up a universal crusade against England; but Catherine was not rash enough for this quixotism.

It appeared, however, as if all the nations of Europe were bent on uniting to pull down our long-envied ascendancy; and as if, while maintaining a most exhausting conflict with our own colonies in a distant part of the globe, we should be called on to do battle single-handed against the rest of the civilised world. So far, however, from the courage of England sinking under the prospect, it rose only the more, as it always has done under such circumstances. A more energetic spirit manifested itself, both in government and in people; and, had the same vigour been exhibited at the commencement of the American insurrection, not only would that have been promptly suppressed, but all those European complications prevented.

We return now to the American campaign. Sir Henry Clinton, at the close of the year 1779, proceeded to carry into effect his plan of removing the war to the Southern States. The climate there favoured the project of a winter campaign, and, on the day after Christmas-day, Sir Henry embarked five thousand men on board the fleet of admiral Arbuthnot. But the weather at sea at this season proved very tempestuous, and his ships were driven about for seven weeks. Many of his transports were lost, some of them were taken

Charlestown Neck, whilst Arbuthnot proceeded with his ships up the Ashby River.

It was the 1st of April before they could break ground before the city. All the forces which Clinton could muster, after collecting reinforcements by land, were seven thousand; whilst the Americans in the city were almost as many, though including a considerable body of militia. General Lincoln was in command of the American forces; and plenty of time having been allowed, he had, by the



ADMIRAL RODNEY. FROM AN AUTHENTIC PORTRAIT.

by the enemy; he lost nearly all the horses of the cavalry and artillery, and one vessel carrying the heavy ordnance foundered at sea. It was the 11th of February when he landed on St. John's Island, about thirty miles from Charlestown. He then proceeded to plan the investment of Charlestown with admiral Arbuthnot; but he was not on good terms with that officer, and this threw great impediments in the way of prompt action. It was the 29th of March before he could cross the Ashby River and land on

assistance of French engineers, greatly strengthened the defences. They had erected a chain of redoubts across the peninsula, from Cooper's River to Ashby River, and had built a strong citadel in the centre. All these, and other works, ditches, and abattis, were made formidable with cannon, and by numerous batteries, wherever the place could be approached by water. Besides these, there was a bar at the entrance of the harbour, over which large ships could not pass; and admiral Arbuthnot had to lighten

others, to get them over into what is called Five Fathom Hole. Inside this bar lay the American admiral, Whipple, with nine ships, with guns ranging from sixteen up to forty-four. Close behind Whipple's squadron was Fort Moultrie, on Sullivan's Island, made much more formidable than in 1776, when it did so much execution on admiral Parker's squadron. Whipple retired as the English ships advanced, and eventually posted himself under the walls of Charlestown, sinking some ships across Cooper's River, without which precaution the English, on entering that river, would have raked the American lines. No sooner had Clinton completed his first parallel, and begun to plant his batteries, than Arbuthnot sailed boldly past Fort Moultrie, losing only twenty-seven men from its fire, and took his station as near to the town as the sunken ships would admit.

the town, and cut off Lincoln's supplies. Lord Cornwallis was sent to scour the country, and so completely did he effect this, that Lincoln was compelled to offer terms of surrender. These were considered too favourable to the Americans, and the siege continued till 11th of May, when the English were doing such damage to the town, and the inhabitants suffering so much, that they threatened to throw open the gates, if Lincoln did not surrender. In this dilemma, Lincoln offered to accept the terms proposed by Clinton before, and the English general assented to his proposal. On the 12th of May, the Americans grounded their arms, and marched out according to the terms settled, namely, that the regulars were to remain prisoners of war, the militia to return home as prisoners on parole.

The number of prisoners amounted to upwards of six



THE HAGUE, HOLLAND.

Sir Henry Clinton then summoned Lincoln to surrender ; but he declared that he would defend the place to the last, and just at this moment he was further reinforced by seven hundred regular troops, under general Woodford. Clinton opened his batteries with destructive effect, and hearing that Lincoln had posted his cavalry outside his lines, to keep open his communication with the country, he sent that dashing officer, colonel Tarleton, with his horse, to dislodge them. On the night of April 14th, Tarleton came suddenly upon the American cavalry, at a place called Biggin's Bridge, and put them to the route, capturing all their baggage, stores, and several hundred horses, of which the English had great need. This success opened the passage of Cooper's River, and enabled Clinton completely to invest

thousand, including one thousand American and French seamen. The governor, Rutledge, and a number of members of the council, had made their escape from the town whilst they could ; but the deputy-governor, and the rest of the council, Lincoln, and six other generals, commodore Whipple, and his officers, with four hundred pieces of ordnance, &c., remained. The whole American squadron was taken or destroyed. Congress was dreadfully disappointed in expected reinforcements from the French fleet in the West Indies and the Spaniards in Florida ; but both these nations were too busy, endeavouring to make conquests for themselves, to think about their allies. The Spaniards, during this time, made themselves masters of nearly the whole of Florida. The news of this blow, which laid the

whole south open to the English, carried consternation throughout the states; and, arriving in England at the close of the Gordon riots, seemed to restore the spirits of the English.

The town of Charlestown being now in his possession, Sir Henry Clinton proceeded to reduce the whole province to obedience. He issued proclamations, calling on the well-affected young men to form themselves into military bodies, and to act in support of the king's troops, pledging himself that they should never be called upon to march beyond the frontiers of North Carolina on the one side, or those of Georgia on the other; and he assured the inhabitants at large of the utmost protection of person and property, so long as they continued peaceable and loyal subjects of the crown. In the meantime, lord Cornwallis continued to enforce these proposals by the movements of his troops. Hearing of a considerable body of Virginians, horse and foot, under colonel Buford, which had been on their way to relieve Charlestown, but were too late, and were encamped on the banks of the Santee, he dispatched the impetuous Tarleton, with a body of horse, to attack them. Tarleton accomplished a march of one hundred and five miles in fifty-four hours, and coming up with Buford's force on the borders of the province, summoned him to surrender on the same terms accepted by Lincoln at Charlestown. Buford refused; whereupon Tarleton fell upon him, and speedily put his whole detachment to the route. Buford fled headlong, with nearly all his cavalry; but the greater part of his infantry were cut to pieces, while Tarleton only lost five men, and had fifteen wounded. Buford, who had shown neither skill nor courage, complained loudly of Tarleton's unnecessary cruelty; but the fact was, that his whole species of warfare was of that guerilla and dare-devil kind, which is generally as bloody as it is decisive.

This affair of Waxhaws prostrated the power of congress in South Carolina. Numbers of the people flocked in and took the oath of allegiance, whilst others enrolled themselves under the banner of the crown. A number of the chief inhabitants of Charlestown issued an address, declaring their abhorrence of the severities practised by governor Rutledge and his officers, and their never having wished to quit their allegiance to the crown of England, and their consequent joy in returning to it.

Could Sir Henry Clinton have remained in this quarter, he would without doubt have steadily carried his victorious arms northward till he had everywhere restored the rule of England. But he was completely crippled by the wretched management of the miserable government at home, who seemed to expect to reconquer America without an army. At this crisis he received news that the Americans were mustering in strong force on the Hudson, and that a French fleet was daily expected on the coast of New England to co-operate with them. Had the government maintained a sufficient fleet on these coasts, no French fleet would have dared to have approached: had there been a sufficient army for the defence of New York, Sir Henry need not have proceeded farther, except by a steady victorious route by land. But with his miserable fragment of an army, and the absence of any proper naval force, he was now compelled to embark for New York, leaving lord Cornwallis to

maintain the ground obtained in South Carolina as well as he could with a body of four thousand men. His second in command was lord Rawdon, a young officer who had distinguished himself greatly at the battle of Bunker's Hill, and who, like Cornwallis, his chief, was destined, in after years, to occupy the distinguished post of governor-general of India, with the successive titles of earl Moira and marquis of Hastings. The chief business of Cornwallis was to maintain the status gained in South Carolina, but he was at liberty to make a move into North Carolina if he thought it promising. Before Clinton left he issued a fresh proclamation, declaring all prisoners on parole in South Carolina free, except those taken at Charlestown or Fort Moultrie, or such as were in actual confinement.

General Clinton embarked on the 5th of June for New York, and scarcely had he left when the royalists of North Carolina, in spite of his advice to them to remain quiet till lord Cornwallis could march to their support, which could not well be till autumn, in consequence of the heat of the climate, made confident by the success of Clinton in South Carolina, rose in considerable numbers in the month of June, and were speedily attacked and dispersed by the militia of the province. This imprudence of the royalists brought down the vengeance of the republicans upon them. They were everywhere attacked—in every part of North Carolina—insulted, plundered, and imprisoned. Their sufferings were frightful. To escape from their furious and vindictive countrymen, eight hundred of them united under a colonel Bryan and managed to reach Camden, in South Carolina, but in a most pitiable condition. They were most of them men of property, but their property was confiscated; they had not seen their families for many months, and had been living in the woods in the most terrible destitution. They were kindly received, and united themselves to a detachment of British soldiers with the object of retaliating their injuries on their oppressors.

Congress, alarmed at the progress of the English in South Carolina, had made extraordinary efforts to reinforce the republican party in North Carolina. They directed Washington to send thither a considerable part of his army, consisting chiefly of Maryland and Delaware troops, under the command of the German general, Von Kalb. On the fall of Charlestown, general Gates, who had acquired a high but spurious reputation upon the surrender of Burgoyne, chiefly through the able agency of Arnold, was sent to take the chief command over Von Kalb. In marching towards South Carolina, the American army suffered severely from the tropical heat of the climate and the scarcity of food. Gates led them through a country of alternating swamps and sandy deserts, called by the Americans pine-barrens. The troops lived chiefly on the lean cattle which they found scattered through the woods, on green Indian corn, and peaches, which were plentiful, being indigenous to the state of Louisiana. But great as the sufferings of the army were, the rumour of its approach produced a decided effect on the republicans of South Carolina. They showed themselves again boldly, and numbers of those who had taken service in the English army deserted, and were ready to throw themselves into the American ranks. Some of them went over with all the pettifogging cunning comprised under the

appellation of Yankee. One Lisle was prominent in this line. He had sworn allegiance, and had shown such zeal in favour of the royal cause, that he had been made an officer, and placed in command of a battalion of militia. This man took care to receive the clothes, arms, and ammunition for his force from the royal stores, and then marched off with it, and put himself under the command of the American colonel Sumpter, who was soon after twice defeated—once at Rocky Mount and once at Hanging Rock.

Amongst other circumstances of this disgraceful kind, one of the most atrocious was the conduct of a colonel of militia, who was sent to escort some sick and wounded English soldiers to Charlestown, but who carried them into North Carolina, and gave them up to Von Kalb.

Lord Rawdon, who was lying at Camden, where he had halted his men to protect them from the heat, was joined there by lord Cornwallis early in August. The entire force when united did not, however, exceed two thousand men, whilst the troops of Gates amounted to six thousand. The British general, notwithstanding, advanced briskly to meet the Americans, and on the evening of the 16th of August the two armies met rather unexpectedly, and some skirmishing took place, after which they halted in position till near daybreak in the morning.

When the day appeared, Cornwallis saw that the ground he occupied was so favourable that it rendered his inferiority of numbers of little consequence. He therefore drew out his forces for immediate action. Swamps to the right and left narrowed the ground by which the Americans could approach him, and forming his troops into two lines, commanded by lord Rawdon and general Webster, he attacked the Americans under Gates and quickly put them to the rout. The Virginian militia ran most nimbly, and sought refuge in the woods. Gates himself galloped away, believing all was lost, and never halted till he reached Charlotte, about eighty miles off. The only men who fought well were two brigades of regulars under the command of the German, Von Kalb, who kept his ground against the troops of lord Rawdon for three-quarters of an hour, sustaining repeated charges of the bayonet unmoved; but Von Kalb fell mortally wounded, and the last of the Americans then gave way and fled for their lives in all directions. Tarleton with his cavalry was at their heels, and pursued them to Hanging Rock, upwards of twenty miles from the scene of action. The whole way was strewn with arms thrown away, with the dead and the wounded; not an officer was left with any of his company about him, except such as were taken prisoners and these, with the killed and wounded, amounted to more than the whole British army engaged. The whole of the baggage and artillery were taken as prizes.

The American congress, which had imagined Gates a greater officer even than Washington, because he had captured Burgoyne through the ability of Arnold, though Washington—from envy, as they supposed—had always held a more correct opinion, now saw their error. No sooner was this victory at Camden achieved, than Cornwallis dispatched Tarleton after general Sumpter, who was marching on the other side of the Wateree on his way into South Carolina. Tarleton started after him with a couple of hundred of cavalry, and rode so sharply that he had left

half his little force behind him, when he came up with him near Catawba Ford, and fell upon his far superior force without a moment's hesitation, killing and wounding one hundred, and taking captive upwards of two hundred, with all Sumpter's baggage, artillery, and one thousand stand of arms.

Cornwallis now announced to the royalists of North Carolina that he would soon send a force for their defence, and advanced to Charlotte. He next took measures for punishing those who, like Lisle, had pretended to re-accept the allegiance of England only to relapse into a double treachery. He declared that all such being taken should be treated as traitors, and hanged. These severe measures were carried into execution on some of the prisoners taken at Camden and Augusta, and others were shipped off to St. Augustine. This system was as impolitic as it was cruel, for the Americans were certain to adopt it in retaliation, as they did, with a frightful ferocity, when the royalists were overthrown in South Carolina, and avowedly on this ground. Lord Rawdon, following the example, wrote to his officers that he would give ten guineas for the head of any deserter from the volunteers of Ireland, and five only if brought in alive. One of these atrocious letters was intercepted, and published by the Americans, who were only too ready to plead it as a justification of worse brutalities. Lord Rawdon declared that such threats were only made to intimidate soldiers plotting to desert; but this is one of those threats which no civilized men ought under any circumstances to utter.

Scarcely had lord Cornwallis commenced his march into the interior of North Carolina, and scarcely had he dispatched major Ferguson with a corps of American royalists, to advance through the country towards the frontiers of Virginia, when this corps received another proof of the wisdom of lord Barrington's theory of keeping out of the woods and hills. Major Ferguson was attacked near the pass of King's Mountain by swarms of wild, rude riflemen, many of them mounted, from Virginia, Kentucky, and the Alleghanies, who shot down and exterminated major Ferguson's troops almost to a man, the major falling amongst the rest. The victors gave a prompt proof of their apt adoption of lord Cornwallis's teaching, by hanging ten of the prisoners. Lord Cornwallis was harassed by similar hordes of flying and creeping skirmishers, who, on being pursued, fled into the depths of the woods, and returned at fresh places like swarms of tropical flies. Hearing the news of the slaughter of Ferguson's force, he returned to Charlotte, retracing his march through most rainy weather, terrible roads, and almost totally destitute of provisions. Cornwallis fell ill on the road, and lord Rawdon had to assume the command. It was not till the 29th of October that the army resumed its original position near Camden; and general Leslie, who had been also dispatched to co-operate with Cornwallis in Virginia, was recalled, but was obliged to return by sea. The only successes in this unfortunate expedition were obtained by the indefatigable Tarleton, who again defeated Sumpter, nearly killing that general. In the meantime, Gates had been superseded by Greene, who was ordered to march against Cornwallis; but the season now checked the movements of both armies, and further proceedings were deferred to the next year.

At New York there had been much suffering in both the British army and the population. The fleet of admiral Arbuthnot had not long sailed with the troops of Sir Henry Clinton to Charlestown, when the winter set in with a severity which had not been experienced in the memory of man. The rivers and estuaries of the sea were soon frozen up, and by January the North River was covered with ice so thick, that the greatest army and the most ponderous artillery might have crossed to New York with perfect safety. This occasioned great alarm in the inhabitants, lest Washington should seize on this opportunity, during the absence of the main army and the commander-in-chief, and attack it with all his force. Knyphausen made all possible preparations for defence, landed the seamen from the ships

the ice to White Plains, where they surprised a fort, and took the commandant of the district and his garrison prisoners. The distresses of Washington's army increasing fearfully, neither men nor officers having either much food or decent clothing in such inclement weather, numbers walked away, so that his army, nominally thirty-five thousand men, did not, in reality, amount to twelve thousand. Whole brigades now began to declare that they would return home, unless speedy relief arrived. The officers presented a memorial to Washington, declaring that they had lost all confidence in the legislature! "Reason and experience," they said, "forbid that we should have any. Few of us have private fortunes; many have families, who are already suffering everything that can be received from an ungrateful country." They



WASHINGTON'S QUARTERS AT MORRISTOWN.

of war, and enrolled the inhabitants in bodies to support the regulars and the militia.

But Washington was in no condition for such an enterprise; he was himself in the most deplorable plight. The congress, who had little money and less credit, left him and his army to the mercy of famine and the elements in his headquarters at Morristown. The British had well scoured and exhausted the surrounding country in the preceding year; and Washington found himself, after urgent but vain appeals to congress, compelled to make fresh levies of provisions wherever he could find them. In one of these marauding raids on their own countrymen, the so-called lord Stirling was driven from Staten Island, with the loss of a considerable number of his men. In the following month, February, the English made a more successful march across

protested that their wives and children were starving, and that they would retire from the service. This roused the congress sufficiently to induce them to send commissioners to examine the state of Washington's camp. These fully confirmed the reports of Washington and the complaints of the army. They stated that the soldiers had received no pay for five months; that they were penniless, and destitute of all credit; but the congress, though it promised relief, did not or could not send any; and on the 25th of May, two Connecticut regiments paraded under arms, declaring that they would abandon the camp, and seek subsistence at the point of the bayonet. Washington found it difficult to suppress this state of mutiny; and, in fact, nothing but the high esteem in which he was held enabled him to keep any portion of the army together. He entertained the most

gloomy forebodings, and his published letters fully demonstrated that he felt it impossible for the states to continue the contest without the aid promised by France.

Encouraged by this miserable state of the American army, general Knyphausen dispatched brigadiers Matthews and Stirling into New Jersey. They landed at Elizabethtown Point on the 7th of June, and the next day marched towards Springfield. They expected that the people, weary of the miseries of the war, would join them, but they did not do so, and they found themselves attacked by bodies of regulars and of militia which Washington sent against them, and who kept up so harassing, though irregular, a species of warfare, that they again retreated to Elizabethtown Point. At this crisis Sir Henry Clinton arrived from Charlestown and joined Knyphausen, and Washington descended from his hills to defend Springfield. Sir Henry, to divide his attention, ordered some evolutions in the direction of West Point, and Washington, deceived by the feint, marched towards Pompton to defend West Point, leaving general Greene at Springfield. Clinton, having gained his object, moved in full force on Springfield, defeated Greene before Washington could return to his assistance, and laid the place in ashes. This done, Sir Henry, who was in daily expectation of the arrival of the French fleet and armament, returned to New York on the 25th of June.

The news of the approach of the French succours was brought by La Fayette, who, much to the joy of Washington, and of America generally, again reached the States, landing at Boston in April. He announced that the fleet, commanded by the Chevalier de Ternay, consisted of seven sail of the line, with numerous smaller vessels, and brought over six thousand troops, under the Comte de Rochambeau. But this was only the first division; another was soon to follow, which, however, never reached America. The news spread a wild joy through the now despairing country, every one being sufficiently convinced that without foreign aid the contest was hopeless. Congress exerted itself to raise money in order to put the army into a more respectable condition before these quick-sighted allies, on their arrival, should spy out the nakedness of the land. Bills were drawn on Franklin and Jay in Paris, and ten millions of dollars were demanded from the states of the union within thirty days. Vain, however, were the struggles to this end. The French squadron reached Rhode Island on the 13th of July, and Washington's army was still nearly shoeless and shirtless.

The Comte de Rochambeau had seen considerable service in the wars in Germany, but, although a man of experience, he was still without any particular military talent; talking, indeed, of nothing but martial affairs, and ready to display to you his strategy on his table or his snuff-box; yet, if we are to believe the acute Mirabeau, he was a man thoroughly incapable. He had fought against prince Ferdinand, and in the battle of Minden, but these things had not made him a Turenne or a Luxembourg. The French government, however, had most judiciously sent out the fleet and army with instructions calculated to prevent the mischiefs otherwise likely to arise from rivalry betwixt the officers of the two nations so lately enemies, and which had so disastrously

shown themselves on the former arrival of the French under Suffren and D'Estaing. Rochambeau and his officers were to serve under Washington as the commander-in-chief, who was now made a lieutenant-general in the French army. American officers were to command French officers of equal rank, and, in all military transactions, American generals were to sign before French ones.

Still, the Americans and the French did not agree very well. The Americans complained that the French had arrived too late in the season to be of use in that campaign, and the French complained that the Americans, even then, were unprepared to co-operate with them. Washington, however, declared himself ready for an attack on New York; but then Rochambeau replied that it would be better to wait for the expected and much larger fleet of De Guichen. Before De Guichen appeared, the English admiral, Graves, arrived, with six ships of war, thus increasing the English superiority at sea, and De Ternay found himself blockaded in the harbour of Newport, and Rochambeau was glad to entrench himself on Rhode Island, and abandon all idea of attacking New York. Sir Henry Clinton, on his part, planned an attack on Rochambeau with the army, while the French fleet blockaded in Newport harbour should be attacked by admiral Arbuthnot. But Clinton and Arbuthnot were at variance, and the admiral did not promptly and cordially second the views of Clinton. He went slowly round Long Island, to place himself in conjunction with the general; whilst Clinton embarked eight thousand troops, and approached the position of Rochambeau. But Arbuthnot strongly contended against the attempt, declaring Rochambeau too formidably fortified, and Washington, at the same time, advancing from his position with a large force, suddenly passed the North River and approached King's Bridge, as if meditating an attack on New York. These circumstances induced Clinton reluctantly to return to New York. Washington retreated to his old ground at Morristown, and Arbuthnot remained blockading De Ternay before Newport. Neither party, therefore, could do more than be still for the remainder of the season. Clinton was completely crippled for any decisive action by the miserable modicum of troops which the English government had furnished him, and the enemy now knew that the fleet of De Guichen was not likely to arrive this season.

This fleet had found enough to do to cope with admiral Rodney in the West Indian waters. Rodney, with twenty sail of the line, came up with De Guichen's fleet of twenty-three sail of the line, besides smaller vessels, on the evening of the 16th of April, off St. Lucia. He came into action with it on the 17th, and succeeded in breaking its line, and might have obtained a most complete victory, but several of his captains behaved in the worst possible manner, paying no attention to his signals. The Sandwich, the admiral's ship, was greatly damaged in the action, and the French sailed away. Rodney wrote most indignantly home concerning the conduct of the captains, and one of them was tried and broken, and some of the others sharply censured; but they were protected by the spirit of faction, and escaped their due punishment. Rodney, finding he could not bring the French again to engage, put into St. Lucia to re-fit, and land his wounded men, of whom he had three hundred and fifty; be-

sides one hundred and twenty killed. De Guichen had suffered far more severely. Rodney again got sight of the French fleet on the 10th of May, between St. Lucia and Martinique; but they avoided him, and made their escape into the harbour of Fort Royal. Hearing of the approach of a Spanish fleet of twelve sail of the line, and a great number of lesser vessels and transports, bringing from ten thousand to twelve thousand men, Rodney went in quest of it, to prevent its junction with the French; but Solano, the Spanish admiral, took care not to go near Rodney, but, reaching Guadaloupe, sent word of his arrival there to De Guichen, who managed to sail thither and join him. This now most overwhelming united fleet of France and Spain left Rodney no alternative but to avoid an engagement on his part. He felt that not only our West India Islands, but the coasts of North America, were, so far as human agency was concerned, at its mercy; but Providence had decreed otherwise. The Spaniards had so crowded their transports with soldiers, and made such wretched provisions for their accommodation, that the most destructive and contagious fever was raging amongst them. This was quickly communicated to the French vessels; the mortality was more than that of a great battle, and the combined fleet hastened to Martinique, where they landed their soldiers and part of their seamen to recruit. They remained at Fort Royal till the 5th of July, only to disagree and quarrel more and more. Proceeding thence to St. Domingo, they parted, De Guichen returning to Europe, as convoy of the French home-bound merchantmen; and Solano sailing to Havannah, to co-operate with his countrymen in their designs on Florida. Thus this mighty armada was dispersed; Rodney, sending part of his fleet to Jamaica, was enabled to proceed to join Arbuthnot at New York, with eleven ships of the line and four frigates. The news of his approach reached the French and Americans there, at the same time as that of the return of De Guichen to Europe, and spread the greatest consternation. To consider what was best to do under the circumstances, a meeting was proposed at Hartford, in Connecticut, betwixt Washington and Rochambeau, which took place on the 21st September. During his absence, Washington left the army under the command of general Greene, and he directed all the continental troops to adopt the black and white cockade—a mingling of the cockades of France and America—as a sign of amity. But when the American and French commanders-in-chief met, they knew not what measures to propose; and Clinton, on his part, was, at the same moment, equally embarrassed by his situation. He had already written home desiring his recall; and he now sent one of his most confidential officers, brigadier-general Dalrymple, with a secret letter to the secretary of state, urging more strongly the utter impossibility of his effecting anything with the mere handful of men under his command, and with a total want of confidence between himself and admiral Arbuthnot.

At this moment, a discovery took place which had a startling effect on the Americans, and was calculated to inspire the most gloomy views of their condition. General Arnold, who had fought his way up from the humble station of a horsedealer to that which he now held, had, on all occasions, shown himself an officer of the most daring and

enterprising character. He had a genius for planning expeditions and campaigns; and, when he was suffered to follow his judgment, was certain of success. To him was undoubtedly owing the surrender of the army of Burgoyne. It was the opinion of many, that, if he had been made commander-in-chief, he would have brought the war to a much earlier conclusion than the more cautious Washington. It may still be a question whether this might not have been the fact. But, even in that republican country, the origin of Arnold never seems to have been lost sight of. Whilst the very men who were ridiculing the ranks and titles of Europe, were apeing them to a degree which made general Lee, in a letter to Patrick Henry, exclaim, "I would as lief they put ratsbane into my mouth as the 'Excellency' with which I am daily crammed," they seem to have felt an instinctive repugnance to give Arnold too much honour. Arnold, justly conscious of his great military talents, felt this, and invariably resented it. Nor was it merely that congress stinted him in those honours and important commands which the man's genius told him he deserved, and which it would have been for the glory of his country to confer upon him, it withheld what he deemed just claims for the outlay which he had made in the course of the services he had rendered.

Having been appointed military governor of Philadelphia after its evacuation by general Clinton in 1778, as a post where he might recover from the severe wounds which he had received in the recent campaign, he commenced a style of living much too magnificent for his finances, for, with all his abilities, Arnold was a vain and expensive man. He married a beautiful young lady of that city, one of the heroines of the recent absurd *Mischianza*—a marriage which excited the jealousy of the republicans, for the fact of the lady having figured in the great Howe *fête* proves that she was of a family holding royalist opinions. Rumours to his disadvantage were soon afloat, originating in this cause, for whatever he did was regarded by the staunch whigs with an unfavourable eye.

Congress was the more ready to listen to charges against him, because, involved himself in debts incurred by his extravagance, he pressed them for large claims upon them, which they had no means to satisfy. Commissioners were selected by them to examine his claims, and these men, appointed for their hard, mean natures, reduced his demands extremely. Arnold appealed to congress against their decision; a committee of like character was chosen to hear the appeal, and this decided that, so far from the commissioners having allowed him too little, they had allowed him too much. Arnold uttered his indignation at such treatment in no measured terms, and the consequence was that he was arrested, tried by a court-martial, on various charges of peculation in his different commands, and for extortion on the citizens of Philadelphia. Some of these were declared groundless, but others were pronounced to be proved, and Arnold was condemned to be reprimanded by the commander-in-chief. This put the climax to his wrath. Washington, who had, in Arnold's opinion, been as unjustly exalted and favoured for his defeats and delays, as he himself had been envied and repressed for his brilliant exploits, was of all men the one from whom he could not receive with patience



ARREST OF MAJOR ANDRÉ.

a formal condemnation. This sentence was carried into effect in January, 1779, and Arnold, stung to the quick, was prepared to perpetrate some desperate design. He made no secret of protesting that the conduct of congress, and the charges brought against him, were the result of the most ungrateful and malicious feelings towards him, both in government and in individuals. He had always denounced the calling in of the French, and regarded these allies with sentiments of unconcealed aversion, as being the living evidences of the disgrace of his country, which, by bolder and honest counsel, might, he averred, have freed herself.

Yet, with these gloomy and resentful sentiments raging in his mind, congress belied their own public condemnation of him, by appointing him to the responsible post of the command of West Point, on the Hudson, which was the key to all intercourse betwixt the Northern and Southern States.

At the very time he received this appointment, he was actually in correspondence with colonel Robinson, an officer of general Clinton's staff, declaring that he was become convinced of the more righteous cause of the mother country, and that he was prepared to testify this by some signal service to his king. It was at the beginning of August of the present year when Arnold assumed his command at West Point; and Clinton lost no time in opening a direct correspondence with him, through which such singular advantages were offered. Sir Henry Clinton employed as his agent in this correspondence a young officer of high promise in his profession, and of considerable literary talents, major John André, adjutant-general and aid-de-camp to Sir Henry. André was the son of Swiss parents, and had been educated at Geneva, though his parents resided in England. He was originally intended for a mercantile career, but, by preference, adopted a military one; and, by his amiable and accomplished manners, a handsome person, and a generous and chivalric disposition, was greatly beloved by all around him, his commander-in-chief especially. In England, he had been the friend of the popular writer, Miss Seward, who was the friend also of the afterwards distinguished men, Southey and Sir Walter Scott. In the society of the Searws he also met, and became passionately attached to, the beautiful Honora Sneyd, afterwards the second wife of Lovel Edgeworth, the father of the celebrated Maria Edgeworth. André was accepted by Miss Sneyd, but firmly rejected by her father, and sought, in this expedition to America, a forgetfulness of his unconquerable attachment. It is remarkable that, once being with Miss Seward in the Peak of Derbyshire, and going with her by appointment to see some of the scenery of that district, one of the persons who were to join the party at a certain spot declared to his companions that he had, in a vision, seen a gentleman come with Miss Seward, and that it was revealed to him that he was destined to be hanged. On major André riding up with Miss Seward, he was struck with horror at seeing the person of his vision.

André now corresponded with Arnold under the name of "John Anderson;" and Arnold replied under that of "Gustavus." As Clinton was naturally anxious to bring this hazardous correspondence to a close, he pressed Arnold

to come to a speedy decision, promising him rank in the army and a high reward in return for the promised services—namely, the surrender of West Point, with all its dependent forts and stores, including, as a matter of course, the command of the Hudson, and the terror and distrust which this act would spread through the American army. The absence of Washington at the meeting with Rochambeau at Hartford, was seized on as a proper opportunity for a personal and final conference on the subject. Major André was selected by general Clinton to meet Arnold on neutral ground. The place selected was on the western bank of the Hudson, and Clinton strongly enjoined him to enter on no account within the American lines, to assume no disguise, or to be the bearer of any written documents.

Accordingly, André was sent on board the *Vulture*, a schooner of war to sail close to the appointed spot; and, in the night of Friday, the 22nd of September, he was put out in a boat, which was dispatched for him by Arnold, and met Arnold at the house of a Mr. Smith, declared by some authorities to be within, and by others without, the American posts, and strictly on neutral ground. There, while Washington was conferring with Rochambeau on the best means of attacking the English, André and Arnold were conferring on the best means of betraying the Americans. Day dawned before the whole preliminaries were settled, though the chief point was determined—namely, that West Point should be surrendered to the English on the following Monday. André was prevailed on to remain with Arnold the greater part of the day; and then, on going down to the shore, he found that the boatman who had brought him out refused to carry him back. According to one account, the *Vulture* had shifted her anchorage, in consequence of a gun having been brought down and made to bear on her unknown to Arnold. This excited suspicion; and, when André returned to Arnold at Smith's house, he gave him a pass, and advised him to travel by land to King's Ferry, and there to cross. He insisted that for this purpose he must assume a disguise, and travel under his assumed name of John Anderson. So little was André apprehensive of danger, that he not only disobeyed the injunction of his commander-in-chief in this particular, but in the far more important one of carrying written papers, which he concealed in his boot.

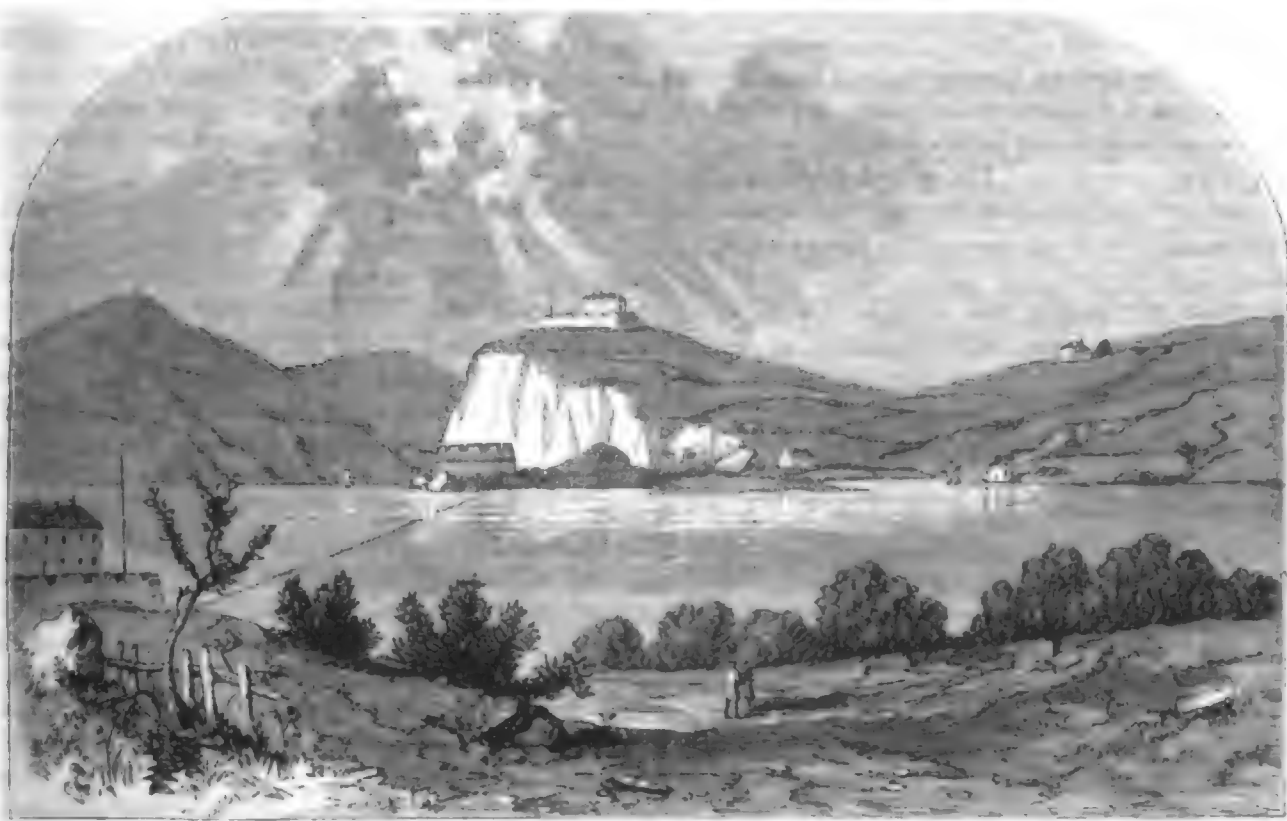
He was proceeding in all apparent safety when, approaching the village of Tarrytown, three militiamen, or, as stated by others, "skinnners," a species of marauders haunting the skirts of the American army, as others called "cow-boys" did those of the British camp, and who were playing at cards by the wayside, suddenly sprang forward, and, seizing his bridle, demanded who he was. André, being on neutral ground, exceeded his former incaution, and instead of ascertaining whether the men were Americans, in which case Arnold's pass was his security, he asked the men who they were, and being answered "from below," which was the pass for New York, replied, "and so am I."

By this, discovering that he was a British officer, the men began to search him, and soon made prize of his fatal papers. Starting too late from his surprise, André offered them his watch and a purse of gold too, with promises of a greater reward from the English commander; but in vain. His captors conducted him to their commanding officer, lieut-

tenant-colonel Jameson. Jameson read the papers, and determined to send them express to Washington, retaining André as prisoner till he received further orders. It is alleged that Jameson, though he was acquainted with Arnold's handwriting, had been so stupid as not to perceive that general's concern in the affair, and therefore, having dispatched his messenger to the commander-in-chief, also wrote a full account of it to Arnold, as the commander of the district. It is certain that Washington declared that Jameson showed "egregious folly" in the transaction, and that Arnold was, by a communication from Jameson, duly warned of the discovery.

When this startling letter reached Arnold at his headquarters—which were at one Robinson's house, not within the lines of West Point, but on the eastern bank of the

handkerchief, as a flag of truce, he bade the men row to the Vulture. The white flag secured him impunity, both from the American lines on shore, and from the guns of the Vulture. He was received safely on board, made himself known, and was conveyed securely to New York. It is remarkable how easily Arnold could himself escape, though he did not take the same effectual means for André's safety. Thus—how different his fate to that of unhappy André!—Arnold was received with a warm welcome by Clinton and the English officers, though he had not secured the advantages offered, and though André was the apparent sacrifice for his treason. He was immediately made a colonel in the British army with the local rank of major-general, and received a payment of six thousand pounds as compensation for his loss by the change. He soon after issued an address to the people of



WEST POINT, ON THE HUDSON.

Hudson, and some miles lower down—he was hourly expecting the arrival there of Washington from his interview at Hartford. It was the morning of the 25th. Two of Washington's aides-de-camp had already arrived, and they were breakfasting with him and his staff when the express arrived from Jameson. He opened the letter bringing him such terrible tidings; but, mastering his feelings, he requested the officers to proceed with breakfast whilst he made a communication to his wife, who had not risen. Then he disclosed to her the appalling fact, which had the effect of throwing her into an instant swoon. But there was no time to be lost. He left her lying insensible, descended, and desired the officers to tell general Washington, on his arrival, that he was suddenly called to West Point, and, mounting his horse, rode off. Arriving at the Hudson, he put off in a boat, and, on reaching the mid-stream, taking out a white

America, declaring the public grounds for his abandonment of the republican cause, and calling on the continental troops to follow his example.

Scarcely had Arnold left his house when Washington arrived there, and, hearing that he was gone to West Point, went after him. No Arnold could be found; and, whilst Washington was wondering at the circumstance, colonel Hamilton brought him the dispatch of colonel Jameson, which, in Arnold's absence, he had opened. Washington thus learned the whole mystery, and soon after received a letter from Arnold, on board the Vulture, justifying his proceeding, and entreating that his wife might not suffer on his account; and it is to the honour of the Americans that she did not—a generous fact, which we record with the more pleasure, because such facts are thinly sown on the part of the Americans in this war. She was

suffered to join her husband at the close of the year at New York.

But very different was the treatment of major André. On him the Americans let fall all the vindictive fury which they could not wreak on Arnold. Even Washington here forgot his wonted justice and moderation. No sooner did André learn that Arnold was out of danger than he freely acknowledged his own name and his rank in the British army. He wrote to Washington, declaring that he had done nothing but what his duty to his king required, and that he had not assumed any mean disguise in carrying out his orders, but merely for his own safety in carrying them into execution. All such reasoning was lost on Washington, who had a trait of deep sternness in his character, which, under his present smart at the perfidy of Arnold, degenerated into cruelty. He gave no reply, though André in his letter had pointed out to him that Sir Henry Clinton had in his hands a number of American gentlemen who had broken their parole to Lord Cornwallis, and entered into conspiracy against the British government. He reminded him that they might be had in exchange for him, or that his treatment might affect theirs. He concluded, with expressions of confidence in the generosity of Washington—a generosity which he was not destined to see exercised in his case.

Washington's only answer was to appoint a board of inquiry to examine the case, which consisted of twelve American officers and two foreigners, baron Steuben and La Fayette. The judge-advocate, Lawrence, was one of the board, and general Greene the president. Poor André was not allowed any advocate, any witness, or any friend. General Clinton, the moment he was aware of the arrest of André, sent a letter to Washington, stating that André had gone on shore under a flag of truce, and, at the time of his arrest, was travelling under a pass from Arnold, the commander of the district. To this letter was added one from Arnold, confirming both points, and asserting that, being then the commander of the district, he had a full right to issue such protections. Clinton therefore requested Washington to liberate André immediately. To this letter Washington did not deign the civility of a reply till after a lapse of four days, and after the board of officers had declared André a spy.

General Clinton, astonished at this extraordinary severity, so opposed to the whole mild tenor of the English in such cases throughout the war, wrote again immediately to Washington, stating that he thought the board could not be rightly informed of the whole circumstances of the case, and that it was of the highest consequence to humanity and Washington's own reputation that he should be fully apprised of the true facts before he put such a sentence into execution; that, to insure this, he was sending to him a deputation, consisting of lieutenant-general Robertson, the Hon. Andrew Elliot, lieutenant-governor, and the Hon. William Smith, chief-justice of New York. On the 13th of October the three commissioners arrived, but Washington refused to see any of them, and only permitted general Robertson to have an interview with general Greene. In this interview Robertson urged the fact, that André had gone ashore under a flag of truce, as proved by Arnold's

own letter; but, unfortunately, André, with that incautious frankness which distinguished his whole proceedings, had admitted before the board that he had made no use of a flag of truce, and this was immediately seized on by Greene as decisive. Robertson then reminded Greene of the conduct of the English in such cases; of more than one instance, in which, at the intercession of the commander-in-chief, Sir Henry Clinton had delivered up acknowledged spies. He pointed out one especial case, that of captain Robinson, a clearly-proved American spy, who at Washington's particular intercession had been given up to him. He added that major André was high in the esteem of Sir Henry Clinton, and that this was an especial opportunity for Washington to return the courtesy—a courtesy which the English commander was anxious to promote, as tending greatly to soften the horrors of war.

But all such arguments were lost on Greene, and Robertson then spoke more firmly on the military law of the case. He declared that no military tribunal in Europe would decide the case of Arnold to be that of a spy; urged that the opinion of generals Rochambeau and Knyphausen should be taken on the subject. The fact is, that the greater part of the American generals had been taken from the plough-tail, and could not be supposed to be deeply read in military jurisprudence; but it was not their ignorance but their passion which misguided them. They were determined to hang André because Arnold had escaped from them, and all argument was thrown away. As we have been compelled to say before, we must repeat, that we believe that no such acts of public magnanimity can be found in the history of the American republic as are scattered through that of any other nation of modern times. Washington, who had always exceeded his countrymen in justice and moderation, at least in this case wholly abandoned himself to his resentment, refused this most righteous and proper plea to take the opinion of the only competent judges, and determined that the sentence should be executed without any mitigation.

Robertson did not content himself with his statements to Greene; he repeated them in a letter addressed direct to Washington himself, and Arnold once more renewed his statements and entreaties, but in vain. There was only one idea which influenced the American mind, and that was, if possible, to secure Arnold. It was, therefore, carefully suggested by Washington himself, though he did not venture to make a direct proposition on the subject—that Arnold should be given up, on the condition of André's liberation! Captain Aaron Ogden, who carried the letters from Washington and André to the British posts, was instructed to propagate this idea amongst the British officers at Paulus Hook, by whom it was conveyed to general Clinton, and, of course, rejected with the disgust inseparable from all honourable minds.

But it was not in this circuitous mode that this idea was alone offered to the English commander; general Greene proposed it directly to general Robertson in their official interview, and Robertson assured Sir Henry Clinton that he answered the mean suggestion only by a look of indignation. André himself prepared for the death, which he saw was inevitable, with resignation. He employed his prison hours

in writing and sketching, and made a pen-and-ink portrait of himself, now preserved in the Trumbull Gallery at Yale College. One thing only troubled him; that was, that he must die by the halter, and not by a soldier's death. To escape this last and most undeserved ignominy, he addressed a letter to Washington on the 1st of October, entreating that this might be allowed. "Buoyed," he said, "above the terrors of death by the consciousness of a life devoted to



MAJOR ANDRÉ. FROM A PEN AND INK SKETCH BY HIMSELF.

honourable pursuits, and stained with no action that can give me remorse, I trust the request I make to your excellency at this serious period, and which is to soften my last moments, will not be rejected. Sympathy towards a soldier will surely induce your excellency and the military tribunal to adapt the mode of my death to the feelings of a man of honour. Let me hope, sir, that if aught in my character impresses you with esteem towards me—if aught of my misfortunes marks me the victim of policy and not of resentment—I shall experience the operation of these feelings in your heart, by being informed that I am not to die on a gibbet."

Washington did not even vouchsafe him a reply; but the next morning he was led forth to the gallows. He was dressed in his uniform as a British officer, and his behaviour was marked by firmness and composure, till he beheld the fatal tree, when he started, and said, "Must I, then, die in this manner?" But he added, "It will be but a momentary pang." He advanced to the gallows with a firm step, and bandaged his eyes himself with his handkerchief. Being then told that he might speak to the bystanders if he liked,

he simply raised the bandage from his eyes, and said, "I pray you bear me witness that I meet my fate like a brave man."

No sooner was he thus executed like a felon, than his judges, the officers who had witnessed his conduct through these trying circumstances, and Washington himself, who in his anger had forgotten his usual courtesy and temper, were ready to bear testimony to the fortitude and gentlemanly conduct and accomplishments of this too open and noble-minded young man, who was as yet only in his twenty-ninth or thirtieth year. Indeed, throughout the whole of the proceedings nothing could exceed the gentlemanly and communicative bearing of André. He seemed to feel it as a point of honour to conceal nothing regarding himself, to reveal nothing that might implicate any one else. Little care as Arnold had evinced for his safety till it was too late, he never dropped a syllable of censure upon him. On the other hand, all this fine and affecting demeanour was lost on the Americans, who, whilst they pretended to lament his fate, never ceased coolly to press it to a conclusion. And there can now be but one opinion on this transaction anywhere, except in America—that it is a blot upon their history, and upon their almost solitary great man, which nothing can ever wash out, and which the virtues and nobleness of the victim only render the darker. A monument was raised to the memory of André in Westminster Abbey, and his remains, in 1821, were removed from the soil where they had been so vindictively dishonoured, and carried to England.

Arnold continued to issue his addresses to the American people and army, in which he described the tyranny and deceitfulness of the American government in the blackest terms. He declared that he had always been disposed to



MEMORIAL STONE, MARKING THE PLACE OF ANDRÉ'S EXECUTION.

accept the very liberal conditions of the mother country, and had seen, with increasing disgust, its disguise and concealment of the true proposals of England from the American people; that they had now reduced the States to a country of widows, orphans, and beggars; had allied themselves to a perfidious and bankrupt nation, which hated

liberty and the protestant religion, and that the only security for rational freedom and liberty of conscience was in the return to the mild sway of England. Congress replied to these in many respects just reproaches with violent recriminations. On the part of the British, the conduct of the Americans to André produced no alteration in their spirit or temper. They never put into execution any of the menaces of retaliation only employed to endeavour to save that unfortunate officer. They continued to treat with the utmost mildness the Americans, who constantly offended against the laws of war; and even the forty gentlemen from Charlestown, who had flagrantly broken their parole, and gone over again to the American

soldiers must also be engaged for the whole war, and that the officers must have half-pay for life. There was a loud outcry in congress on this, that the commander-in-chief was intending to make himself a dictator, as Cromwell had done, and that the States would only escape from one king to have another self-created; but the necessities of the case rose above these democratic clamours, and the proposals were carried, but with little relief to Washington, for the regulations were doggedly resisted in almost every direction, and even for the soldiers he had found it almost impossible to procure subsistence. He still continued to occupy his position on the highlands above the Hudson; Rochambeau in his camp on Rhode Island, and Clinton



AMERICAN RIVER SCENE.—EUROPUS CREEK.

ranks, were merely transferred from the prison-ships to Pensacola and St. Augustine, in Florida, and there again their parole was allowed them, but under stricter surveillance. About this time some exchanges of prisoners were effected. Lincoln was given up for major-general Phillips, who had been prisoner since the surrender of Saratoga; but the congress still refused to keep their engagement with the army which there capitulated, and held it, in defiance of every principle of honour, to the end of the war.

Washington and all the principal officers now pressed on congress something like the conscription which France soon after adopted, for maintaining the army, insisting that the

in New York, and all parties retired early into winter quarters.

During this year the Americans continued to hope for relief to themselves from the progress of the armed neutrality, but derived little good from it, though, through their exertions, they beheld Holland added to the open enemies of England. The czarina of Russia expressed her chagrin at the little effect which it produced, declaring that it was only an armed nullity; whilst her favourite and minister, Potemkin, declared to the British ambassador, Sir James Harris, that it had been conceived in mistake, had been perfected by vanity, and was only maintained on the

part of the congress by pride and stubbornness. The French themselves, overwhelmed with debts and difficulties, showed symptoms of desiring to make peace. M. Necker proposed to lord North, in a private letter, a truce, which might be extended as seemed desirable, during which the belligerent powers in America should each hold the possessions which they had now in their power; but George III. would not for a moment listen to any such terms. At the same time, France openly feted Franklin, La Fayette, or any other person who had taken part in the American quarrel, not

ministers. These were, to purchase Gibraltar from the English on conditions which should restore peace. It appears that these ideas were entertained so far as to induce lord George Germaine to state to Hussey that such a purchase might possibly be effected if Spain would, as an equivalent, yield to England the island of Porto Rica, the fortress and territory of Omao, in Honduras, sufficient coast to create a fort and erect a fortress in the Bay of Oran, on the coast of Africa, the purchase of all the artillery and stores in Gibraltar, together with the payment of two millions



RICHARD BRINSLEY SHERIDAN FROM AN AUTHENTIC PORTRAIT.

omitting such compliments in her seaports to Paul Jones, whenever he brought into them any of his prizes.

Spain continued the siege of Gibraltar, and entered, at the same time, into secret negotiations with England, through Mr. Hussey, an Irish priest, who had been chaplain to count Almadovar when ambassador in London. Hussey still remained in London, acting, as was strongly suspected, as a spy for the court of Spain; and, through him, Richard Cumberland, the private secretary of lord George Germaine, was induced to make the Spanish wishes known to the

sterling for money already expended on the fortress, and if Spain engaged to afford no further assistance to his majesty's white subjects in America, but, on the contrary, should assist him in reducing them to obedience, and neither suffer any American ships to enter her ports, nor American subjects to remain in his dominions.

Yet, even these great requisitions did not seem sufficient to embolden the government to enter seriously on so unpopular a transaction as the surrender of Gibraltar. They soon grew frightened at their own temerity, and receded from

the negotiation. Afterwards, however, Richard Cumberland was allowed to accompany Hussey to Madrid, as a sort of private negotiator on this subject; but Cumberland remained there eight months, holding many secret conferences with Florida Blanca, the minister, which came to nothing. The English government would give no assurance of surrendering the rock, and all other terms of peace were treated with contempt. In the end, Cumberland returned to England four thousand five hundred pounds out of pocket, for he had been figuring in the character of a real ambassador in the Spanish capital, and now solicited reimbursement in vain. Of this sum which he expended, he assures us, in his Memoirs, that he never recovered one farthing.

But the most serious event—serious preeminently to that country, in the end—was the open breach with Holland. The Dutch government, though declining to belong to the armed neutrality, had been long taking every advantage of assisting the Americans by supplies from their West Indian Islands, and by general trade with them. They had, whilst nominally at peace with England—and really under immense obligations to her—gone treacherously much further. Flattering themselves that, with nearly all the world against her, England must succumb, they had long been secretly in negotiation with the insurgent subjects of England, and their treachery was now suddenly, by a singular circumstance, brought to the light.

Captain Keppel, cruising in the *Vestal* frigate on the banks of Newfoundland, in the month of September, captured one of the American packets. On the approach of the British boats to the packet, it was observed that something was hastily flung overboard. A sailor leaped from one of the boats into the sea, and succeeded in securing this something before it had sunk beyond reach. It turned out to be a box, which had been weighted with lead, but not sufficiently to render it so rapid in its descent as to prevent its seizure by the British tar. On being opened, it revealed a mass of papers belonging to an American emissary to the court of Holland, and opened up a long course of negotiations, and an eventual treaty of peace and commerce between Holland and our American colonies. The bearer of these papers was discovered on board the packet, in the person of Henry Laurens, late president of the United States.

It appeared that so long ago as 1778 William Lee, who had formerly been an alderman of London, but who had now become the accredited agent of the American congress, had entered into negotiations with John de Neufville, a merchant of Amsterdam, and Van Berkel, grand pensionary of that city. These had gradually ripened into a regular treaty with the States General, which was drawn up so that it might be signed at any time, or might, if circumstances appeared to render it necessary, be abandoned and denied. These transactions were kept profoundly secret from the English government, with whom Holland was all this time at peace; but the Americans now were in the most urgent distress for money, and they dispatched Laurens with authority to offer the Dutch still higher commercial advantages than were stipulated for in the drawn-up treaty; on these conditions to effect the signature of the treaty and the desired loan.

These most important papers, together with their bearer,

were sent with all speed to England, and on the 6th of October ex-president Laurens was conducted in a hackney coach to the office of lord George Germaine, where he underwent a keen scrutiny of six hours by the three secretaries of state and the solicitor-general. Laurens refused to answer their interrogatories; but this was of no consequence, his papers explained sufficiently the objects of his mission. He was committed to close custody in the Tower on a charge of high treason, and copies of his papers were forwarded to our ambassador, Sir Joseph Yorke, at the Hague, who was instructed to demand from the States General the disavowal of the proceedings of Van Berkel and Neufville; and that they should be punished as disturbers of the peace betwixt the two countries, and violators of the rights of nations. The States General, confounded by the discovery of their clandestine negotiations, remained silent for a week, and then only replied by advancing complaints of violences committed by the British navy on their traders, and of its having insulted the Dutch flag by seizing some American privateers in the fort of the island of St. Martin, under the very guns of the fort. Sir Joseph did not allow himself to be diverted from his demand, but again, on the 12th of December, a month after the presentation of his memorial, demanded an answer. No answer was returned. At this time two great parties divided Holland—that of the grand pensionary, Van Berkel, favourable to France and America; and that of the prince of Orange, favourable to England. The party of Van Berkel was in the ascendant. England was compelled to declare war against Holland on the 20th of December, Sir Joseph Yorke being recalled by the king, and count Welderen receiving his passports in London. Welderen, before taking his leave, requested to lay some fresh papers before the secretary of state, but this was declined, the nations now being at war; in fact, the Dutch had no sooner been compelled to take an open course than they began to repent of their proceedings, and could they have foreseen the loss and degradation which this war had in store for them, their repentance would have been much deeper.

The parliament was dissolved on the 1st of September, with a suddenness which took the opposition by surprise. The new parliament assembled on the 21st of October, when it was found that the ministers had gained a considerable accession of strength. A hundred and thirteen new men had obtained seats, and there had been some remarkable changes. Burke had been thrown out by his Bristol constituents, as they had promised him, for advocating the catholic claims and the trade of Ireland; but he was re-instated as member for the little pocket borough of Malton, in the interest of lord Rockingham. Admiral Keppel was thrown out by the government influence for Windsor, but was returned for Surrey. Two catholics—the earl of Surrey, the eldest son of the duke of Norfolk, and Sir Thomas Gascoigne—had, in the midst of the Gordon riots, abjured their faith, and were now eagerly returned for Carlisle and Thirsk. Still more extraordinary men appeared amongst the new members in the persons of Richard Brinsley Sheridan and William Wilberforce. William Pitt could not find an avenue to the house at first, but in a few months entered for the close borough of Appleby, the

nominee of Sir James Lowther. From Buckinghamshire came, as one of its representatives, Thomas Grenville, a son of George Grenville, late prime minister, and brother to the present earl Temple, for earl Temple, brother-in-law of Chatham, was deceased without an immediate heir. Thomas Grenville was remarkable for his magnificent bequest of his library to the British Museum, and for continuing a public man for the greater part of half a century, being, even till 1846, and almost to the last, in active intercourse with our present ministers, and, in particular, Mr. Gladstone.

The first business of the new parliament was to elect its speaker, and lord George Germaine proposed Mr. Charles Wolfran Cornwall in opposition to Sir Fletcher Norton, who had given mortal offence by his opposition to ministers. Lord George lamented that Sir Fletcher's health rendered his retirement necessary; but Sir Fletcher replied that his health was now better, and that lord George Germaine's pretence was a mockery to the house. Ministers, however, prevailed. Mr. Cornwall was elected by a majority of two hundred and three votes against one hundred and thirty-four.

In his opening speech the king congratulated the parliament on the successful manner in which his navy had resisted the combined endeavours of France and Spain, and on the progress of his arms in Georgia and Carolina, which, he hinted, would tend to bring that unhappy contest to a speedy close. The opposition ridiculed the idea that these partial successes could have any real influence on the war. They strongly resisted the addresses; but were left in heavy minorities, much to their discouragement. Lord North—strong in his new parliamentary strength—moved for, and carried, extraordinarily large grants for the coming year: ninety thousand men for the navy, and thirty-five thousand for the army, exclusive of the invalids at home, and the Germans already in America. The whole sum voted for the expenditure of 1781 was upwards of twenty-five millions sterling. Nor did this, as it proved, suffice, for new duties on paper, on almanacs, &c., were imposed during the year, and still the debt grew rapidly. The opposition, defeated in their attempts at economy, attacked ministers on other points. Thomas Townshend declared that it was necessary that the house should institute an inquiry why the country was deprived of the services of such men as admiral Keppel, lord Howe, Sir Robert Harland, Pigot, Campbell, and Barrington, and Fox pledged himself to move for the dismissal of lord Sandwich, and censured severely the promotion of admiral Palliser, who was alleged by the public to have prevented the victory of admiral Keppel off Ushant. Admiral Palliser, who was in the house, defended himself. A fierce debate arose, which ended in the minutes of the court-martial held upon Palliser being ordered to be laid upon the table. The house then adjourned, on the 6th of December, to the 23rd of January.

Parliament meeting, according to adjournment, on the 23rd, lord North delivered to the commons a royal message, including a copy of the manifesto against Holland, letters of marque and reprisal having been issued against the Dutch during the recess. The opposition, led by Burke, condemned the declaration of war, declaring that we had been more in fault than

the Dutch; and Burke represented the copy of the treaty with America, found amongst the papers of Laurens, as a mere "speculative essay." But, in both houses, resolutions were carried by large majorities condemning the conduct of the Dutch, and justifying the war.

Early in February, Fox made his promised attack on Sir Hugh Palliser, declaring that, after his conduct at Ushant, and the verdict of the court-martial, which at once acquitted and condemned him, such promotion was an insult to the nation, and ruinous to the service of the navy. Fox's motion was rejected by a ministerial majority of two hundred and fourteen to one hundred and forty-nine.

On the 15th of February Burke again brought on the question of economical reform, and extended it to parliamentary reform; thus embodying in the scheme what came to be ultimately known as "radical reform"—the theme of so many years, and the theme still. Leave was given him to bring in a bill on the subject, but it was attacked by lord North and his supporters on the vote for the second reading. In this debate occurred several remarkable facts. William Pitt, the second son of lord Chatham, first spoke in parliament on this occasion, and spoke as a zealous reformer. He was then but in his twenty-second year, but displayed all the command of manner and self-possession which afterwards characterised him. In this very first essay, he did not hesitate to call to order leading men in the ministry, and to make them quail, too. Lord George Germaine standing during the young orator's speech, and talking in a loud whisper to Welbore Ellis, Pitt stopped, saying, "I will wait till the Agamemnon of the present day has finished his consultation with the Nestor of the treasury bench." The effect was instantaneous, and the two offenders, unused to such rebuke, sat down in confusion. Burke's bill was thrown out.

On the same liberal side, also, spoke Sheridan, who continued on that side, and Wilberforce, who did not. Sheridan had already addressed the house on the subject of his own controverted election, and with such poor effect, that going, after his speech, to Woodfall, the printer of "Junius," who was in the gallery, and asking his opinion, Woodfall, with a discouraging honesty, replied, "I am sorry to say that I do not think this is your line." Sheridan was already celebrated for some of his brilliant dramas. After this answer, he rested his hand on his head for some time as in despair, then raising it, he said, energetically, "It is in me, however, and it shall come out!" and, in truth, it did soon come out. Early in this month of February the trial of lord George Gordon came on for his instigation of the late riots, and a young and hitherto little known barrister was engaged on his behalf—Mr. Erskine, afterwards lord Erskine. It was a time for the outburst of high genius, and no man ever began a more brilliant career as a pleader than Thomas Erskine. He obtained, amidst much applause, a verdict of acquittal for the prisoner. In the house of commons, the opposition was much encouraged by this victory, for though the reformers condemned the principles of lord George Gordon, they sympathised with him as a scapegoat for the negligence of the government itself. Sheridan distinguished himself greatly. He condemned the employment of the soldiery, and still more the wretched condition of the police and constabulary regulations in the metropolis.

On the 7th of March lord North opened his budget, and astonished the house by having, in addition to the levying of twenty-five millions for the year, contracted a loan for twelve millions. So recklessly had the terms of this loan been settled, that Fox declared that a million had been actually thrown away amongst the contractors, and this statement was fully corroborated by the fact of the price of the new stock having risen from nine to eleven per cent. above par. Fox also proceeded to condemn, in strong language, a proposed lottery. One of the greatest and most losing gamblers of his age, he might speak feelingly when he described the vice and the misery of gambling. At this time he had reduced himself by his passion for play to the most ruinous condition. His goods were seized by his creditors, and he was overwhelmed with debt. Speaking from experimental but not curative knowledge, he declared gambling as destructive to the prosperity of nations as of individuals, and that, of all species of gambling, lotteries were the most pernicious, debasing the morals, the habits, and the whole condition of the poorer classes of the people.

The strictures of Fox were followed up by Sir Philip Jennings Clerke, who declared that the loan had been managed so as to favour, as usual, lord North's favourite contractors, and that one of them, a Mr. Atkinson, alone had had three millions of it placed at his disposal. These charges were vehemently urged by Fox, Byng, Sir George Saville, and others, and on the 12th of March Mr. Byng moved that a list of all who had become subscribers to the new loan, with the sums subscribed by each, should be laid before the house: secondly, a list of all those who offered to become subscribers; and, thirdly, for copies of all letters, papers, and proposals sent to ministers by persons wishing to subscribe. These motions were intended to show the favouritism which had been exercised, and how it had been exercised at the public cost. Lord North agreed to the first motion, but not to the two succeeding ones, so that the real object of the motion was defeated, and this was sufficiently demonstrative to the public of the truth of the charge.

On the 2nd of April, Mr. Duncombe, one of the members for the county of York, presented a general petition embracing almost every subject of reform. This petition, it was well known, had sprung from the associations and corresponding societies which had been established last year in the different counties, that of York taking the lead. The delegates from these county associations had met in London, and had taken means to make their proceedings conspicuous. A considerable number of them were members of parliament themselves. They had got up and signed this petition, but, knowing the jealousy with which they were regarded, they had signed it, not in their character of delegates, but of freeholders. Sir George Saville, the other member for Yorkshire, moved that this petition be referred to a committee; but government had too great a dread of a machinery which had worked so effectually in America, and complaining of the unconstitutional proceeding of delegates meeting in London, publishing their resolutions, and acting as a representative body independent of parliament, they rejected the motion by a large majority.

The subjects which occupied principally the notice of parliament during the remainder of the session were two

bills for altering the marriage act of 1751, and one regarding America. The first bill affecting the marriage act was introduced by lord Beauchamp on the 28th of May, to alter a clause in the act, which it was discovered by a late decision of the Court of King's Bench went to render all marriages, the banns for which had been published in any church or chapel erected since the passing of the act, invalid. This was of such moment that it passed immediately. The next bill was introduced by Fox, who, like his father, had a decided aversion to the whole act, and would have obliterated nearly every part of it, except the mere registration of the marriages. Burke, for the first time, opposed the motion of his friend Fox; the bill was thrown out without a division. The bill regarding the American colonies was moved for by colonel Hartley on the 30th of May, and the proposal went to empower the king to come to some terms of reconciliation with the insurgent states. It was rejected, and the news of the retrogressing of the royalist cause in North Carolina arriving a few days afterwards, Fox, on the 17th of June, moved that the house should resolve itself into a committee to consider the necessity of making peace with the American states. The old ground was again widely travelled over by the opposition, charging the ministers with being the cause of all the disaster and disgrace: first, by the tyrannous nature of their measures, and secondly by the imbecility of their management; and by the ministerial party charging the opposition with being the real cause by their inciting and encouraging the insurgents. The late lord Chatham's memory having been impugned, his son, William Pitt, warmly and eloquently defended it, declaring the whole war "was a most accursed, wicked, barbarous, cruel, unnatural, unjust, and diabolical war; conceived in injustice, nurtured and brought forth in folly, its footsteps marked with blood, slaughter, persecution, and devastation!" Fox's motion was rejected by one hundred and seventy-two against ninety-nine.

Numbers of petitions poured in from the West India Islands praying for peace with America; representing the imminent danger to which they were exposed by the powerful fleets of France and Spain; the loss of some of them already, and the destitution to which the rest were reduced. The corporation of London presented a memorial to the king, stating in very plain terms that he had been deluded by his ministers into this ruinous contest, and that every class and interest in the country was rapidly sinking into ruin from the destruction of trade and the enormous mass of debt and taxes which it was heaping upon the kingdom. But on the 18th of July the king, on proroguing parliament, still avowed his hopes of concluding the contest by success, and his determination to admit of no terms inconsistent with the dignity of the crown and the interest and security of the realm. He turned with evident pleasure from this disagreeable topic to congratulations of the rapid progress of our power and the successes of our arms in India.

The enemy, meantime, were on the alert, trying, by their fleets and armies, to assail us in almost every quarter. In the very opening days of the year—at the very commencement of January, 1781—the French made a second attack on the island of Jersey. They had sent across the channel a fleet

carrying nearly two thousand men: but their ships met the common fortune of those which in all ages have invaded these islands: they were scattered by tempests, many of them dashed on the rocks of those iron-bound shores, and some driven back to port. They managed, however, to land eight hundred men by night, and surprised the town of St. Helier's, taking prisoner its lieutenant-governor, major Corbet, who thereupon thinking all lost, agreed to capitulate. But the next officer in command, major Pierson, a young man of only twenty-five, refused to comply with so pusillanimous an order. He rallied the troops and encouraged the inhabitants, who fired on the French from their windows. The invaders, surrounded in the market place, were compelled to surrender, after their commander, the baron de Rullecourt, and many of his soldiers, were killed. The gallant young Pierson was himself killed by nearly the last shot. Corbet himself escaped, though he was placed by the French commander in the very first line, to prevent the English firing upon them; but he escaped only to be tried and cashiered.

The garrison of Gibraltar was all this time hard pressed by the Spaniards. Florida Blanca had made a convention with the Emperor of Morocco to refuse the English any supplies; those thrown in by Rodney the year before were nearly exhausted, and they were reduced to great straits. Admiral Darby was commissioned to convoy one hundred vessels laden with provisions, and to force a way for them into the garrison. Darby not only readily executed his commission to the great joy of the poor soldiers, but he blockaded the great Spanish fleet under admiral Cordova, in the harbour of Cadiz, whilst the stores were landing.

In America, all at the opening of the campaign seemed to favour the English cause. The army of Washington, still suffering the utmost extremities of cold and starvation, began in earnest to mutiny. A Pennsylvanian division of one thousand three hundred men marched out of their camp at Morristown, and proceeded to Princeton, carrying with them six field-pieces and their stores. In attempting to stop them, Captain Billing was killed, and several other officers were wounded. General Wayne drew his pistol, and threatened to shoot the first man that moved: but a bayonet clapped to his breast caused him to stand aside, and they went on. At Princeton they declared that they would only return to their duty on condition that congress should grant their discharge to all who had not engaged for the war, and had served their three years; should pay up all arrears, and give real pay, and when due, to those who remained on service. Washington did not move to put down the insurrection, probably, because he knew that the demands of the soldiers were just, and partly also because he was afraid to issue from his lines, lest Clinton should fall on him. Congress was compelled to consent to the terms of the mutineers; and they were in such haste that, before the rolls of enlistment could be brought, they admitted the troops to swear as to the term of their enlistment; and before the rolls arrived nearly all the artillery and five regiments of this division had sworn that they were only enlisted for three years, and were discharged, the rolls, on their arrival, proving that the great majority of these men had perjured themselves, being enlisted for the whole war!

With still greater disregard of every generous principle, these men seized three commissioners, whom Sir Henry Clinton had sent to them on hearing of their abandonment of the republican colonies, to offer them enrolment in his lines on honourable terms, and, after they had obtained their demands, gave them up to the American commander, who hanged them for spies!

The success of this revolt encouraged others to repeat the manoeuvre. On the night of the 20th of January, a part of the Jersey brigade, stationed at Pompton, marched to Chatham, and made precisely the same demands. But now seeing that, if this were suffered, the whole army would quickly go to pieces, Washington sent general Howe after them, with orders to surround them, and shoot them down, if they did not surrender; and if they did surrender, immediately to seize the most active ringleaders, and execute them. Howe readily accomplished his mission; he reduced the mutinous, and shot their leaders.

These alarming transactions had far more effect in rousing congress to supply the troops than all the remonstrances of Washington. They got together three months' pay in specie for them, and some clothes; but the difficulty was to continue these supplies. They had neither money nor credit. The seizure of Henry Laurens, and the consequent failure of the hoped-for Dutch loan, left them in despair. They then dispatched lieutenant-colonel Laurens, nephew of the ex-president, now in the Tower of London, to Paris, accompanied by Thomas Paine. Before their departure, it was impressed upon them that both the people and the army were now so weary of the war, and so thoroughly exhausted by it, that, unless they could procure a supply of money, and a fleet to defend the coasts, it was impossible to go on. La Fayette wrote the same things to M. Vergennes, the French minister. He assured him that the resources of America were completely at an end; that the last campaign had been conducted without a dollar; that the army was in want of clothes, arms, ammunition, everything; and that, if the power of the English on that continent was to be destroyed, there must be a strong fleet, a fresh army of ten thousand men, and funds sent, in time. Pressing messages were also sent to Mr. Jay, who was now become minister to the court of Madrid, to induce the Spaniards to advance a loan, by offers of territory and privileges. New England and North Carolina, however, protested against these sacrifices to Spain, and, as the Spanish money was not promptly forthcoming, the temptations to that country to come into the league were abandoned.

Under such discouraging circumstances, the American campaign began. Whilst insurrection was in their camp, Sir Henry Clinton dispatched general Arnold to make a descent upon the coast of Virginia. That general had been dispatched into that quarter, at the close of the year, with one thousand six hundred men, in ships so bad, that they were obliged to fling overboard some of their horses. Arnold, however, first sailed up the river James, and landed at Westover, only twenty-five miles from Richmond, the capital of Virginia. Jefferson, who was governor of Virginia, was seized with great alarm; for, though the militia of the state were nominally fifty thousand, he could only muster a few hundreds. He therefore hastily collected

what property he could, and fled up the country, dreading to fall into the hands of a man so embittered against the Americans as Arnold was, who was himself well aware that they had determined to hang him without mercy if they caught him. Arnold did not allow much time to elapse without action. The next day he was in Richmond, and sent word to Jefferson that, provided British vessels might come up the river to take away the tobacco, he would spare the town. Jefferson rejected the proposal, and Arnold burned all the tobacco stores and the public buildings, both there and at Westham, with the cannon foundries, boring mills, powder magazines, &c. After committing other ravages, he returned to Portsmouth, on Elizabeth River, where he entrenched himself.

again endeavoured to stimulate the French admiral to the enterprise. He met the French commanders at Newport, in Rhode Island, on the 6th of March, and prevailed on them to set sail for the Chesapeake with the whole French fleet. They were soon followed by Arbuthnot, and were glad to put about, after some fighting off Cape Henry, and return to their anchorage at Rhode Island.

Soon after this, Arnold was superseded in the chief command by general Phillips, who had been prisoner ever since the surrender of Saratoga, but was now exchanged for general Lincoln; the Americans, in defiance of all stipulations, still retaining the soldiers of Burgoyne. La Fayette was sent to defend Virginia, and collected his forces on the Elk river; but these men, who were chiefly New



VIEW OF THE TOWN OF ST. HELIER'S, JERSEY.

The Americans, enraged at the successful raid of Arnold, were now all on fire to capture and hang him. Washington was as eager and vindictive, on this head, as any of the rest. He now planned that a number of French ships, under admiral Destouches, which had been enabled to escape from the blockade at Rhode Island by a storm scattering the British fleet, should sail up the Chesapeake and blockade Arnold in Portsmouth, while La Fayette was to descend from the head of the Chesapeake and blockade him on the land side. The French admiral found Arnold, however, too strongly fortified to venture on attacking him. Defeated in this scheme, Jefferson offered five thousand guineas to any select band of men who would make a sudden rush into Arnold's camp and assassinate him. None dared the attempt, and Washington

Englanders, not liking a campaign in the heat of a Virginian summer, deserted rapidly, in spite of all his appeals and protestations.

On the 26th of March, general Phillips, having assumed the command, in company with Arnold, ascended James River with two thousand five hundred men, took and destroyed much property in Williamsburg and York Town, ravaged the country around, and then sailed to the mouth of the Appomatox, and driving Steuben thence with his militia, burnt all the shipping and tobacco in Petersburg. After similar depredations at other places, and forcing the Americans to destroy their own flotilla betwixt Warwick and Richmond, Phillips and Arnold descended the James River to Manchester, and proposed to cross over to Richmond. But La Fayette



WRECK OF THE FRENCH TRANSPORTS ON THE COAST OF JERSEY.

having just reached that place before them with upwards of two thousand men, they re-embarked, and, after destroying much other property, especially shipping and stores, at Warwick and other places, they fell down to Hog Island, where they awaited further orders.

An active warfare had been going on at the same time in North Carolina. Lord Cornwallis had received a reinforcement of between two and three thousand men under general Leslie, and, owing to the climate, was enabled to prosecute the campaign in the middle of winter. He had, however, no longer to compete with the inefficient Gates, but with general Greene, a much more vigorous man. Gates had been called before a court-martial for his defeat at Camden, and Greene sent in his place. Greene, singularly enough, had been born a quaker—his father being a minister in that society—and brought up as a blacksmith. He had enlisted as a private in the brigade of his little native state of Rhode Island, and soon rose to the command of its small force, with the rank of major-general. He had served near the commander-in-chief in many of the principal transactions of the war, but this was his first separate command. He found the army, as left by Gates, a mere skeleton, destitute of everything, not excepting discipline, and “as ragged,” he wrote to Washington, “and naked as Virginian slaves.”

On the 17th of January, colonel Tarleton, who had been dispatched with a thousand men, horse and foot, to attack a body of Americans under general Morgan, came up with them at a place called Cowpens. The forces on both sides were nearly equal. Morgan had the greater number, but many of his men were South Carolina militia, under general Pickens, and these Morgan drew up in a line in front. His continentals, on whom he chiefly depended, were stationed in an open wood, and the cavalry, as a reserve, on the slope in the rear. Tarleton's troops were worn out by their long march, but that impetuous officer gave them no time to rest themselves, but fell on the enemy with loud shouts. The militia fled at once, and the advance of the English endangered the flanks of the continentals, and it became necessary to make a retrograde movement. This Tarleton mistook for a retreat, so accustomed was he to carry all before him, and his men were rushing on without regard to order, when the Americans suddenly faced about, poured a deadly fire into the British at thirty yards' distance, and then, briskly charging, broke their already disorderly line. The English cavalry, instead of being at hand to support them, were chasing the militia, and the American horse now dashed in upon the English infantry, and they were entirely routed. Being closely pursued, they lost, in killed and wounded, upwards of five hundred men. The Americans boasted to have lost only eighty.

On hearing of the defeat of Tarleton, Cornwallis advanced rapidly, in order, if possible, to intercept Morgan and his English prisoners at the fords of Catawba. A rise of the water from the rains prevented his crossing that river so soon as he expected, and Morgan joined Greene, both generals, however, retreating behind the Yadkin. The swollen state of the river and the want of boats also detained lord Cornwallis at the Yadkin, but he finally succeeded in crossing, and throwing himself between Greene and the frontiers of Virginia, from which Greene looked for

his supplies and reinforcements. Greene continued to retreat till he had also placed the Dan betwixt himself and Cornwallis; but his militia had deserted so rapidly on his flight, that, on reaching the Dan, he had not more than eighty of that body with him. Greene now had the way open to him for retreat into Virginia, and, Cornwallis giving up the chase, marched leisurely to Hillsborough, in North Carolina, where he invited the royalists to join his standard.

Such was his success—numbers of royalists flocking in to serve with Tarleton's legion—that Greene, alarmed at the consequences of this movement, turned back for the purpose of cutting off all possible reinforcements of this kind, yet avoiding a general engagement. Lieutenant-colonel Lee, with the advanced division of the Americans, crossed the Dan on the 21st of February, Greene following at a short interval. Lee suddenly encountered a body of two hundred North Carolina royalists marching to join lord Cornwallis, and already near the quarters of Tarleton. They were cooped up in a hollow lane, and, mistaking the Americans for British, raised cries of recognition; but the Americans perceived in a moment what they were by a badge of red cloth in their hats, and, sending a detachment to their rear, completely surrounded them in the lane, and commenced a massacre of them. The unhappy men cried out that they were “the very best friends of the king!” but soon after discovering their mistake, they began to cry for quarter. None was granted them, and they were all deliberately cut to pieces in cold blood! This rancorous butchery had the effect of terrifying the tories from joining the English standard.

Once more Cornwallis advanced to chastise Greene, and once more Greene bent a retreat. This manoeuvring continued till the 15th of March, when Greene having been joined by fresh troops, thought himself strong enough to encounter the English general. He drew up his army on very strong ground near Guildford Court House, where Cornwallis boldly attacked him, and, after a stout battle, completely routed him. One of the American historians, Marshall, in his “Life of Washington,” says:—“No battle in the course of the war reflects more honour on the courage of the British troops than this of Guildford. On no other occasion had they fought with such inferiority of numbers, or disadvantages of ground.” And well may that be said, for lord Cornwallis, in his dispatch to Sir Henry Clinton, stated his own troops at one thousand six hundred, and the Americans at seven thousand. The Americans, who omit to reckon the first line, which fled without a blow, stated their troops actually engaged at three thousand two hundred; but Gordon, from examination of American documents, makes them really four thousand five hundred. The ground was all against the English, and they had to drive the Americans out of two or three woods, where they, as usual, made deadly havoc from behind the trees with their rifles. The English lost ninety-three killed, had four hundred and thirteen wounded, and twenty-six missing. The number of British officers picked off by the American rifles was considerable. The hon. lieutenant-colonel Stuart, of the guards, and four other officers were killed; generals O'Hara and Howard, colonels Tarleton and Webster, were wounded; besides nine captains, four lieutenants, five ensigns, and two

adjutants Greene left behind him all his artillery. He had upwards of thirty officers killed, wounded, and missing, and his large body of militia and backwoodsmen fled so completely—going off as fast as they could towards their homes—that, on drawing up behind Troublesome Creek, Greene found he had hardly a man, except his regular troops, with him.

The condition of lord Cornwallis's army—though left victorious on the field of battle—was deplorable in the extreme. One-third of his little force was disabled in the fight, and was destitute not only of provisions but of shelter. They were without tents, and there were not houses enough near to receive them. The night set in dark and stormy, the rain fell in torrents, and the sufferings of the soldiers, especially of the wounded, were terrible. It was not until the afternoon of the next day that they could procure a little flour and some lean beef for the exhausted men. Lord Cornwallis was therefore prevented from following Greene, and began his march back towards the coast. He left seventy of his wounded, who could not be removed, under a flag of truce in a quakers' meeting house, and, on the third day, proceeded towards Cross Creek.

If the condition of the English was wretched, Stedman, the historian of the war, who was present, learned from one of the quakers that the condition of the country at large was still worse. Stedman remarked that "the royalists rode into the camp, shook the commander and the officers by the hand, said they were glad to see them, and that they had beaten Greene, and then rode back again without offering to join them. The quakers replied that the general desire of the people was to be at peace and reunited to Britain; but that they had been so often deceived in promises of support, and the British had been so frequently obliged to relinquish posts, that the people were now afraid to join the army, lest they should leave the province altogether; in which case the resentment of the revolutionists would be exercised with more cruelty than ever, for, though the men might escape or go with the army, their families would be made to suffer; that the English did not know the cruelty of the republicans towards those who inclined towards the royal cause, or the sufferings of such; that some of these men had lived for two and even three years in the woods, without daring to go to their homes; that others, having walked out of their houses, under a promise of being safe, had been instantly shot, and others had been tied to trees and cruelly whipped; that, in fact, the people had experienced such distress, that they would submit to any government in the world for peace."

But the British were in no condition to take advantage of this state of American exhaustion. At a time when the ministry at home had obtained the most magnificent grants from parliament—grants for ninety thousand seamen, thirty thousand soldiers, and twenty-five millions of pounds to pay for them—there was scarcely a fleet on these coasts, and nothing which could be called an army. True, England had now France, Spain, and Holland upon her hands, she had her West India Islands, and Gibraltar, and Minorca to defend; but those places required ships rather than soldiers, and even in ships, France, with finances in a most disastrous and hopeless condition, could furnish more effective fleets than we could. Where the question was, the putting an end to

a miserable war in our own colonies, where the revenues of these colonies were so utterly exhausted, and where the commander-in-chief, Sir Henry Clinton, had learned by an intercepted mail that the Americans were informed that "this was the last campaign in which the States were to expect assistance of either ships or troops from France," the slightest effort on the part of the English government would have been decisive. When we call to mind, too, what stupendous power such a minister as Pitt could, a few years afterwards, put forth, and continue through a thirty years' war for the restoration of a foreign dynasty, we cannot have any plainer proof of the thoroughly incompetent ministry which thus persisted in flinging away a continent, and the incurable and dense obstinacy of the monarch who, in spite of their long and calamitous possession of power, still insisted on their retaining it. Nothing but ruin could result from such unparalleled imbecility, such sheer paralysis of mind and action in the national rulers, and it was on the point of being consummated.

Had lord Cornwallis been in possession of an adequate army, he would very speedily have cleared all the southern states. Wherever he came, even with his handful of men, he beat and drove the Americans before him. He now took up his head-quarters at Cross Creek, where he sought to rest his troops and recover his sick and wounded. He hoped there to establish a communication with major Craig, who had been successfully dispatched to take possession of Wilmington, at the mouth of Cape Fear River, but this was not very practicable, and as the country about Cross Creek was destitute of the necessary supplies, Cornwallis himself descended to Wilmington, which he reached on the 7th of April. Colonel Webster and others of his wounded officers died on the march. Green, with his fragment of an army, as badly provisioned as that of Cornwallis, followed them at a safe distance.

At Wilmington lord Cornwallis remained about three weeks, uncertain as to his plan of operations. His forces amounted to only about one thousand five hundred men; he therefore determined, at length, to march into Virginia, and join Phillips and Arnold. He commenced his march on the 25th of April, having ordered Phillips and Arnold to ascend the Chesapeake, and join him at Presburg. He made his march without encountering any opposition, and reached Presburg on the 20th of May, and had the sorrow to find that his friend, general Phillips, had died on arriving at that rendezvous a few days before. Arnold had, of course, been left again head of that force; but, on lord Cornwallis's arrival, he set sail for New York, to carry out a plan of his—which Sir Henry Clinton approved—for seizing on the port of West Point, which he had failed to betray when he came over to the English. The scheme ultimately came to nothing. Meantime, lord Cornwallis found himself at the head of a united force of seven thousand men. Sir Henry Clinton's effective troops at New York amounted only to ten thousand nine hundred and thirty-one men, and the little detachment under lord Rawdon only to nine hundred; the sum total of the British army, therefore, in America, was just eighteen thousand eight hundred and thirty-one men!

The very day that lord Cornwallis had marched from

Wilmington, lord Rawdon was bravely fighting with Greene at Hobkirk's Hill, in South Carolina. Greene, with only about fifteen hundred regulars and some corps of new militia, making altogether about two thousand men, had not ventured to attack lord Cornwallis; but he thought he might, by diverting his course into South Carolina, induce him to follow, and thus leave exposed all North Carolina to Wayne and La Fayette, as well as all his important posts in the upper part of North Carolina. Greene failed to draw after him Cornwallis, but he sat down at Hobkirk's Hill, about two miles from the outposts of lord Rawdon's camp at Camden.

Lord Rawdon, hearing that Greene was waiting to be reinforced by troops under lieutenant-colonel Lee, and the active partisans, Sumpter and Marion, did not give him time for that. He marched out of Camden, at nine o'clock in the morning, on the 25th of April, and quietly making a circuit through some woods, he came upon Greene's flank, and drove in his pickets before he was perceived. Startled from his repose, Greene sought to return the surprise by sending colonel Washington, a nephew of the American commander-in-chief, with a body of cavalry, to fall on Rawdon's rear, as he was passing up the hill. But Rawdon was aware of this manœuvre, and prevented it, still pressing up Hobkirk's Hill, in the face of the artillery, charged with grape-shot. Greene's militia fled with all speed, and Rawdon stood triumphant on the summit of the hill, in the centre of Greene's camp. Rawdon had not cavalry enough to warrant a pursuit, or the execution would have been infinitely greater. As it was, Greene lost, in killed and wounded, nearly three hundred men, and one hundred were made prisoners. Lord Rawdon's loss was equally severe for so small an engagement; his killed, wounded, and missing, amounted to two hundred and fifty-eight, a serious diminution of his little knot of men. Greene retreated behind a creek, about twelve miles off, and sent out messengers on all sides to scour the country; but, in a private letter to Washington, he gave a very desponding view of the condition of things. "We fight, get beaten, and fight again. We have so much to do, and so little to do it with, that I am much afraid that these states must fall never to rise again; and, what is worse, I am persuaded they will lay a train to sap the foundation of all the rest."

And had there been but the most moderate amount of energy in the British ministry, this was inevitable. Lord Cornwallis only allowed himself three days' rest at Preburg; he marched thence, on the 24th of May, in quest of La Fayette, who was encamped on James's River. Cornwallis crossed that river at Westover, about thirty miles below La Fayette's camp, and that nimble officer retreated in all haste, hoping to join general Wayne, who was marching through Maryland, with a small force of eight hundred Pennsylvanians. Lord Cornwallis was, however, so near upon La Fayette, that he wrote, in one of his letters, "He cannot long escape me!" But La Fayette, though, through the whole American war, he never fought one good fight, or gained one victory, had a most marvellous genius for flying, and Cornwallis calculated too hastily on catching him.

On the banks of the James River lord Cornwallis was

joined by the 43rd regiment: mounting his little body of cavalry, Tarleton, though with a flying troop amounting to two hundred and fifty horse, was enabled to pursue his favourite raids. He now made a dash for Charlottesville, where Jefferson and the assembly were voting taxes, and making paper-money. On his way, he destroyed twelve wagons, loaded with arms and provisions, and, spurring into Charlottesville, very nearly captured Jefferson and his legislators. The governor had not escaped ten minutes from his house before Tarleton's troopers entered it, and, as it was the 4th of June, drank the king's health in his wine. Seven of the members of the assembly were captured, besides one thousand new firelocks, four hundred barrels of gunpowder, with a quantity of tobacco and clothing.

After some similar adventures by Tarleton, and by lieutenant-colonel Simcoe, who routed baron Steuben, and destroyed his stores at the Point of Fork, about fifty miles above Richmond, Cornwallis, who had received orders from Sir Henry Clinton to send part of his forces to New York, a combined attack by Washington and Rochambeau being expected there, retired to Richmond, and afterwards to Williamsburg. La Fayette, who was now joined by Wayne, followed, and on lord Cornwallis marching from Williamsburg to Portsmouth to embark the required detachment of troops, these generals, believing they were only in presence of his rear-guard, fell upon it, but soon found themselves engaged with the main army, and were completely routed, with the loss of several cannon, of ten officers, and nearly three hundred men. The English had seventy men killed or wounded, and five officers wounded. La Fayette and Wayne retreated up the James River, and Cornwallis pursued his march to Portsmouth.

There he received an order from Sir Henry Clinton, countermanding the embarkation of the troops, and desiring him to look out for a position where he could fortify himself, and at the same time protect such shipping as might be sent to the Chesapeake to prevent the entrance of the French. Cornwallis fixed on York Town, on York River, and there, and at Gloucester, in its vicinity, he was settled with his troops by the 22nd of August. Sir Henry Clinton wrote, intimating that he should probably send more troops to the Chesapeake, as there was a probability that Washington and Rochambeau, giving up the attack of New York, would make a united descent on York Town. Wayne and La Fayette were already continually increasing their force above York Town; but any such reinforcements by Sir Henry were prevented by the entrance of the comte de Grasse, with twenty-eight sail of the line and several frigates, into the Chesapeake, having on board three thousand and two hundred troops, which he had brought from the West Indies. These troops he landed, and sent, under the marquis de St. Simon, to join La Fayette, much to his delight.

Rodney, who was still commanding in the West Indies, had been on the look-out for De Grasse, but, missing him, he had dispatched Sir Samuel Hood after him, supposing that he had made for New York. Hood had with him fourteen ships of the line, and, arriving at Sandy Hook on the 28th of August, he found that De Grasse had then sailed for the Chesapeake. Admiral Arbuthnot had been

replaced by admiral Graves, but Graves had only seven ships of the line, and of these only five fit for action. Taking the chief command, with these twenty-one ships, Graves set sail for the Chesapeake, with Hood as second in command. A new French admiral, the comte de Barras, now commanded the Rhode Island squadron, and this squadron had ventured out to sea. Graves went first in quest of De Barras, and, not finding him, proceeded to the Chesapeake, where, on the 5th of September, he discerned the fleet of De Grasse at anchor, just within the Capes of Virginia, and blocking up York River with his frigates. Graves had his nineteen ships, De Grasse twenty-eight, and Nelson could have desired nothing better than such a sight in the narrow waters of the Chesapeake: not a ship would have escaped him; but Graves was no Nelson, and allowed De Grasse to cut his cables and run out to sea. There, indeed, Graves attacked him, but under infinitely greater disadvantages, at four o'clock in the afternoon. The night parted them, and De Grasse returned to his old anchorage in the Chesapeake, and Graves sailed away again for New York! Never was there a more disgraceful exhibition made by a British admiral.

Meantime, Washington and Rochambeau were mustering for the march to the Chesapeake. The command of the forces left to defend the Hudson was intrusted to general Heath. The whole of the French army under Rochambeau, and two thousand men from the American army, took the route for Philadelphia, and from thence for the head of the Elk. Washington in this march paid a passing visit to his home at Mount Vernon, the first which he had been able to make during the six years and a half since he took the command. On the 14th of September he reached the headquarters of La Fayette, and took the supreme command, Rochambeau being second, and the especial head of the French. The next day Washington and Rochambeau held a conference with the comte de Grasse, on board his ship, the *Ville de Paris*, the finest ship in the French navy, and larger than any in the English navy, carrying its one hundred and six guns. De Grasse told them that what they did they must do quickly, for that he could not remain on that station longer than the 1st of November; and it was resolved to act accordingly.

Sir Henry Clinton had for some time been aware of the real destination of the united forces of Washington and Rochambeau. He must have seen that there was a determined resolve to crush, by the most powerful combination of American and French forces, the army in the south, and every exertion should have been made by him, with fleet and army, to release Cornwallis from his impending peril. But, unhappily, as he and Arbuthnot had been on bad terms, so he and Cornwallis were so now; and he may have, therefore, been too little concerned for the evident danger that threatened the earl. But, instead of sending direct reinforcements to Cornwallis, and ordering the fleet to engage the attention, and, if possible, defeat, De Grasse in the Chesapeake, he concerted a diversion with Arnold, which he fondly hoped would recall Washington.

On the 6th of September, Arnold, with two British regiments, a battalion of New Jersey volunteers, and two thousand four hundred German Jagers, landed near New

London, in Connecticut, Arnold's native district. Arnold showed his wonted bravery: the forts Trumbull and Griswold were carried at the point of the bayonet; the town of New London was occupied; colonel Ledyard, the commander of Fort Griswold, was killed, and, on the part of the British, colonel Eyre and major Montgomery. A vast number of cannon, muskets, pikes, and ammunition, were taken or destroyed, and a great many warehouses, full of European and West Indian goods, together with ten or a dozen ships, were burnt, and the flames spreading, reduced the town to ashes. All this devastation the people of Connecticut naturally charged to the vindictive rancour of their countryman, Arnold; but he attributed it to the explosion of gunpowder concealed in some of the warehouses unknown to the English, and that the change of wind carried the flames to the town.

Whatever was the cause, the danger of New London had not for a moment influenced the movements of Washington, and its terrible destruction only now more embittered the spirit of vengeance. Sir Henry Clinton contemplated further expeditions—first against the Rhode Island fleet, and next against Philadelphia; but these never came off, and matters were now every day assuming such an aspect as should have stimulated him to some direct assistance to Cornwallis. There can be no question but that, had Clinton ordered the fleet to hasten to the Chesapeake and confront De Grasse, whilst he himself marched by land, or had sent the fiery Arnold with a strong force, the whole danger to Cornwallis and his little army would have been dissipated. As it was, De Grasse was so apprehensive of the arrival of Graves with the fleet recruited by the addition of six ships under admiral Digby, and determined to fight him, that he assured Washington that he would not run the risk of being shut up in the Chesapeake, but would leave a few frigates to block up York River, and himself sail out and seek Graves at sea or at New York. It was only by the most earnest entreaties that Washington could prevail on him to remain, and by promises of a speedy reduction of York Town. Had the English fleet appeared, De Grasse would instantly have sailed out, and Cornwallis would have been saved.

Lord Cornwallis left Sir Henry in no uncertainty as to his critical situation. He had sent him word as early as the 16th of September, that the place could not be defended, and that, if he did not send relief very soon, he must expect to hear the worst.

This should have roused every energy in the commander-in-chief. He was aware that the Americans—Washington himself at their head—the French from New York and the West Indies, with fleet and army, were gathering round Cornwallis for a determined effort to entirely trample out the British power in the south. The last and mightiest effort should have been made to prevent the catastrophe which Cornwallis himself plainly announced must take place, without such prompt and strenuous aid. On the 28th of September, the combined army of French and Americans came in sight of York Town, and encamped about two miles from the outworks. The next morning they extended themselves towards the left of Cornwallis, but cautiously; and the English pickets slowly retired within the outer lines at their approach.

That evening Cornwallis received a dispatch from Sir Henry Clinton, dated September 24th, which gave the cheering expectation that he was duly sensible of the imminence of the occasion, and of his responsibility. He said:—"At a meeting of the general and flag officers held this day, it is determined that above five thousand men, rank and file, shall be embarked on board the king's ships, and the joint exertions of the navy and army made in a few

them thus easily, and Washington wrote to congress, on the 1st of October, that this receding of the British had put them in possession of very advantageous ground, and that the investment of the place was fully completed. Two thousand men—French and Americans, the latter under general Weedon, the French under the duke de Lauzun—took up their ground before Gloucester. Colonel Dundas, commanding the troops, made a brilliant sally, and cost the duke



LORD NORTH. FROM AN AUTHENTIC PORTRAIT.

days to relieve you, and afterwards to co-operate with you. The fleet consists of twenty-three sail of the line, three of which are three-deckers. There is every reason to hope that we start on the 5th of October."

On this promising intimation of speedy aid, Cornwallis immediately drew in his small force from the extended outworks, and concentrated them within the entrenchments round the town. Undoubtedly it was a measure calculated to save much life, which must have been lost in defending outworks too widely extended for the inclosed force; but it encouraged the Americans, who did not expect to gain

a considerable number of men, and Dundas being supported by the noted colonel Tarleton, the enemy, instead of any attempt at carrying the post by storm, proceeded by a cautious blockade. Round York Town itself Washington, Rochambeau, La Fayette, and St. Simon concentrated their forces. On the night of the 1st of October, the French on the right and the Americans on the left, drew nearer, and commenced breaking ground. Six days were then spent in bringing from the ships fifty pieces of cannon, some of them very heavy, ammunition, and other military stores; in fact, as much preparation was made for carrying this single post



RECEPTION OF THE FLAG OF TRUCE BY WASHINGTON.

as if it had been a regular and first-rate fortress. No want of material was now felt, for Laurens and Paine in Paris had induced the French to grant a subsidy, and to guarantee a loan from the Dutch of ten millions.

On the night of the 6th of October the French and Americans began casting up their first parallel within six hundred yards of Cornwallis's lines, and they worked with so much silence and expedition, that the besieged were said not to have known what they were about till they saw in the morning the trenches so far advanced as to cover the enemy. By the 9th of October their trenches and batteries were completed, and that afternoon they opened a tremendous fire on the town. For two days they kept up an incessant roar of heavy cannon, and with howitzers and mortars threw showers of shells into the place. Cornwallis replied to them with vigour, but he found many of his guns on the left silenced, and his works greatly damaged. These shells set fire to the *Charon*, a forty-four gun ship, posted, with some others, to defend the passage between York Town and Gloucester, and consumed it, with three large transports.

On the night of the 11th the enemy began their second parallel within three hundred yards of the lines. This work went on rapidly, for the whole army (nearly eighteen thousand in number), besides a swarm of seamen from the ships, and a vast crowd of slaves and country people, laboured at it. In its progress, for three days, Cornwallis committed much havoc amongst them by opening fresh embrasures for guns, and pouring an incessant shower upon them of balls and shells. Two redoubts on the left flank of the British more particularly annoyed them, and Washington determined to carry these by storm. To excite the more emulation, he committed execution of this escalade in one case to Americans, in the other to the French, but French officers headed both—La Fayette leading up one, the baron de Viominil the other. These redoubts had been hastily thrown up, and had but a mere handful of men in each, but they were so stoutly defended that more men were killed in gaining them than there were within them. Of course they were carried, and their guns then turned on York Town.

The situation of lord Cornwallis was now growing desperate. Anxiously every day he was looking out for some intelligence of the promised relief. None came. To check the progress of the besiegers, who were fast silencing his guns and demolishing his works, he caused a sortie of three hundred and fifty men to be made, under the direction of lieutenant-colonel Abercrombie, before daybreak of the 16th, to destroy two of the batteries which, manned by French troops, were doing the most mischief. Abercrombie led on his men bravely, and was as bravely supported by major Lake. They drove the French from the guns, and spiked some of them, besides killing one hundred of the enemy, and, assailed by overwhelming numbers, regained their lines with very little loss. But the service done was of little consequence. The guns were so hastily spiked that they were soon made fit for use again, and lord Cornwallis himself states, that "before dark the enemy's whole parallel and batteries appeared to be nearly complete. At this time," he says, "we knew that there was no part of the whole front attacked in which we could show a single gun,

and our shells were nearly exhausted. I had therefore only to choose between preparing to surrender the next day, or endeavouring to get off with the greater part of the troops, and I determined to attempt the latter."

Having conceived this desperate scheme of endeavouring to escape, Cornwallis that night wrote to Sir Henry Clinton, in cypher, telling him not to risk fleet or army in the endeavour to rescue them. He was sure that something had prevented the fleet sailing at the time proposed, and he sought to steal away with the bulk of his army, leaving a small number to capitulate for the town. To add to his other misfortunes, sickness was raging in his camp, but he hoped, by attacking the French under De Choisi, before Gloucester, and cutting his way through them, to mount the majority of his men on the horses taken from the enemy or seized from the country people, and thus make a rapid flight across the river fords, through Maryland, Pennsylvania, and New York. The idea, with such troops of well-mounted cavalry at his heels, was a wild one, and there were other obstacles in the way. He must first ferry his troops across the river to Gloucester, and, as he had not vessels enough to carry all at once, he had sent over part of them, when a violent storm arose, and prevented the return of the boats. This was decisive. With his forces thus divided, he had scarcely soldiers enough to man the guns in York Town, and there was nothing left but to surrender.

Accordingly, on the morning of the 17th, he sent a flag of truce to Washington, proposing a cessation of hostilities for twenty-four hours, in order that commissioners might meet and settle the terms of surrender. Washington replied that he was anxious to spare the further effusion of blood; but that, under the circumstances, he could not grant more than two hours for lord Cornwallis to decide on his proposals, at the end of which time, if these were not received, the firing would recommence. At half-past four lord Cornwallis wrote that the time was too short to settle all conditions, but he submitted the following:—that the garrisons of York Town and Gloucester should be prisoners of war, with the customary honours; that they should all be sent home under engagement not to serve against the Americans or their allies during the remainder of the war; and that the officers should, as usual, retain their side-arms, and the private property of both officers and soldiers, as well as of all private persons, should be respected; moreover, that all individuals in civil capacities connected with the British should be exempt from punishment on that account. On the morning of the 18th, Washington replied that the article respecting the sending of the British prisoners home could not be complied with; they must be sent to certain places in Virginia, Maryland, or Pennsylvania during the war, except the general staff, or other officers not left with the troops, who might go to New York or home on parole. He added, as if in mockery, that the prisoners would receive *that benevolent treatment which was invariably observed to the Americans*. The thoughts of Cornwallis must have reverted to the treatment of British prisoners in New England, New York, and other places, and whilst he was stipulating for the sending home of the troops surrendered, he could not forget that the stipulation for the soldiers of Burgoyne had been utterly disregarded by the congress, and that these

soldiers, spite of the most solemn engagements, were still prisoners in America.

Washington also declared the article regarding the civilians inadmissible, as they must be left to the civil power. As it was useless to stand out for the transfer of the prisoners home, which congress would probably set aside as coolly as they had done in the case of Burgoyne's treaty, lord Cornwallis gave that up, but made another effort to preserve the royalists from the vengeance of their countrymen. He claimed, as a compensation for surrendering Gloucester in its present uninjured state, the privilege of sending the *Bonetta* sloop of war to New York with dispatches to Sir Henry Clinton, the vessel to pass out unsearched and to carry as many soldiers as he should think fit to send. This, to save time (for the Americans were still afraid that the English fleet might arrive and snatch their prey from them) was assented to, and thus lord Cornwallis was enabled to ship as soldiers the most obnoxious of the royalists in the place. The vessel was to be returned.

On these conditions the surrender was arranged, and the articles of surrender were signed by the respective generals in the morning of the 19th of October. There was one article in the capitulation which would appear superfluous without an explanation. It was, that "any property, obviously belonging to the inhabitants of these states, found in the possession of the garrison, shall be subject to be reclaimed." But the "property" in question meant the blacks who had escaped from their masters in Virginia, and taken refuge with the English. Washington was not so confirmed in the persuasion of his countrymen of the present day, who regard slavery as a divine institution, as to venture to reclaim these slaves in any less ambiguous language. It was, moreover, decided that the soldiers and all their artillery, arms, money, shot, and stores should be surrendered to the Americans; the ships and seamen to the French.

At two o'clock, therefore, on the morning of the 19th of October, the York Town troops marched out with their drums beating, their muskets shouldered, and their colours cased, and piled their arms. The number of those who remained effective now amounted only to four thousand; the rest, making up the total number to about six thousand, were lying sick or wounded. General Lincoln, who had been so lately a prisoner to the English, was appointed to receive them, and the British prisoners had to march through two lines of the allied army, upwards of a mile in length, the Americans on the right, and the French on the left. Washington, with his usual magnanimity, did all he could to diminish the humiliation of the captive garrison. He ordered all mere spectators to absent themselves. Yet, to pass through such an avenue of exulting enemies was mortification enough for Englishmen, who had beaten their enemies whenever they had found them, even when only one-half of their number themselves, but had now been left to be overwhelmed by a perfect horde. The different feelings with which the English regarded the French and Americans was remarked by the abbé Robin, who was present. The English officers, as they passed along the enemy's lines, courteously saluted every French officer—a compliment which they withheld from every American one, even the highest. The French, in fact, in all their transac-

tions, had behaved as gentlemen and honourable enemies—the Americans, in the manner we have had so frequently to describe.

On this occasion, where they were in the immediate presence and power of Washington, their behaviour was better; but even then the superior tone of the French was strikingly obvious. Lord Cornwallis, writing to Sir Henry Clinton, said, "The treatment, in general, that we have received from the enemy since our surrender has been perfectly good and proper; but the kindness and attention that have been shown us by the French officers in particular—their delicate sensibility of our situation—their generous and pressing offer of money, both public and private, to any amount—has really gone beyond what I can possibly describe, and will, I hope, make an impression on the breast of every English officer, whenever the fortune of war should put any of them into our power."

But even "the perfectly good and proper" conduct of the Americans did not extend to the women and children of the English army who were left in York Town. These, who, especially under the circumstances, would in generous minds have excited peculiar sympathy and forbearance, were treated with the greatest harshness and rudeness by them. Abbé Robin, in his "*Voyage en Amérique*," p. 141, describes the sufferings of the English left in York Town from the Americans. He says, "I saw the lady of an English colonel come with tears to implore our officers to give her a guard to protect herself and children from the violence of the American soldiery."

About five hundred men were reported as killed and wounded in this affair of York Town on each side. Cornwallis's large train of artillery, which included many fine brass guns, his arms, ammunition, military and other stores, were a valuable prize for the Americans; as for the French, they got only one frigate, two sloops of war, and a few transports.

The exultation which the news of the capture of Cornwallis's army spread throughout America may be imagined. The Americans are as famous for boasting as the Gascons themselves, and they gave full scope to this characteristic on this occasion. It was the very first triumph which, by the help of the French, they had achieved, and the congress, in particular, seemed beside itself. It spent its time for a considerable period in nothing but voting thanks, and planning monuments to eternalise the event. Thanks were voted to Washington, to Rochambeau, to La Fayette, who was also made a field-marshal of France by his own king for his share in this transaction; thanks, too, were voted to De Grasse, and all officers, naval and military, and especially to the corps of artillery and engineers. A column was voted to be erected at York Town in commemoration of the event, to be decorated with the arms of France and America, and an inscription detailing the surrender of lord Cornwallis. They also decreed a procession of congress to the Dutch Lutheran church, to return thanks to Divine Providence for this signal intervention in their favour, and finally they ordered a general thanksgiving on the 13th of December.

On the English side, of course, there was much mutual accusation and recrimination. Lord Cornwallis blamed Sir

Henry Clinton, and Sir Henry blamed lord Cornwallis, for having ventured into Virginia with so small a force. But, first and foremost, it is clear that the British government was the great cause of this, as of every failure, by its marvellous neglect of supplying a proper fleet and army from the magnificent resources granted at home. Next, the blame must rest on Sir Henry Clinton, who, well aware of the urgent nature of the circumstances, and of the fatal consequences of the capture of Cornwallis's army, put forth so little energy to prevent it. He promised to embark his troops on the 5th of October, and this was not effected till the 19th, the very day on which Cornwallis was compelled to capitulate. But here, again, as is always the case in these failures, he shifted the blame to admiral Graves, and the fleet, which could not be got ready. In short, the same moral and intellectual paralysis weighed on our commanders, which so peculiarly distinguished them through the whole of this war. The only one who appears to have conducted himself with any energy, and who, with a proper force, would have triumphed, was lord Cornwallis. Clinton himself had accompanied the troops in the fleet of admiral Graves; but, on arriving at the Cape of Virginia, rumours reached them of the surrender. They proceeded, however, to the mouth of the Chesapeake, but had no inclination for attacking De Grasse, and so returned again to New York. Had they been in time, they could, according to Sir Henry Clinton's own account, and that founded on the unanimous opinion of the naval officers, have brought off the army from York Town in spite of the French fleet.

The surrender of Cornwallis's army was, in fact, the determining point of the war. Nothing after this did or could prevent the ultimate issue in favour of the independence of America; but the contest was yet destined for a considerable time to drag its slow and insignificant length along. The news of this decisive event reached London on the 25th of November. It seemed to come upon the ministers as a thunder-clap; though it is difficult to imagine, with such a miserable amount of force in the American states, what else they could expect. Lord North walked about the room, exclaiming, "Oh, God! it is all over!" The king received the communication with more firmness. In Paris great was the exultation. Franklin, who was there, and who, only three days before, had written to governor Pownall that he never expected to see "this accursed war" finished in his time, now wrote to John Adams, at the Hague:—"I congratulate you on this glorious news. The infant Hercules, in his cradle, has now strangled his second serpent;" and so delighted was he with his conceit of the serpent, that he afterwards had a medal cast embodying it.

Whilst Cornwallis had been contending with the combined army of France and America on the Chesapeake, lord Rawdon had been engaged with equal activity against general Greene and his coadjutors, in South Carolina. Towards the end of April, he had gone in search of Greene, who was encamped behind Twenty-five-mile Creek. Greene retreated on his approach; but in May, that general detached a part of his force to lay siege to Fort Augusta, in Upper Georgia, and marched himself to attack the Fort of Ninety-six. The fort of Augusta, having but a small

garrison, very little artillery, and no shells, was, after a brave resistance, compelled to surrender; but Greene himself met with a different reception at Ninety-six. There, lieutenant-colonel Cruger made repeated and desperate sallies, killing many of Greene's men. The siege was continued from the middle of May till the 8th of June, when the weather was becoming intensely hot. Colonel Lee then arrived with the British prisoners who had surrendered at Fort Augusta, and paraded them before the fort with martial music, and a British banner reversed. This insult, which was intended to lower the spirit of the English garrison, only roused it to more determination. The following night, the garrison made another sally, killed many men, and scattered more, and returned with little loss within their defences. Lord Rawdon was now marching rapidly to their relief, spite of the heat, and Greene again decamped. Lord Rawdon arrived on the 21st of June, and went in pursuit of Greene as far as the river Ennora; but the American general was too nimble for him. Lord Rawdon then abandoned the fort of Ninety-six, as too remote from head-quarters to be maintained to any purpose, and sent off part of his army to convey the royalist inhabitants to his camp at Monk's Corner. Greene, hearing that he had divided his army, wheeled about once more; but, finding the army united again, retreated into the hills of Santee. One division of his army, under Sumter, Marion, and Lee, attacked Monk's Corner, but were defeated, and both sides then ceased operations on account of the summer heats. Lord Rawdon, whose health was much impaired by his exertions in this climate, took his leave for Europe, but was captured by De Grasse's fleet, and remained a prisoner on the Chesapeake, where he was at the surrender of York Town.

Just as lord Rawdon was leaving, a circumstance occurred which roused intensely the indignation of the Americans. A colonel Hayne, who had sworn allegiance to the British arms, went over again to the enemy, and was taken, not only in arms, but with a colonel Williamson, of the royal militia, in his hands. According to the regular rules of war, he was thereupon condemned by a court-martial to be hanged. Much interest was made by the inhabitants of Charlestown, both royalist and republican, to save him. The ladies of Charlestown presented a petition on his behalf, and the prisoner's children, with some of his relations, entreated for his life. But it was deemed necessary to make an example of one of these frequent turncoats, who were very ready to accept British protection, and swear allegiance when it was convenient, and, on the first opportunity, turned round and fought against us. By the strict rules of war, he might have been hanged up instantaneously without any court-martial at all. But as soon as general Greene heard of the execution, he issued a proclamation in most violent terms, denouncing it as an atrocious murder and "inhuman insult," and threatening the most extensive retaliation. Everywhere the Americans cried out loudly in the same strain, in the face of the treatment of André, who was seized and hanged when travelling under protection of a pass from one of their own generals, in face of the recent massacre in cold blood of two hundred American royalists whom they met in arms, and in face of the proclamation

of Washington to seize and hang Arnold for doing just what Hayne had done. The circumstance showed what a terrific uproar the sensitive Americans would have made at a case like that of André on our part.

Much censure was cast on lord Rawdon; but his lordship showed that he had no concern whatever in the sentence; that he had already resigned his authority to lieutenant-colonel Stuart: that he had done all that he could do—strongly recommended mercy. At the same time, he wrote to the American general, Henry Lee, years afterwards, and when he had more thoroughly examined the case, that, “for the guilt of Hayne, not a shadow of palliation could be found. By all the recognised laws of war, nothing was requisite, in the case of Hayne, but to identify his person previous to hanging him on the next tree.”

When the summer heats had abated, Greene descended from the Santee hills, and a sharp engagement ensued betwixt him and the troops under colonel Stuart at the Eutaw Springs, about sixty miles from Charlestown. Though warned of the approach of Greene by two deserters, Stuart put but little faith in the report, and therefore was taken somewhat by surprise. A large party out in search of roots and vegetables were suddenly fallen upon, and most of them cut to pieces. Greene then followed up his success with such impetuosity that the advanced lines of the British were driven back, till they reached a house into which major Sheridan had thrown himself with a party of New York volunteers. The murderous fire from this house arrested Greene, who in vain tried to carry it. This obstacle enabled colonel Stuart to re-organise his scattered lines, and the battle was continued with such fury—the American militia standing their ground on this occasion well—that Greene was at length routed, and driven from the ground, and took refuge in some woods in their rear. The English encamped on the field that night and the next day. On each side there appears to have been about six hundred killed, wounded, and missing. The American army was about double the number of the English. Greene claimed it as a victory, and the congress proclaimed it a glorious victory, simply because he had the advantage in the beginning of the fray, though he was driven from his ground in the end of it. If this was a victory, by the same rule many of the greatest victories in the history of the world were defeats. But it is curious with what audacity the Americans were continually assuming victories when the notorious fact was the reverse.

This was the last action in the American war of any importance. The force of the English was insufficient to pursue any effective campaign. In this quarter they soon found it necessary to retreat to Charlestown Neck, leaving Greene to reassert the American authority over the greater part of South Carolina and Georgia; and at the end of the campaign the British held little of these states, except the districts immediately abutting on Charlestown and Savannah.

CHAPTER IX.

REIGN OF GEORGE III. (Continued.)

—Surrender of St. Eustatia from the Dutch, by Rodney, with other Islands and Settlements—Rodney's Severities—Capture of Dutch Ships and of little Dutch Settlements in the East Indies—Negotiations with Russia—Spanish Attack on Minorca—Battle off the Dogger Bank—Other Sea Fights—Meeting of

Parliament—Debates on the American War—Altered Views of Ministers—Meetings and Petitions for Peace—Retirement of Lord George Germaine—Year 1782—War in the West Indies—At the Cape—Loss of Minorca—King's Project of retiring to Hanover—Lord North resigns—Lord Rockingham Prime Minister—Irish Distress—Grattan on Irish Questions—Irish Demands conceded—Popular Gratitude to Grattan—Arrivals of the Civil List—Enormous Pension to Barré—Pitt in favour of Parliamentary Reform—North American Affairs—Proposals to make Washington King—Rodney's Great Victory over De Grasse—Rodney made a Peer—Death of Lord Rockingham—Lord Shelburne Minister—Pitt Chancellor of the Exchequer—Loss of the Royal George—General Elliot's Splendid Defence of Gibraltar—Treaty of Peace with America—With France—These Treaties Signed—John Adams at the British Court as First American Ambassador—Pitt becomes Prime Minister.

THERE were other transactions besides those of the American campaign, during the year, which demand notice. Rodney co-operated with a body of troops under general Vaughan in an attempt to recover the island of St. Vincent, which the French had taken in the previous year, but they were not successful. They then turned their attack on the island of St. Eustatia, belonging to the Dutch, and the governor not having heard the news of the war, they met with no resistance. The capture was a most valuable one; the whole island seemed one great store of Dutch and American products and goods. There were one hundred and fifty merchant vessels in the harbour all secured, besides six ships of war and a fleet of thirty Dutch West Indiamen, which had just left, but which were sent after and brought back. The value of the whole prize was estimated at three millions eight hundred thousand pounds. A large quantity of the merchandise belonged to Englishmen, who were engaged thus in supplying the Americans through this channel. Rodney confiscated the whole of it. In vain did the owners demand, through the assembly of St. Kitt's, the restoration of these goods; Rodney would not listen to them. The clamour was carried thence to the English parliament, and even into the English courts of law. Rodney protested against any concession; he declared the island a vast den of thieves and nest of vipers; that he had seized the whole for the king and the state, and hoped that it would aid the revenue of the country. The Americans resident there and the Jews raised bitter outcries at their banishment from the island; but it was shown that the Americans had been the avowed agents and correspondents of their insurgent countrymen, but that the moment the island was taken they boldly declared themselves subjects of the British crown. As for the Jews, general Vaughan, in the house of commons, said—“I had ordered a ship to carry them to St. Thomas's, at their own request; and, after they had been taken to St. Kitt's without my knowledge, I ordered their houses and property to be restored to them; and that they were well satisfied with my conduct will appear from an address presented to me from their synagogue.”

Vaughan kept the Dutch flag flying at St. Eustatia, and thus inveigled into his hands a considerable number more of Dutch, French, and American vessels that were ignorant of the change. Besides Eustatia, the small neighbouring islands of St. Martin and Saba, and the Dutch settlements on the rivers of Demerara and Essequibo, in Guiana, were taken with their ships and property. The Dutch trade in these parts received a mortal blow. On the other hand, the French, under the marquis de Bouillé, captured the island of Tobago.

The English now began to contemplate taking the Cape of Good Hope from the Dutch. General Johnstone was dispatched in April with five ships of the line, some frigates, and smaller vessels, having on board general Meadows and three regiments for this purpose; but encountering admiral Suffrien in the way, after an indecisive action, Johnstone fell in with and took a Dutch East Indiaman of great value, and learned through it that Suffrien had managed to reach the Cape, given the alarm, and that the Cape was put into strong defence. Johnstone, therefore, made for Saldanha Bay, where he learned that a number of other Dutch East Indiamen were lying. Four of these he secured; the rest were run ashore by their commanders and burnt. During the autumn both Dutch and French suffered much from the British on the coasts of Coromandel and the island of Sumatra. They also took from the Dutch Negapatam, Penang, and other places.

There was a negotiation with Catherine of Russia to induce her, by the bribe of the transfer of Minorca to her, to mediate a peace betwixt England, France, Spain, and Holland, on the basis of each country restoring all its conquests since the war, and all these nations binding themselves to abandon the Americans. Catherine was, however, to purchase the stores and artillery at Port Mahon, valued at two millions sterling, and her favourite, Potemkin, was to be bribed by this sum being put into his pocket. Had the island and the stores been all freely presented as a gift to the czarina, the scheme might have succeeded; as it was, she regarded the money to be paid to her favourite as a great sum to be drawn from her, and the whole failed. Moreover, the scheme coming to the knowledge of Florida Blanca, the Spanish minister, he took immediate steps to forestall the business by seizing the island himself. He prevailed on France, though with difficulty, to assist. The duke de Crillon, a Frenchman, was made commander of the expedition, and on the 22nd of July the united fleets of France and Spain sailed out of Cadiz Bay, and stretched out into the ocean, as if intending to make a descent on England. The main part of the fleet did, in fact, sail into the English Channel. It consisted of thirty Spanish ships-of-the-line, under Cordova and Gaston, and nineteen French ships-of-the-line, under De Guichen, De Beausset, and De la Motte Piquet, besides lesser vessels—nearly sixty vessels, in all—a most formidable armada. Admiral Darby, who had just anchored in Torbay, had only twenty-three sail-of-the-line, twelve frigates, and six fireships; but they did not venture to attack him, but contented themselves with picking up a number of merchant vessels; and again dissensions and disease breaking out, this great fleet separated, and each nation returned to its respective ports, without effecting anything worthy of such an armament.

But a lesser portion of this fleet, on coming out of harbour, carrying eight thousand troops, stores, and ordnance, had passed through the Straits of Gibraltar, and appeared suddenly before Port Mahon. On the 19th of August the troops were landed near Port Mahon, and, being favoured by the inhabitants, formerly under the sway of Spain, and good Catholics, they soon invested the fort, and compelled general Murray, who formerly so bravely defended Quebec, to retire to Fort St. Philip, leaving the town of Port Mahon

in their possession. General Murray had second in command Sir William Draper, the old antagonist of Junius, and the conqueror of Manila, who bravely supported him. But they had only a garrison of two English and two Hanoverian regiments; still the Spanish court trusted more to bribery than to their arms. They had commissioned the duke de Crillon to offer Murray one hundred thousand pounds, with high rank and employment in the Spanish or French service, to surrender the place.

Murray returned this answer to De Crillon:—"When your brave ancestor was desired by his sovereign to assassinate the duke of Guise, he returned the answer which you should have done when the king of Spain charged you to assassinate the character of a man whose birth is as illustrious as your own, or that of the duke of Guise. I can have no communication with you but in arms. If you have any humanity, pray send clothing to your unfortunate prisoners in my possession. Leave it at a distance to be taken up for them; because I will admit of no contact, for the future, but such as is hostile in the most inveterate degree." Crillon, young and a Frenchman as he was, felt the full force of the reproof, and acknowledged it. He replied:—"Your letter places us each in our proper stations. It confirms me in the esteem I have always had for you. I accept with pleasure your last proposition. His siege of the fort he saw would be ineffectual without more force. This was sent him from Toulon. Four thousand new troops arrived, attended by able engineer officers and powerful artillery; but Murray still held out, though suffering much from disease amongst his troops, and 1751 was not destined to witness the fall of Minorca.

There were various actions at sea, in one quarter or other. Sir Hyde Parker, conveying a merchant fleet from the Baltic, on the 5th of August, fell in with admiral Zoutman near the Dogger Bank, also conveying a fleet of Dutch traders. An engagement took place, Zoutman having a few men-of-war more than Parker. The engagement was terrible. Parker had one hundred and eleven men killed, and three hundred and eighteen wounded; Zoutman, one hundred and sixteen killed, and three hundred and eighty-two wounded. The ships on both sides were severely damaged, and the *Hollandia*—a sixty-four-gun ship of Zoutman's—went down with all its crew. Many of the other ships were with difficulty kept afloat. On reaching the Nore, the king and prince of Wales went on board, where they highly complimented both Parker and the rest of the officers. Sir Hyde Parker then resigned his command in favour of his son, Sir Peter Parker, who was sent to blockade the Dutch ports.

On the 14th of the same month a Dutch logger, in conflict with the *Chameleon*, sloop-of-war, captain Drury, took fire, and perished with all its crew. On the 12th of December admiral Kempenfelt, with thirteen ships-of-the-line, discovered, off Ushant, the French fleet, under De Guichen, conveying a fleet of transports and merchantmen bound, some for the East, and others for the West Indies, with troops and stores. The fleet of De Guichen was superior to that of Kempenfelt—consisting of one and twenty ships-of-the-line, larger than Kempenfelt's, and two of them armed *en flûte*; but, the convoy being at a

considerable distance from the transports and traders. Kempenfelt adroitly made himself master of twenty sail of these vessels, and made off with them; and within a few days afterwards he captured five more of these ships. There were also other fights of minor importance.

On the 27th of November, only two days after the receipt of the news of the surrender of lord Cornwallis, parliament met. The king adverted to the unhappy event, but still declared that he should be betraying his trust, as sovereign of a free people, if he did not refuse to give up the contest;

and amazement. He declared himself confounded at the hardihood of ministers, after such a consummation of their imbecile management, who dared to look the house of commons in the face. He would not say that they were paid by France, for it was not possible for him to prove the fact; but, if they were not, he declared that they deserved to be, for they had served the French monarch more faithfully and successfully than ever ministers served a master. He especially singled out lord Sandwich for reprobation, as the author of the wretched condition of our fleets, which were



ADMIRAL SIR JOHN JERVIS. FROM AN AUTHENTIC PORTRAIT.

that he still trusted in Divine Providence, and he called for fresh, animated, and united exertions. He turned with more satisfaction to the successes in the East Indies, and the safe arrival of our principal mercantile fleets. In the lords, the earl of Shelburne vehemently attacked the address, supported by the duke of Richmond and the lords Camden and Rockingham; but the most tempestuous burst of indignant eloquence from the opposition took place in the commons. Fox declared that he had listened to the address with horror

inferior in number of ships and their appointments to those of the enemy all over the globe. He called on the house to insist on the total and immediate change of ministers, and urged the adoption of measures which should, if possible, repair the incalculable injuries they had inflicted on the nation.

Lord North replied with indignation at the suggestion of ministers being paid by France, and asked whether, because we had lost some troops in Virginia, we were to lie down

and die? On the contrary, he regarded the misfortune as only a reason for fresh exertions.

Burke started up and exclaimed, "Good God! Mr Speaker, are we yet to be told of the rights for which we went to war? Oh, excellent rights! oh, valuable rights! Valuable you should be, for we have paid dear at parting with you. Oh, valuable rights, that have cost England thirteen provinces, four islands, a hundred thousand men, and more than seventy millions of money! Oh, wonderful rights, that have lost to Great Britain her empire on the ocean—her boasted, grand, and substantial superiority, which made the world bend before her! Oh, inestimable rights, that have taken from us our rank amongst nations, our importance abroad, and our happiness at home; that have taken from us our trade, our manufactures, and our commerce; that have reduced us from the most flourishing empire in the world to be one of the most unenviable powers on the face of the globe! Oh, wonderful rights, that are likely to take from us all that yet remains. 'We had a right to tax America,' says the noble lord, 'and as we had a right, we must do it.'" Burke then compared ministers to a foolish fellow, who, thinking the wolf had wool, was determined to shear it; and that we had for our shearing of the Americans precisely what such a simpleton would have from shearing his wolf.

The ministers, however, had strength enough to carry the address by two hundred and eighteen votes against one hundred and twenty-nine; but the debate was resumed on the address being reported, and then William Pitt delivered a most scathing speech, declaring that so far from our being warranted in pressing this ruinous war, he was satisfied that, if he went from one end of the treasury bench to the other, such was the condition of the ministry, he should find that there was not one man who could trust his neighbour; and the truth of this was becoming strikingly evident. Dundas, the lord advocate, hitherto one of the staunchest supporters of lord North, spoke now as in astonishment at the language of ministers, declaring that some of them in council clearly did not give their honest opinions. There were other like symptoms of defection; the sensitive placemen perceived the end of the North administration at hand. Several independent members—amongst them Thomas Powys, afterwards lord Lilford—declared against any further contest with the colonies. Sir George Saville compared the ministers to the Spartan who, in a sea-fight, had swum to a galley, on seizing it with his hand, had the hand cut off, then his other hand, and, lastly, seizing the galley with his teeth, had his head cut off. Lord North, seeing the ground failing beneath him, now lowered his tone, and, on Sir James Lowther, seconded by Mr. Powys, proposing a resolution that the war against America had been an utter failure, he explained that he did not advocate, in future, a continental warfare there, a marching of troops through the provinces, from north to south, but only the retention of ports on the coast, for the protection of our fleets in those seas, and the repulse of the French and Spaniards.

Thus, at the very last minute, was this most incompetent of ministers compelled to admit the justice of lord Barrington's advice for the prosecution of the war, given seven years before. The only difference was, that lord Barrington's

plan would then have saved America, and lord North's had now undoubtedly lost it! Sir James Lowther's motion was got rid of, but only by a majority of forty-one. On the 14th of December, however, Mr. Pitt again reviewed the state of the war, and declared that, amid all the differences of ministers, they appeared all along to have been united in one object—the destruction of the empire.

Burke brought forward a motion regarding the detention of Henry Laurens, the American envoy, in the Tower. He declared that distinguished person had been very harshly treated, and demanded that the lieutenant of the Tower should be called to the bar of the house and examined. Lord North refused this; and lord George Germaine read a letter from Laurens to himself, thanking that minister for the indulgences which he had received. Burke thereupon gave notice that, after the Christmas recess, he would move for leave to bring in a bill to improve the regulations for the exchange of prisoners. Government prevented this by liberating Laurens on bail, and, as there had been for some time negotiations going on for exchanging him with general Burgoyne, who was considered as a prisoner on parole, this was conceded.

Ministers were now impatient to adjourn, but just at this moment came the news of the return of admiral Kempenfelt with his merchant-ship captures, but without his having attacked the French fleet bound for the East and West Indies with supplies. When the secretary of the treasury was moving the usual adjournment, there was a cry of "What! adjourn—adjourn?" "No," exclaimed Byng, the member for Middlesex, "rather let us sit through the holidays, and inquire into this miscarriage." But Sir George Saville more justly estimated that affair. "If," he said, "when you sent out twelve ships, did you know that the enemy had nineteen? If you did not—culpable ignorance; if you did—worse." Parliament was accordingly adjourned on the 20th of December till the 21st of January, and thus closed the year 1781.

All news flowed in apace from all quarters during the recess. The marquis de Bouille had surprised and retaken St. Eustatia. The new conquests in Demerara and Essequibo had also been retaken. Bouillé having secured St. Eustatia, next turned his arms against the old and valuable island of St. Kitt's. He then landed eight thousand men at Basseterre, the capital, whose movements were protected by the fleet under De Grasse. General Frazer and governor Shirley took post on the rugged heights of Brimstone Hill, and made a stout defence, whilst Sir Samuel Hood, who had followed De Grasse from the Chesapeake, boldly interposed betwixt the French admiral and the French troops on shore. Hood twice beat off De Grasse; but the British fleet and army were much too inconsiderable to maintain the conquest. The island was finally taken, and after it the smaller ones of Nevis and Montserrat, so that of all the Leeward Islands we had only Barbadoes and Antigua left.

Scarcely had these disasters been suffered, when Rodney returned from England with fresh ships, and confident of victory. On leaving England, he said to a friend, "I will bring you back a present of De Grasse." The highest expectations were built upon him, and he justified them.

Lord Sandwich, on taking leave of him, said, "The fate of the empire is in your hands, and I have no reason to wish that it should be in any other." His presence brought new life to the West India fleet.

But at home, fresh tidings of failure and loss were pouring in. At this moment arrived the news of the failure of commodore Johnstone in the meditated attempt on the Cape of Good Hope, and of his merely having seized some Dutch merchantmen in Saldanha Bay. But far worst of all was the intelligence of the loss of Minorca. It was, at the same time, only what might have been expected. The government knew the straits in which the brave old general Murray lay there at Fort St. Philip, surrounded by overwhelming forces, and with a garrison fast sinking under putrid fever, scurvy, and dysentery, and yet no effort was made to succour him. Never did gallant men deserve succour more. Whilst the French and Spaniards, impatient of the dogged defence of Murray, assailed the fort from numerous batteries, numbers of the poor men, worn down by sickness, yet scorning to yield to the enemy before them, sunk, and died on the walls, instead of being in the hospital. Repeated sorties were made, and one of them was so successful as to drive Crillon from his head-quarters at Cape Mola, and to keep them for some time. But, on the 6th of January, the birthday of the unfortunate dauphin, Crillon opened a terrific fire on the fort, from one hundred and fifty pieces of heavy artillery. Murray still held out till the 5th of February, when he found it necessary to capitulate, which he did upon honourable terms. Describing himself the scene, he says, "Perhaps a more noble or a more tragical scene was never exhibited than that of the march of the garrison of St. Philip's through the Spanish and French armies. It consisted of no more than six hundred old, decrepit soldiers, two hundred seamen, one hundred and twenty-five of the royal artillery, twenty Corsicans, and twenty-five Greeks, Turks, Moors, Jews, &c. The two armies were drawn up in two lines; the battalions, fronting each other, forming a way for us to march through. They consisted of fourteen thousand men, and reached from the glacis to George Town, where our battalions laid down their arms, declaring they had surrendered them to God alone, having the consolation to know that the victors could not plume themselves on taking a hospital. Such were the distresses of our men that many of the Spanish and French troops shed tears as they passed them."

They not only obtained all the honours of war, but they received the kindest treatment from Crillon, and from the officers generally. The French and Spanish surgeons attended the sick, and every comfort was afforded them. Murray declared that but for the sickness of his little band, he might have held out for six months more. Thus was lost to England the finest port in the Mediterranean.

These dispiriting losses stimulated the public and the mercantile bodies to petition earnestly for the termination of the American war; and the parliament met at the appointed time amid numbers of such demands. Petitions came from the cities of London and Westminster, and many other towns and counties, bearing rather the features of remonstrances. The West India planters resident in London represented their ruin as inevitable if the war were persisted

in. The people at large, who had been long eager for the contest, were now grown weary of it; and they who were the most unwilling to contemplate the liberation of the colonies, and regarded it as synonymous with the fall of the nation, were extremely bitter against the ministers for their wretched management of the contest.

No sooner did the house meet than Fox moved for an inquiry into the causes of the constant failure of our fleets in these enterprises, on which so much had depended. The object was to crush lord Sandwich, the head of the admiralty. Numbers of those in Sandwich's interest defended him by throwing the blame on the factions and animosities which were carried from parliament amongst the commanders and officers. Mr. Fitzherbert attributed the deficiency in the number of our ships to the miserable wages given in the royal dockyards, as greatly below the rate paid by private builders. He said the king of France had three thousand shipwrights at work at Brest, whilst the king of England had only eight hundred at Portsmouth. He reminded the house that years ago the shipwrights had petitioned for an increase of pay, and that lord Chatham had warmly urged the granting of it, but that it had been refused, and that we were now suffering the consequences of this impolitic parsimony.

Lord North conceded the inquiry with much professed readiness, but with real resistance to the production of the necessary papers. Fox, seeing that it was intended to stifle the inquiry, whilst appearing to court it, on the 7th of February made another onslaught on lord Sandwich, by a motion that naval affairs had been grossly mismanaged. Lord Mulgrave, who had defended Sandwich on the first occasion, now stood forward again on his behalf; but his defence was far outweighed by the statements of lord Howe, who concurred with Mr. Fox, that Brest ought to have been closely watched by frigates, the Texel blockaded, to keep in the Dutch, and that Kempenfelt ought to have been sent to sea with a much larger fleet. Fox's motion was rejected, but only by a majority of twenty-two. The strength of ministers was fast ebbing. Continual attacks were made. Lord Rawdon, who had reached home, was called upon to defend himself against his alleged concern in the hanging of colonel Hayne; and, in the same house, the surrender of lord Cornwallis was thoroughly commented on by the duke of Richmond.

The first symptom of the breaking up of the ministry was the necessity felt for the dismissal of lord George Germaine, who had contributed so essentially to the defeats in America. But even then the king would not consent that he should resign without conferring a peerage on him, observing, "No one can then say he is disgraced." But George was not clear-minded enough to perceive that he who made such a man a peer was disgraced, and still more so by the selection, in such critical times, of his successor. This was no other than old Welbore Ellis, whose pigmy body and mind had been so mercilessly satirised by Junius, under the names of the "Manikin" and the "Griklig."

The title selected for Germaine was viscount Sackville. Loud was the outcry of wonder and indignation which burst from peers and commons when this elevation was mentioned. The marquis of Carmarthen, before the patent of nobility

could be made out, moved, in the house of lords, that it was derogatory to the dignity of that house for a person labouring under the stigma of a court-martial to be raised to the peerage. He read the sentence, and also the severe comments appended to it by George II. The motion was got rid of by adjournment; but on the new viscount taking his seat, which he did on the 18th of February, the marquis of Carmarthen re-introduced his motion. Very plain language was used on the occasion by lord Abingdon, the duke of Richmond (who was present in the battle), and lord Southampton (who was a witness on the trial). Germaine defended himself, and chancellor Thurlow declared that it was the sole prerogative of the king to confer honours, and that it was a high disrespect to his majesty to call the act in question. Carmarthen's motion was negatived by ninety-three against twenty-eight; but the marquis of Carmarthen, the duke of Rutland, the earls of Pembroke, Craven, Chatham, Derby, and Egremont, the duke of Devonshire, and the earl of Abingdon, entered a protest, declaring the elevation of lord viscount Sackville to be fatal to the interests and glory of the crown and dignity of parliament, an insult to the memory of the late sovereign, and to every surviving branch of the house of Hanover. Under such humiliating circumstances did the hero of Minden enter the order of nobility.

No quiet was now allowed to the declining ministers. Fox, on the 20th of February, strongly seconded by William Pitt, made another attack on lord Sandwich, this time including the whole board of admiralty; and the motion was only lost by *nineteen*. Another, and perhaps more formidable, enemy now stood forward. This was general Conway, who enjoyed the highest esteem of the house, and had been the first to propose the abolition of the fatal stamp act. He moved, on the 22nd of February, that the house should address his majesty, entreating that he would "listen to the advice of his commons, that the war on the continent of North America might no longer be pursued for the impracticable purpose of reducing the inhabitants of that country to obedience by force." After a great debate, the house divided two hours after midnight, and ministers were reduced to a majority of *one*, the votes being one hundred and ninety-four against one hundred and ninety-three.

When this startling division was made, Fox immediately called on lord North to bring forward his budget, as being the only thing he had to do before retiring. Colonel Barré declared that there was no necessity to bring it forward at all, calling lord North "the scourge of his country," and insinuating that, though he had lost the confidence of the house, he did not mean to resign, and stigmatised his conduct as "scandalous and indecent." Lord North's almost imperishable temper gave way, and he retorted on Barré that his language was "insolent and brutal." The speaker was obliged to interpose. Lord North named the 25th for his budget, and on that day he opened it, proposing a new loan of thirteen million five hundred thousand pounds, which called forth the bitter censures of Fox and Burke, who, only with too much justice, ascribed the necessity for such an addition to the debt to the swarms of contractors, placemen, and members of parliament, who pocketed enormous sums as the reward for swelling the ministerial majorities.

Two days after, general Conway again moved that any further attempts against America would weaken the efforts of England against her European enemies, and, by further irritating the colonies, render the desired peace more difficult. The resolution was carried against government by two hundred and thirty-four against two hundred and fifteen. The address was ordered to be presented by the whole house. The king received it coldly, and on the following Monday returned for answer, that he would take such steps towards producing harmony betwixt Great Britain and the colonies as seemed most desirable. On this, general Conway moved a new address, to the effect that the house would consider as enemies to the king and country all who should advise further prosecution of offensive war in North America. Lord North declared the address unnecessary; that *both sides* of the house were now equally desirous of peace. But he said nothing yet of resigning; and the insatiable Rigby, who had been enjoying the sweets of office for so many years, broke out on the opposition with much fury. Pitt dealt him a cutting rebuke, telling him the country was weary of paying him, on which the impudent placeman coolly replied:—"Undoubtedly, I am not tired of receiving money; but am I to be told that, because men receive the emoluments of office, they are the authors of our ruin?" The motion was carried without a division.

As a means of retarding the evil day, the attorney-general, on the morrow, the 5th of March, introduced a plan for a truce, preliminary to a permanent peace. Fox, in great indignation, said the only proper way to deal with such a proposition from the ministers, was to burst out laughing and walk out of the house. In his heat, he broke forth into declarations which should not have been made, or should have been better kept. To impress on the house his astonishment at the present conduct of ministers, and his abhorrence of their past policy, he exclaimed:—"From the moment when I shall make any terms with one of them, I will rest satisfied to be called the most infamous of mankind. I could not for an instant think of a coalition with men who, in every public and private transaction as ministers, had shown themselves void of every principle of honour and honesty. In the hands of such men, I could not trust my honour even for a minute." If strange sights had not been seen before in political life, and where place, power, and emolument are concerned, how astonished must those who heard Fox on that night have been, how astonished must he have been himself, when, only twelve months later, he and lord North were sitting side by side in that house, members of the same ministry, and apparently the fastest friends in the world!

The battle for place went on briskly: the attorney-general's motion was carried without a division; but the next day, the duke of Chandos, in the lords, moved that the loss of lord Cornwallis's army was owing to the neglect of government to have a sufficient fleet on the coast—a self-evident fact. On the 8th of March, lord John Cavendish moved the following resolutions:—"That, since the year 1775, more than one hundred million pounds had been spent on fruitless wars; that, during that period, we had lost the thirteen colonies of America, except the ports of New York, Charleston, and Savannah, as well as Florida, and most of

our West India islands; that the cause of all our misfortunes, including an expensive war with France, Spain, and Holland, was the want of foresight and ability in his majesty's ministers." Ministers defeated this by the small majority of ten. But, on the 15th, only a week later, Sir John Rous moved a vote of want of confidence, which was again lost by a minority of only nine. It was instantly determined to renew this motion through lord Surrey; and lord North saw so clearly that nothing could now avert his fall, that he implored the king most earnestly to accept his resignation. On the 10th, the king consented to his seeing the marquis of Rockingham, and ascertaining on what basis he thought a new administration might be formed. It was well known that George preferred the idea of lord Shelburne as premier to that of Rockingham, but hated and dreaded any whig cabinet, as handing him again over to his old slavery to the great whig houses. In fact, had it not been for the overbearing and overpowering selfishness of these houses, the whigs might have been in all along, and very different results would have been the consequence. So extremely did the king dislike the idea of the recurrence of whig domination, that he actually contemplated retiring to Hanover, and remaining there. It is certain, says Horace Walpole, that for a fortnight together the royal yacht was expediting and preparing for the voyage. It remains unknown whether he contemplated resigning the crown altogether, or leaving a regency; but that he proposed a permanent retirement from this country, was confided to lord Holland by George IV. But by degrees George became resigned to the endurance of the whigs rather than to the abandonment of his kingdom. He sent for lord North on the 20th, and addressed him in these words:—"Considering the temper of the house, I thought the administration at an end." Lord North instantly seized on the words, saying:—"Then, sire, had I not better state the fact at once?" The king consented, and North hurried down to the house of commons in his court-dress, as he was.

It was five o'clock—the house densely crowded; for lord Surrey was going to make the great opposition motion of want of confidence, and only waited for the arrival of the minister. As North hurried up the house, there were loud cries of "Order! order! Places! places!" North no sooner reached the treasury bench than he rose to make his important disclosure; but the opposition called vociferously for lord Surrey, while the ministerial members called for lord North. Fox then moved that "lord Surrey do speak first," but North instantly exclaimed, "I rise to speak to that motion." Being now obliged to hear him, for he was perfectly in order, he observed, that, "had they suffered him at once to proceed, he might have saved them much useless noise and confusion; for, without any disrespect to the noble lord, he was going to show that his motion was quite unnecessary, as the ministers had resigned, and that that resignation was accepted by the king! That he had only wanted to announce that fact, and to move an adjournment of a few days, in order to make the necessary arrangements for the new administration." Never was there a more profound surprise. The opposition could scarcely for some time realise the actual event. The house was adjourned for five days, and the members prepared

to depart and spread the news. But it proved a wild, snowy evening; the carriages had not been ordered till midnight, and whilst the members were standing about in crowds waiting for their equipages, rather than walk home through the snow, lord North, who had kept his carriage, put three or four of his friends into it, and, bowing to the other members, said, laughingly, "You see, gentlemen, the advantage of being in the secret. Good night!"

Thus lord North retired from his premiership of twelve years with the same imperturbable good nature as he had maintained uniformly through it. Had his ability as a statesman been in any degree proportionate to his temper, we should not have lost America and most of the West Indies, Minorca, one hundred thousand men, one hundred and thirty-six millions of money, together with our prestige—the growth of many glorious years. But lord North could sacrifice a kingdom and a continent, and go out with a jest! North was as disinterested as he was good-humoured. He retired from office poorer than he went into it, though the perquisites of his ministry had enriched so many others. His father, the earl of Guildford, was still living, and he would have found himself unable to maintain his ordinary style of living, and educate his six children, but for the wardenship of the Cinque Ports, which the king continued to him. George, five years before North's resignation, had offered to lend him twenty thousand pounds, but he took care to stipulate for its repayment.

The king, in the first instance, applied to lord Shelburne to form a ministry; but he was bound by engagements to Wentworth House, and honourably refused to take the lead. George then tried lord Gower as ineffectually, and so was compelled to send for lord Rockingham, who accepted office, on the condition that peace should be made with America, including the acknowledgment of its independence, if unavoidable; administrative reform, on the basis of Mr. Burke's three bills; and the expulsion of contractors from parliament, and revenue officers from the exercise of the elective franchise. The king stood strongly on the retention of lord chancellor Thurlow and lord Stormont in their offices. Rockingham, with reluctance, conceded the retention of Thurlow, but refused that of Stormont.

The choice of lord Rockingham was such as could only have been made where family influence and party cliques had more weight than the proper object of a minister—the able management of national affairs. Rockingham, though a very honourable man, was never a man of any ability, and though now only fifty-two, his health and faculties, such as they were, were fast failing. Besides this, there was a violent jealousy betwixt him and lord Shelburne, who became his colleague, and brought in half of the cabinet. This was immediately shown by Rockingham procuring a peerage for Dunning, who became lord Ashburton, and Shelburne immediately insisting on one for Sir Fletcher Norton, who became lord Grantley.

The shape which the ministry eventually assumed was this:—Lord Rockingham became first lord of the treasury and premier; the earl of Shelburne and Charles Fox, secretaries of state; Thurlow, lord chancellor; Camden, notwithstanding his age, president of the council; duke of Grafton, privy seal; lord John Cavendish, chancellor of the

exchequer; Keppel—made a viscount—first lord of the admiralty; general Conway, commander of the forces; the duke of Richmond, master-general of the ordnance; Dunning—as lord Ashburton—chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster. Burke was not admitted to the cabinet, for the whigs were too great sticklers for birth and family; but his indispensable ability insured him the pay-mastership of the forces—by far the most lucrative office in the hands of government, but the salary of which he was pledged to reduce by his bill. Rigby had held this office, as the creature of the Bedford family, fourteen years, with all its enormous emoluments—no less than one million sterling of the country's money commonly lying in the hands of the holder! This enormous balance was notoriously made use of by Rigby in private stock-jobbing speculations, and the whole interest of it was lost to the country. Well might he denounce the change of the ministry!

Dundas remained in office, as lord advocate, and John Lee was made solicitor-general. Such was the new administration: it embraced, as leaders, five Rockinghamites and five Shelburnites. The eleventh member of the cabinet, Thurlow, belonged to neither side, but was the king's man. Fox saw himself in office with him with great repugnance, and Burke felt the slight put upon him in excluding him from the cabinet.

On the 28th of March, the ministry, as completed, was announced in the house, and the writs for the re-elections having been issued, the house adjourned for the Easter holidays, and on the 8th of April met for business. The first affairs which engaged the attention of the new administration were those of Ireland. We have already seen that, in 1778, the Irish, encouraged by the events in North America, and by lord North's conciliatory proposals to congress, appealed to the English government for the



VIEW OF MINDEN, THE SCENE OF LORD GEORGE GERMAINE'S DISASTER.

Colonel Barré came in for Welbore Ellis's post, as treasurer to the navy; Thomas Townshend became secretary of war, instead of Jenkins; Kenyon, attorney-general; the duke of Portland, lord-lieutenant of Ireland, in place of the earl of Carlisle; Burgoyne, notwithstanding his surrender at Saratoga, was made commander of the troops in Ireland; Sir William Howe and lord Howe, the two brothers so distinguished for their miserable management of the earlier part of the American war, were duly rewarded for it—Sir William, as lieutenant-general of the ordnance, and lord Howe as admiral of the Channel fleet. The duke of Manchester became lord chamberlain, and lord Howard, of Effingham, treasurer of the household. Pitt was offered a place as a lord of the treasury; but he had already declared, on the 8th of March, on the debate on lord John Cavendish's motion, that he would never accept a subordinate situation.

removal of unjust restrictions from themselves. Burke warmly supported these appeals, especially as they regarded the freedom of trade, at the expense of his seat for Bristol. Little relief, however, at that time, was granted, owing to the opposition of the English merchants. An act, nevertheless, for the relief of the Roman catholics—similar to the one carried in England at the same time—was passed, and another for embodying a national militia. In the following year, the Irish in Dublin, Cork, and other principal cities, again inspired by the success of America, formed themselves into non-importation associations, binding themselves not to use English manufactures, the like of which could be manufactured in Ireland, until more liberal principles of trade actuated England.

There were many and grievous provocations to this. To prevent the Americans being supplied with Irish produce,



SURRENDER OF THE GARRISON OF FORT ST. PHILIP, MINORCA, TO THE UNITED FORCES OF FRANCE AND SPAIN.

an embargo had been laid on it since 1776, and thus their great staple commodities, beef and butter, were, to a great degree, without a market. To add to their distress, rents had been remorselessly raised, and by none more than by the absentee landlords. Not only had the country been drained of money, but of its men, for the supply of the war, and when there was a menace of invasion by France, the country was found destitute of defence. The act passed to embody a militia was found ineffective, and the Irish then seized the opportunity to form themselves into volunteer companies. These grew rapidly; and in May, 1779, they were calculated at ten thousand men. They claimed arms, as a militia, from government, elected their officers, and placed some of the leading noblemen in the country at their head. The earl of Clanricarde was their colonel in Connaught, the earl of Charlemont in Ulster.

The Irish were not slow to perceive the power they were acquiring by these associations; the English government quickly perceived it too, and took alarm. So soon as the danger of invasion diminished, the secretary of state instructed the lord-lieutenant to discourage the volunteer movement, by "all proper and gentle means." But the Irish knew better than to take these hints; and, by the end of 1779, the volunteers of Ireland numbered fifty thousand.

It was when Ireland felt that it was thus in an unusually powerful position for being heard, the English being fully engaged with the growing difficulties of the American and now of the European war, that Henry Grattan made his appearance, as the head of the opposition, in the Irish house of commons. He had entered that house in 1775, and had been constantly acquiring the confidence of his countrymen.

When the Irish parliament assembled in October, 1779, Grattan moved an amendment in favour of "free trade," a phrase then happily coined, and since made universal. He carried it; and, whilst the volunteers of Dublin lined the streets, with the premier peer of Ireland, the duke of Leinster, at their head, the address, thus amended, was carried by the whole house of commons up to the lord-lieutenant. The answer of the king proving vague and unsatisfactory, Grattan moved, and carried by a large majority, a resolution, "That, at this time, it would be inexpedient to grant new taxes;" and, instead of voting the supplies, as usual, for two years, they were passed for only six months. He was supported by Mr. Flood, the vice-treasurer; and Mr. Burgh, the prime serjeant; the latter exclaiming, "Ireland is not in a state of peace; it is smothered war. England has sown her dragon's teeth, and they have sprung up armed men!"

The proceedings in the Irish parliament and language like this operated on the quick feelings of the populace, and four or five thousand people rose in riot in Dublin armed with swords and pistols, calling for free trade and for the short money bill then proposed by Grattan. They stopped the speaker, and endeavoured to force him to swear that he would vote as they wished. This they repeated with other members proceeding to the house, and not finding Scott, the attorney-general, against whom they were especially bitter, they rushed to his house and sacked it, vowing they would have his life. The volunteers appeared rather to enjoy than actively to suppress this ebullition.

In the English house of lords, lord Shelburne moved a vote of censure on the ministers for their conduct to Ireland in not abrogating its oppressive laws, and the same was moved in the commons by lord Upper Ossory. Both these motions were thrown out by large majorities; but, combined with what was going on in Ireland, they were not lost upon the English government. Early in 1780, lord North introduced three bills which conceded the recent clauses, and removed the impediments to their trade, and they were carried almost unanimously. These concessions were received in Ireland with testimonies of loud approbation and professions of loyalty; but they only encouraged the patriot party to further demands. These were for the repeal of the two obnoxious acts which conferred the legislative supremacy regarding Irish affairs on England. These acts were—first, Poynings' Act, so called from Sir Edward Poynings, and passed in the reign of Henry VII., which gave to the English privy council the right to see, alter, or suppress any bill before the Irish parliament, money bills excepted; the second was an act of George I., which asserted in the strongest terms the right of the king, lords, and commons of England to legislate for Ireland.

Grattan determined to call these acts in question in the Irish parliament, and at least abolish them there. This alarmed even Burke, who, writing to Ireland, said, "Will no one stop that madman, Grattan?" But Grattan, on the 19th of April, 1780, submitted to the Irish house of commons a resolution asserting the perfect legislative independence of Ireland. He did not carry his motion that day, but his speech—in his own opinion, the finest he ever made—had a wonderful effect on the Irish public. Other matters connected with sugar duties, and an Irish mutiny bill in which Grattan took the lead, fanned the popular flame, and the volunteer body at the same time continued to assume such rapidly-growing activity that it was deemed necessary by government to send over the earl of Carlisle to supersede the earl of Buckinghamshire, and to give him an able secretary in Mr. Eden. But this did not prevent the united body of Irish volunteers meeting at Dungannon on the 16th of February, 1782. There were two hundred and forty-two delegates, with their general-in-chief, lord Charlemont, at their head, and they unanimously passed a resolution prepared by Grattan, "That a claim of any body of men other than the king, lords, and commons of Ireland, to legislate for this kingdom, is unconstitutional, illegal, and a grievance." On the 22nd, Grattan moved a similar resolution in the Irish house of commons, which was only got rid of by the attorney-general asking for some time to consider it.

Grattan employed the time asked for by bringing to the notice of the Irish house of commons five acts of parliament passed in Great Britain in the preceding session, into which the name of Ireland had been introduced contrary to the rights of that country.

Two days only before Grattan had made his motion on Irish rights, that is, on the 20th of February, he seconded a bill for further relief of Roman catholics in Ireland, introduced by Mr. Gardiner. The bill was passed, and wonderfully increased the influence of Grattan by adding the grateful support of all the catholics. Such was the tone of Ireland, and such the transcendent influence of Grattan.

there, when the new whig ministry assumed office. Scarcely had arrived the new whig lord-lieutenant, the duke of Portland, a heavy half-Dutchman, of no talent or activity, but having the necessary whig qualification for high office, that of high revolutionary family. With him went colonel Richard Fitzpatrick, a much abler man, and a friend of Fox.

Grattan had given notice that on the 16th of April he would move for the utter repeal of the acts destructive of the independent legislative rights of Ireland. Colonel Fitzpatrick immediately waited on lord Charlemont, and entreated him to induce Grattan, under the circumstances, to postpone his motion. Grattan, though ill at the time, would not listen to the request. On the appointed day, the house of commons having been expressly summoned by the speaker, Grattan rose, and, assuming the question already as carried, began, "I am now to address a free people. Ages have passed away, and this is the first moment in which you could be distinguished by that appellation. I have found Ireland on her knees; I have watched over her with an eternal solicitude; I have traced her progress from injury to arms, from arms to liberty. Spirit of Swift! spirit of Molyneux! your genius has prevailed! Ireland is now a nation. In that new character I hail her, and, bowing to her august presence, I say, *ESTO PERPETUA!*" The speech was received with thunders of applause. It concluded with an address to the crown, declaring in the plainest, boldest language, that no body of men, except the Irish parliament, had a right to make laws by which that nation could be bound. The address was carried by acclamation; it was carried with nearly equal enthusiasm by the lords, and then both houses adjourned to await the decision of the English parliament and ministry.

This was a serious position of affairs for the consideration of the new whig ministry. They were called on to declare, either that Ireland was part of the empire, and subject to the same laws, as regarded the empire, as Great Britain, or that it was distinctly a separate empire under the same king, just as Hanover was. The ministry of Rockingham have been severely blamed by one political party, and highly lauded by another, for conceding the claims of Ireland on that head so readily; for they came to the conclusion to yield them fully. They were by no means blind to the difficulties of the case, and to the evils that might arise from a decision either way. By conceding the entire independence of Ireland of our parliament and courts of law, they saw that there was but one individual that linked that country to Great Britain—and that was the king. Supposing Ireland should, some day, go a step further, and repudiate the sovereign, adopting the older dynasty, and the British parliament declined to furnish him troops for the recovery of his crown, Ireland would be lost to the empire altogether. Even whilst remaining attached by this single link, what influence was to maintain the royal power there in times of high discontent? To make Ireland move in cordial union with England, there might possibly require more than simple justice under certain circumstances of temptations from without, or factious agitation within. In that case, there would, in all probability, arise great corruption in the delegated government there, as the means

of maintaining the royal authority, and even that might not always avert danger. Such corruptions, to an enormous extent, and such further dangers, did afterwards arise, as was foreseen; but the case with the present ministry was one of simple necessity. England had committed the great error of refusing all concession to demanded rights in the case of America, and now lay apparently exhausted by the fight to compel submission, and with all Europe in arms against her. Ireland, aware of this, was in arms, and determined to profit by the crisis. Neither Ireland nor England was prepared for that union which took place years afterwards, and which was not effected without arduous labour and great pecuniary cost; to resist the present demand might cause the Irish agitators to look abroad; and France, Holland, and Spain would have only been too happy to have responded to an appeal from Ireland to aid her in assuming independence. The least evil was to put all such contingencies to flight by at once conceding the Irish demands. Fox, therefore, on the 17th of May, announced the intention of ministers at once to acknowledge the independence of Ireland by repealing the act of the 6th of George I. Fox, in his speech, declared that it was far better to have the Irish willing subjects to the crown than bitter enemies. The bill repealing the 6th of George I. accordingly passed both houses as a matter of course, and the effect upon Ireland was such, that in the first ebullition of the national joy the Irish house of Commons voted one hundred thousand pounds to raise twenty thousand seamen—a most timely grant; for the marquis of Rockingham wrote to the duke of Portland that government had ten ships-of-the-line with scarcely a man to put into them! The Irish commons, moreover, offered to grant Grattan, for his patriotic and successful exertions in this cause, a similar sum, to purchase him an estate. Grattan—though a poor man, his income at that time scarcely exceeding five hundred pounds a-year—disinterestedly refused such a sum, and was only with difficulty induced ultimately to accept half of it.

There were not wanting, however, those who strove to disturb the joy of Ireland, and the peace of England thus acquired, by sowing suspicions of the sincerity of England, and representing that the independence granted was spurious rather than real. Amongst these, Flood, the rival of Grattan in political and parliamentary life, took the lead. He seized on every little circumstance to create doubts of the English carrying out the concession faithfully. He seized on an imprudent motion of the earl of Abingdon, in the peers, and still more vivaciously on the decision of an appeal from Ireland, in the court of King's Bench, by lord Mansfield. The case had remained over, and it was deemed impracticable to send it back to Ireland, though nearly finished before the act of repeal. Fox explained the case, and made the most explicit declaration of the "full, complete, absolute, and perpetual surrender of the British legislative and judicial supremacy over Ireland." But the suspicions had been too adroitly infused to be removed without a fresh and still more positive act, which was passed in the next session.

The claims of Ireland appearing, for the moment, to be happily satisfied, ministers now proceeded to carry out those reforms for which they had loudly called during the many

years that they had been in opposition. They adopted and introduced the bills of Sir Philip Jennings Clarke and Mr. Carew for excluding contractors from the house of commons, and revenue officers from voting at elections. The bill against the contractors passed the commons with little opposition; but the ministers immediately felt the mischief of allowing lord Thurlow to retain his place of chancellor. He opposed the measure vehemently, and divided the house upon it. Lord Mansfield gave it his cordial resistance, and the new lord Ashburton, though made so by the present administration, tacked to it a clause exempting all gentlemen who merely contracted for the produce of their estates. The clause, however, was lopped away again on the return of the bill to the commons, and the act passed without it.

The bill for disqualifying revenue officers was opposed with equal pertinacity by Thurlow and Mansfield; though lord Rockingham stated that the elections in seventy boroughs depended chiefly on revenue officers, and that nearly twelve thousand of such officers created by the late ministry had votes in other places. The bill passed, after exempting all officers who held their posts for life, and therefore were charitably supposed to be beyond the reach of undue influence, as if no such thing as promotion had its effect.

At this favourable crisis, Wilkes seized the opportunity to move that the resolution of 1769, annulling his election for Middlesex, and all the subsequent proceedings founded upon it, should be expunged from the journals of the house, and he succeeded; but Charles Fox incurred the inextinguishable resentment of Wilkes by opposing the motion, on the ground that the house ought to possess the privilege of expelling such members as it deemed unworthy of a seat. Byng, the other member for Middlesex, seconded Wilkes, and lord North as firmly opposed him, but the motion was carried by one hundred and fifteen votes against forty-seven.

On the 15th of April a message was sent down to both houses from the king, in conformity to his pledge to the new ministry, with regard to Mr. Burke's plan of economical reform, which it proposed should be a measure of effectual retrenchment, and to include his majesty's own civil list. Lord Shelburne, in communicating it to the lords, moved an address of thanks, assuring the house that this was no mere ministerial message, but was the genuine language of the king himself, proceeding from the heart. Burke, in the commons, used more exuberant terms of eulogy, declaring that "it was the best of messages to the best of people from the best of kings!" Early in May he moved for leave to bring in his bill on the subject, and then most of the promised wonders of reform and retrenchment vanished. It was but another example of the marvellous effect of office in shrinking up the brave demands of patriots in opposition. Numbers of those things which Burke had for years denounced as monstrous, nowhere appeared in the scheme of curtailment. "He found," says his own biographer, "what most reformers in time discover, that it is easier to propose public corrections when out of office, than to carry them into effect when in." It may be some palliation for this falling off, that Burke, by his whig colleagues, had been carefully excluded from the cabinet, as only a man of genius and not of family; and therefore was compelled rather to act

as the organ of these cabinet ministers than as the independent framer of his own bill.

The duchies of Cornwall and Lancaster and the principality of Wales were at once cut out of his scheme of reform. That of supplying the royal household by contract was abandoned; the ordnance office, in the hands of the duke of Richmond, was not to be touched, nor the treasurer of the household's office; and some other of the royal establishments, which were mere sinecures, were left, the Mint, &c. But he succeeded in lopping off the third secretary of state, which had been created for the American colonies, and was useless now they were virtually gone; the lords of trade and plantations; the lords of police in Scotland; the principal officers of the great wardrobe, jewel office, treasurer of the chamber, cofferer of the household, six clerks of the board of green cloth—in all, about a dozen useless offices were swept away, and Burke shed tears of joy at such a sweeping out of the dens of corruption. It was, indeed, something to have made such an inroad into these tabooed regions of royal waste and aristocratic plunder, yet what a falling off from Burke's long-vaunted demands! Instead of the saving of two hundred thousand pounds a-year, which he proposed in 1779, he now effected only a saving of about seventy-two thousand pounds.

The pension list was vigorously revised. No pension was to exceed three hundred a-year, and not more than six hundred was to be granted in pensions in any one year; the names of the persons to whom they were granted to be laid before parliament in twenty days after the beginning of each session, until the amount in the pension list should reach ninety thousand pounds. The secret service money was, at the same time, limited; and a solemn oath was to be administered to the secretaries of state regarding its proper employment. It may be imagined what were the consternation and the disgust of the large class which had been revelling on these misappropriated funds of the nation. Burke, in a letter, describes feelingly the gauntlet he had to run in proceeding with his reform. "I was loaded," he says, "with hatred for everything withheld, and with obloquy for everything given." What, however, brought unjust odium on him, but just reproach on the cabinet, was that lord Rockingham made haste, before the bill was passed, to grant enormous pensions to his supporters and colleagues, lord Ashburton and colonel Barré. This latter ardent patriot, who, whilst Burke's bill was in consideration, said it did not go far enough in reform, now willingly pocketed three thousand two hundred pounds a-year, as a pension, beside the salary of his office! Such were the men with whom Burke had to act in the business of reform, and we shall soon see that, in matters of parliamentary reform, they were still worse. In the house of lords, Thurlow again attacked the bill, supported by lords Mansfield and Loughborough; but it passed, and Burke immediately gave an illustrious proof of his disinterestedness, by bringing in a bill for regulating and reducing the enormous emoluments of his own office, the paymastership of the forces. This was a brilliant contrast to the conduct of Henry Fox, first lord Holland, Charles Fox's father, who held it snugly and pertinaciously for a long term of years, making the best of it and its opportunities for amassing money. Burke, on

the other hand, the poorest man that ever held that office, relentlessly cut it down, and then proceeded to give up the profits on clothing the pensioners, as treasurer of Chelsea Hospital, amounting to seven hundred a-year, and, by a new contract, saved to the country six hundred a-year. Amid all the abuse which had been poured on the later conduct of Burke, these are instances of patriotism rare indeed in those who can better afford them. In addition to these reforms, lord Shelburne introduced and carried a bill, compelling such people as held patent places in the colonies, or anywhere abroad, to reside there, and discharge the duties.

From economical and colonial, ministers proceeded to parliamentary reform. Sir Harbord Harbord had introduced, before their accession to office, a bill to disfranchise the rotten borough of Cricklade, in Wiltshire, as Shoreham had already been disfranchised. The new ministry supported it, with the exception of their strange colleague, Thurlow, whom they ought to have insisted on being dismissed. Cricklade was a thoroughly venal borough, regularly sold to some East Indian nabob; and Mr. Frederick Montagu, in the debate, quoted lord Chatham's remark on Shoreham, which had also been the purchased lair of Indian corruptionists, that he "was glad to find the borough of Shoreham likely to be removed from Bengal to its ancient situation in the county of Sussex."

The success with Cricklade encouraged William Pitt to bring forward a motion for a general reform of parliament. This he did on the 7th of May, and was seconded by Wilkes' old ally, Alderman Sawbridge. Pitt did not venture to talk of a bill, but only to propose a committee to consider the subject. This was granted; but it was soon apparent that nothing could be done. The ministers were wholly at variance on the subject—some went one length, and some another; many of them were as determined against all parliamentary reform as any Tories—in fact, it would be difficult, with our notions of reformers, to class the leading so-called Whigs as anything but conservative. Many of them, Rockingham, the prime minister, especially, held much borough influence. He was utterly opposed, in secret, to all such reforms. Burke, economical reformer, was impatiently hostile to reform of boroughs, for he had been ejected by an independent constituency, and was now the nominee of lord Rockingham. Thomas Pitt, Pitt's brother, and Thomas Townshend, secretary at war, were open opponents. Pitt himself would hear nothing of repealing the septennial act; but it is to us a curious sight to see this afterwards, and for so many years, determined Tory minister battling for parliamentary reform against so-called Whigs and reformers. He was for sweeping away all rotten boroughs, those tools with which he subsequently worked so at his will; he went for equalising the whole representation, for destroying the influence of the treasury, of the hereditary right assumed by the aristocracy, and, by disfranchising the rotten boroughs, sweeping the house of the creatures of the India House.

He was zealously supported by Fox, Sheridan, Sir George Saville; and the duke of Richmond, in the lords, warmly commended the movement; but the motion had the fate that might have been expected—it was negatived, but only

by twenty votes. Burke and Townshend had been persuaded to absent themselves; but, on the subject soon after being incidentally introduced when Burke happened to be present, he sprang up, and attacked Pitt with a scream of passion, "swearing," according to a letter of Sheridan, "that parliament was, and always had been, what it ought to be, and that all people who wanted to reform it sought to overturn the constitution." There were other motions introduced on the subject of reform—one by Sawbridge, for the shortening of parliament, and by lord Mahon, to prevent bribery at elections; but their fate was the same as Pitt's motion, and, indeed, the repulse of that seemed to have damaged the ministers. Fox complained of the thinness of the attendance, the indifference of members to questions of reform, and the shameful conduct of the lords, where the duke of Richmond had been opposed and deserted on all sides.

But the matters most important, and in which the Rockingham ministry succeeded the best, were those of attempting to accomplish the peace with America, and with the continental nations on which they had so long and so loudly insisted. Fox first tried his diplomatic genius with the Dutch, whom he could, as he boasted, soon conciliate; but, to his infinite chagrin, that calculating people were so elated by the recent ill success of the English, and relied so completely on the powerful fleets of France and Spain to protect their trade and islands, that they returned a contemptuous answer, declaring that they could not treat without their allies.

Still more mortifying was his repulse by the Americans. His offers of negotiation for peace were received with a haughty indifference by congress, and he was again referred to France. It was a just punishment for the unmeasured encouragement and extravagant eulogies which he and his colleagues of the opposition had so long conferred on the Americans. They had spared no terms which could debase their native country and exalt America—which could represent England as exhausted and America as invincible. England as mean and tyrannical, America as noble and magnanimous. They had been feeding a vanity ready enough to kindle of itself, and had, in truth, as had been bitterly remarked by their predecessors in office, really fought for the congress in parliament much better than the English generals and admirals had fought against it. They had now procured a resolution of the house of commons, presented by the whole house in a body to the king, and therefore, by him assented to, although reluctantly, that England could not and would not continue the war. Under these circumstances, congress treated their old friends and advisers with the coolest contempt, at the very time that the American army was destitute of food, of clothing—of almost everything, and could no more fight than it could draw a doit from the empty treasury of congress. General Greene, as commander of the northern army, was writing, "For upwards of two months more than one-third of our men have been entirely naked, with nothing but a breech cloth about them, and never came out of their tents; and the rest were as ragged as wolves. Our condition was little better: our beef was perfect carrion, and frequently we had none." Washington described his men as exactly in

the same condition, and added, "You may rely upon it, that the patience and long-suffering of this army are almost exhausted, and that there never was so great a spirit of discontent as at this instant. It is high time for a peace." Yet at this moment the congress, careless of its army, or whether it dispersed or not, because the whig ministers of England had determined to fight no more, behaved to their old friends and eulogists with the most supreme scorn. A minister of genius would, at this moment, have

by their years of inconsiderate language. When they dreamt only of damaging their official opponents, they were in reality damaging and humbling themselves. Fox now had recourse to the mediations of Russia and Austria. The czarina and the emperor Joseph, equally with the Dutch convinced of the fallen fortunes of England, insulted her whilst pretending to serve her. At the same time, Fox dispatched to Paris Thomas Grenville, to propose, as the basis of a treaty, the concession of the independence of the United



SHANDON STEEPLE, IN CORK CITY.

mustered fresh troops and ships, were it by a gigantic effort, have quelled those starved and trouserless troops, and have dispelled the prospects of a peace, which might never arrive, except by submission; for at this moment the spirit of England was rising again on the ocean, and there needed only a great mind at the helm to humble all her enemies.

But Fox and his colleagues had not yet tasted all the humiliation which they had been preparing for themselves,

States, and the *status quo ante bellum*, for all other territories. Here again, however, the same haughty indifference encountered him; the French expected wonders from their mighty fleet in the West Indies, under De Grasse; nothing less than the capture of our few remaining islands; and the Spaniards were more than ever confident of the conquest of Gibraltar.

Whilst Fox was experiencing these unpleasant effects of

the speeches of himself and co-oppositionists, which had so long extolled the enemies of England, and represented her so low and so completely on the brink of ruin, Rockingham, who was failing when he took office, died on the 1st of July. Fox, who was a violent anti-Shelburneite, instantly threw up office on the king sending for Shelburne, and upon that nobleman accepting the position of premier. Burke, lord John Cavendish, and John Townshend, did the same. Thomas Townshend took Fox's place as foreign secretary, lord Grantham succeeded lord Shelburne as home secretary, William Pitt now came in as chancellor of the exchequer, in the place of lord John Cavendish. Barré took Burke's post of paymaster of the forces, and Dundas stepped into

soon to do. Fox, on his part, came in for very severe censure, for being one of a ministry who, whilst professing to put an end to administrative corruption, and engaged in cutting down pensions, granted the enormous ones of colonel Barré and lord Ashburton; whilst they received with coldness the news of a most splendid victory of Rodney over De Grasse, which we have now to detail, and conferred on him only a pension of two thousand a-year, because he was a tory. In fact, whilst Fox had been vainly making overtures of peace to the European powers and to America, Rodney had been showing that there wanted only three or four really able men at the head of our ministry, our army and navy, to turn again the tide of victory toward England



WASHINGTON'S HOUSE, MOUNT VERNON, U.S.

Barré's as treasurer of the navy. Other changes took place; the duke of Portland, a firm Rockinghamite, resigned the lord-lieutenancy of Ireland, which George Grenville, now lord Temple, the nephew of the late lord Temple, took. Mr. Pepper Arden became solicitor-general, and Sir George Yonge secretary of war, in place of Thomas Townshend, now secretary of state, in place of Fox.

The resigned Rockinghamites were by no means resigned in their tempers. Fox was gone out in the deepest poverty and embarrassment, and attacked his late colleagues bitterly. He declared that Shelburne could be base enough to *coalesce* even with lord North, the very thing Fox himself was so

in all its greatness. To add to these mortifications of Fox, the king, disgusted at the humiliations which he considered the overtures made by Fox to the French, Dutch, Spaniards, and Americans brought with them, had, with evident satisfaction, accepted his resignation. The king prorogued parliament immediately on the formation of the new ministry, the session ending on the 11th of July.

Scarcely was the Rockingham administration formed when they determined to recall England's ablest admiral, Sir George Rodney, and they carried this into execution in May of this year, and appointed admiral Pigott in his stead. Lord Keppel, who had shown himself so sensitive in his own case,

now he was at the head of the admiralty, not only recalled Rodney because he was of another party, but did it in the coldest and most direct manner, through his secretary, Mr. Stephen. Providence was, however, preparing a due punishment for this deed, which was sacrificing the interests of the country to party feeling, as is the general wont of party. At the very time this order of recall was issued—the 1st of May—Rodney had fought one of the greatest and most decisive battles which embellish the history of our navy. He had gone in all haste to the West Indies, with fourteen ships of the line, to join Sir Samuel Hood, who was vainly contending against the fleet of De Grasse and a strong land force at St. Christopher's. As we have seen, Hood had conducted stoutly, with only twenty-two ships of the line, with De Grasse's thirty-three, off Basseterre, in St. Christopher's. He had skillfully dispossessed the French of their anchorage-ground, and repulsed, with terrible loss to the enemy, two attempts to regain it. But, as De Grasse had landed eight thousand men, under De Bouillé, and Hood had no land troops, he could not save the island. After its capture Rodney fortunately fell in with him, and their united fleet now amounted to thirty-six ships of the line. It was well, for Hood informed Rodney that De Grasse was intending to join the Spanish general, Galvez, at St. Domingo, where they were to sail for a grand attack on the chief of the British West India Islands, Jamaica, almost the only island, with the exception of Barbadoes and Antigua, which England had left. So confident were the Spaniards of the conquest of Jamaica, that, before Galvez sailed from the Havannah, the council there had formally addressed him as governor of that island. But Rodney declared that nothing should prevent his saving that valuable possession, having now thirty-six sail of the line, though some of them were in very bad condition. He dispatched some swift sailers to watch Port Royal, whilst he lay ready for a start in St. Lucien.

On the 8th of April he was signalled that the French fleet was unmoored and proceeding to sea. Rodney instantly put out, and the next morning discovered this fleet under Dominica. The wind being in favour of De Grasse, he stood away for Guadaloupe; but Rodney gave chase, and Hood's squadron getting far in advance, De Grasse veered round in the hope of beating him before the rest of Rodney's fleet could come up. Hood received the fire of three men-of-war in the *Barfleur*, his ship, for some time; but he stood bravely to the enemy, and the wind now favouring Rodney, he came up and joined in the engagement. Several ships on each side were so much damaged that they were almost useless, and captain Bayne, of the *Alfred*, was killed. The next morning, the French were nearly out of sight; but Rodney pressed after them under all sail, for he knew that if they succeeded in joining the Spaniards, he should have sixty sail, instead of thirty-six, to contend with.

On the evening of the 11th he had the satisfaction to find himself close to the enemy, and at day-break of the 12th the battle began. At first, there was so little wind that Rodney was unable to put into execution his long-cherished scheme of breaking right through the centre of the enemy's line, and beating one half before the other could come to the rescue. There has been much dispute as to the first idea of this plan. It was certainly no new one, for it had been

promulgated in a work on naval evolutions by Father Paul Hoste, a French Jesuit, so early as 1697; but Rodney had the merit of estimating its importance, and of first adopting it. About noon a breeze sprang up, and afforded the long-desired opportunity. Rodney was now in the van, and after captain Gardiner, in the *Duke*, had made the first attempt and fallen back disabled, Rodney's own ship, the *Formidable*, broke through, followed by the *Namur* and the *Canada*. Sir Gilbert Blane, who was on board Rodney's vessel, says: "We passed within pistol-shot of the *Glorieux*, of seventy-four guns, which was so roughly handled, that she was shorn of all her masts, bowsprit, and ensign-staff, but with the white flag nailed to the stump of one of her masts, and looking defiance, as it were, in her last moments. Thus become a motionless hulk, she presented a spectacle which struck our admiral's fancy as not unlike the remains of a fallen hero; for, being an indefatigable reader of Homer, he exclaimed, that now was the contest for the body of Patroclus."

The great end of Rodney was gained. He had cut in two the great fleet, and his ships doubling on one half threw the whole into confusion. The half to the windward were terribly raked, whilst the half to the leeward were unable to come up to their aid. The battle, however, continued without respite from noon till evening, the leeward half endeavouring to join and return to the charge, but without being able. The most striking part of the action was the attack on the great ship of De Grasse, the *Ville de Paris*. That huge vessel, the pride of the French navy, towering over all far and near, attracted the ambition of captain Cornwallis, of the *Canada*, the brother of lord Cornwallis, to whose surrender De Grasse had so greatly contributed. Captain Cornwallis, as if determined on a noble revenge, attacked the *Ville de Paris* with fury, hugely as it towered above him, and so well did he ply his guns that he soon reduced the monster almost to a wreck. De Grasse fought desperately, but Hood coming up to the assistance of Cornwallis, in the *Barfleur*, about sunset, De Grasse was compelled to strike his flag. That was a sight that sent a "thrill of victory," says Dr. Blane, through every heart in the fleet, a sensation defying description. In fact, when the news reached Europe, the French naval officers exclaimed that the report was false. "It is impossible!" they cried: "not the whole British fleet could take the *Ville de Paris*!"

At the close of the engagement it was found that the English had captured five large ships, to which two others were almost immediately added by admiral Hood, and an eighth was sunk. Owing to the condition of the French vessels, crowded with the soldiers who were to have conquered Jamaica, the slaughter was terrible. The killed were computed at nearly three thousand; the wounded at double that number. The English lost two hundred and fifty killed, and had seven hundred and sixty wounded. Rodney declared it, in his opinion, "the severest battle ever fought at sea." On board the *Ville de Paris* were found thirty-six chests of money, intended to pay the conquerors of Jamaica, and on the other ships nearly all the battering trains for that purpose. The remainder of the fleet made all sail, and Rodney pursued, but was stopped by a calm of three days under Guadaloupe, and they escaped.

It was with a just pride that Rodney wrote to his wife, "Within two little years I have taken two Spanish, one French, and one Dutch admiral;" adding, beautifully, "It is Providence does it all, or how could I escape the shot of thirty-three sail-of-the-line, every one of which I believe attacked me?" Rodney had, it must be remembered, thirty-six of the line, and De Grasse only thirty-three, but three of De Grasse's ships were disabled by the four days' battle, and of Hood's division five or six never got into battle owing to the wind, so that the French were not only numerically, but in weight of metal stronger, showing the infinite advantage of breaking the line. Rodney, in the joy of his heart, not only desired his wife to kiss "his dear girls at home" for him, but his faithful dog Loup too!

He received De Grasse on board his vessel with much respect. He was the first commander-in-chief of the French by land or sea who had been taken, since Tallard gave up his sword to Marlborough. Both in the West Indies and in England De Grasse was honourably received, but in France the news of this great defeat fell like a thunderbolt. "It carried," says Botta, "the most profound despair from one end of the country to the other, and poor De Grasse was not only disgraced, but insulted in all possible ways." In America, too, the news spread the deepest consternation. The great French admiral who enabled them to win York Town, and the surrender of the English force there, was thus thoroughly beaten, the invincible *Ville de Paris* taken, the West Indies were saved, and England was once more the empress of the ocean!

Rodney sailed to Jamaica, which he had thus saved, and was received with the acclamations of honour and gratitude. There, however, he received the order for his recall, and returned home. To the eternal dishonour of the Rockingham administration, on receiving the news of this superb and most important victory—a victory which at once restored the drooping glories of Great Britain—they had not the heart to cancel his recall, though the feeling of the country compelled the crown to grant him a pension, and to raise him to the peerage by the title of baron Rodney. Sir Samuel Hood was also made an Irish baron; admiral Drake and commodore Affleck were made baronets; and monuments were voted for captains Bayne, Blair, and lord Robert Manners, who were killed in the action. It was about the middle of May when this inspiring news reached England, and effaced the memory of a hundred disasters and feebly-conducted enterprises.

During this time the hostile army in America had remained much in the condition we have described. The English, too few for any active operation—the Americans in the last condition of misery and destitution. But the rancour which burned betwixt the American republicans and royalists continued to show itself the more fiercely from the opportunities afforded for its exercise by the presence of large armies. Throughout the war the royalists had been treated without mercy by their republican countrymen; their property had been confiscated or destroyed remorselessly wherever it could be seized, and their persons insulted, and their lives destroyed with a savage pleasure. Now the English had retired from the Carolinas and Georgia to within the walls of Charlestown and Savannah, and, since

York Town had been surrendered, the vengeance of the republicans on the unhappy royalists became perfectly fiendish. Stung to madness by their sufferings, and by the barbarous assassination of one of their party, Philip White, the royalists seized on one Joshua Huddy, a captain in Washington's army, whom they declared had been one of the most cruel of their persecutors, and who with his own hand had tied the knot and put the rope round the neck of one of the most inoffensive of the royalists. This man they hanged on the 30th of March, with a label on his breast in these words:—"We, the refugees, having with grief long beheld the cruel murders of our brethren, and finding nothing but such measures carried daily into execution, determine not to suffer without taking vengeance for these numerous cruelties, and thus begin, and have made use of captain Huddy as the first object to present to your view; and further determine to hang man for man while there is a refugee existing. *Up goes Huddy for Philip White!*"

Sir Henry Clinton arrested captain Lippincot, the commander of the party, and several others of the ringleaders; but the royalists made strong declarations of the justice and necessity of retaliations. Clinton appointed a court-martial to try these men; but this court returned a verdict of not guilty, on the ground that captain Lippincot had only obeyed the orders of the board of directors of the associated royalists, captain Lippincot not doubting the validity of the orders of that board.

But this did not satisfy Washington, the author of all the atrocities by his unwarrantable and implacable execution of major André, a British officer, acting under a pass from one of their own generals. Washington demanded that captain Lippincot, the assassin, as he termed him, should be given up to him, to be treated according to the laws of the republicans. Of course, Sir Henry could not do this. The republicans had commenced this barbarous practice. Washington himself had been the great sanctioner of it; and captain Lippincot, having been duly submitted to a court-martial and acquitted, was exempt from further proceedings by all the laws of war. On all such occasions, however, Washington showed himself as unprincipled and as destitute of the nobler qualities which so highly distinguished him from his countrymen, as the average of them. He at once ordered an English officer of the same rank to be seized and treated in the same manner. He waited for no order from the congress—he took the matter upon himself, and ordered, on the 3rd of May, twenty-one days after the death of Huddy, brigadier Hazen to cast lots upon a number of unconditional prisoners, and the lot fell on captain Asgill, a young man of nineteen, the son of Sir Charles Asgill. Now, captain Asgill was not an unconditional prisoner, but one of the English surrendered by lord Cornwallis at York Town, under express conditions. This was pointed out to Washington, and he ordered a lieutenant Turner, a British officer, who had been taken without conditions, to be substituted. This, however, was not done; and Washington, with full knowledge that his orders were not obeyed, *suffered the matter to go on!* Gordon, the historian of the war, says:—"If you inquire why Turner, or some other officer, was not sent on to take the place of Asgill, it is not in my power to answer." And another writer adds, "The Americans, no doubt, thought it proper and spirited to

adhere to the principle of captain for captain, though lord Cornwallis's capitulations stood in their way: and they may, besides, have given their cruel preference to young Asgill, from the knowledge of his being a person of family and superior consideration, whose fate would excite more attention than that of a more obscure officer."

This is sufficient answer, as it regards Americans in general, for we have seen that through the whole war they set the usual laws of honour and of nations at defiance in the case of André and of Burgoyne's army; but it does not satisfy us with regard to Washington—in most cases, a brilliant exception. Yet nothing is clearer than that Washington continued, with a full knowledge of all the facts, to hold Asgill, and menace the full execution of retaliative death. In no case, as it seems to us, could such retaliation be justified, except in the case of a royalist, where the royalists were the offenders, and that the selection of a British officer at all was an unwarrantable piece of violence; the selection of one surrendered under the most explicit and most solemn conditions, beyond all conception flagrant and atrocious.

Washington announced the very day for the death of this unoffending youth by a letter written on the 5th of May; but at this moment Sir Henry Clinton was superseded by Sir Guy Carleton, formerly governor of Canada, and Sir Guy brought with him the proposals of the Rockingham administration and the votes of the English house of commons for peace, as well as a bill enabling the king to conclude a preliminary truce.

These important and conciliatory documents Sir Guy, in conjunction with admiral Digby, sent to Washington, informing him that he had duplicates for the congress, and requested a passport for his messenger, adding that with such amicable dispositions on the part of England there could be no difficulty in a perfect arrangement, provided America showed the same feeling. But Washington, with the same sternness and discourtesy which most unhappily seized him in the André affair, bluntly refused the passport, and paying no attention to the friendly overtures, turned again to the subject of captain Huddy, reiterating his determination to hang young Asgill. Sir Guy, surprised at this most unamiable rebuff, but maintaining the courtesy of a good diplomatist, expressed his regret for the circumstances which had occurred, and his readiness to make further inquiries into the death of Huddy; but Washington repeated his peremptory demand for the surrender of captain Lippincot, and asserted, in default, his certain resolve to hang Asgill. It was not till the 19th of August that Washington thought well to remove this responsibility to congress, which, had he taken it finally on himself by the youth's execution, would have branded his name for ever with just infamy.

During these four anxious months, the news had reached the young man's distracted family, and astonished England. Lady Asgill, the youth's mother, had written to the count de Vergennes, the French minister, and in September Washington received a letter from count de Vergennes, inclosing another from lady Asgill. In the letter of lady Asgill to Vergennes, she represented her husband, Sir Charles, at the point of death, at the moment that the news

arrived, and her daughter as seized with a fever and delirium, on hearing of her brother's danger, and, as she wrote, raving wildly about him. This letter had produced the utmost compassion in the king and queen of France; and their majesties begged "that the inquietudes of an unfortunate mother might be calmed, and her tenderness reassured." But Vergennes put the matter on still stronger grounds, properly reminding Washington of the sacred obligations he had vowed to violate, and of the laws of nations, so strangely forgotten. "Captain Asgill," he wrote, "is your prisoner; but he is amongst those whom the arms of the king, my master, contributed to put into your hands at York Town. And," he added, "in seeking to deliver Mr. Asgill from the fate which threatens him, I am far from engaging you to select another victim; the pardon, to be perfectly satisfactory, must be entire."

This was the language of civilisation as well as humanity; and, coming from all-important allies, could not be disregarded. Washington forwarded the letters to congress, and, after some obstinacy also in that quarter, captain Asgill was eventually freed on the 7th of November. On liberating the young officer, who had been kept without any fault of his own, or of the army to which he belonged, for six months in daily expectation of death, Washington assured him that he had never been influenced by any sanguinary motives; and Gordon thinks captain Asgill was rather ungrateful for expressing no acknowledgment of the general's kindness in his release! The best and ablest biographer of Washington (judge Marshall), however, very prudently passes over the whole of this transaction in silence: evidently as a matter that admitted of no defence.

At this moment, when the offers of peace had arrived in America, never was a country in a more deplorable necessity for it. Washington's army was suffering all the horrors of nakedness and destitution recently described. He was himself, as he stated candidly in his letter to congress, deeply apprehensive that, unless peace came quickly, his soldiers would make use of their arms to force an existence from the population at large; and that the desultory warfare going on in the Carolinas betwixt the republicans and royalists, full of horrors, would become general. Congress, however, had no means of helping him. Their coffers were empty, and their treasurer, Morris, declared it was impossible to raise another penny. Money was in vain asked for at sixty per cent. The French troops, under these circumstances, took their departure for the West Indies, the victory of Rodney having left their own islands exposed to imminent peril. It must be a startling revelation for those who ever entertained the grand idea that the Americans could have liberated themselves, or were now in any condition to continue the war, to read Washington's own statements in his letters on this subject. Peace, however, was approaching; but it appeared as impossible for congress to accomplish it as they had found it to prosecute the war. It was in Paris, and through Franklin, that this desirable consummation was to be aimed at. But before entering on the negotiations there, we must notice yet a few circumstances which rendered this object as necessary for France, Holland, and Spain, as for England or America.

It was not in America or in the West Indies alone that

France, and Spain, and Holland were, by combined and gigantic efforts, endeavouring to pull down Great Britain, and for ever crush her proud and envied power. Besides the transactions that we have narrated, La Perouse, the unfortunate French officer who afterwards left his bones on the desert coast of the New Hebrides, revisited and destroyed the defenceless trading stations of the Hudson's Bay Company. The Spaniards took the Bahama Isles, soon again to lose them, and we, on our part, captured the Spanish settlements on the Mosquito shore. These, however, were small matters: this stupendous war was waging round the whole globe. Every Dutch settlement on the African coast, except the Cape of Good Hope, had fallen into our hands. Still more did we punish the French and Dutch in the East Indies, where they had also, at enormous cost, attacked our power, and both these nations were now contemplating, in astonishment and dismay, the triumphs of the people whom they had so fondly hoped to reduce to utter insignificance. We shall immediately come to the great details of our Indian campaigns, but we must now narrate one of the most extraordinary, as it was one of the last, transactions of the war, which, more than almost any other, convinced the numerous enemies of this country that England had still in her ages of inextinguishable valour.

The tide of our maritime success appeared running adversely during the summer of 1782. The prizes of Rodney, including the great *Ville de Paris*, on their way home were assailed with a violent tempest, and went down, so that the English people had not the gratification of seeing the greatest ship in the world, which had been captured by Rodney. Besides the *Ville de Paris*, the *Glorieux*, the *Centaur*, the *Hector*, and an English ship, the *Ramilien*, all went down. The Dutch were encouraged to attempt coming out of the Texel, and waylaying our Baltic merchant fleet, but lord Howe, with twelve sail-of-the-line, was sent after them, and they quickly ran back into the Texel. His lordship remained there blockading them till the 28th of June, when he was compelled to leave his post and sail westward, with twenty-one ships-of-the-line and some frigates, to watch the great combined fleet of France and Spain, which had issued from Cadiz. On his cruise he had under him vice-admiral Barrington and rear-admiral Kempenfelt. The great combined fleet—thirty-six sail-of-the-line, besides frigates—kept aloof, and allowed him safely to convoy home the Jamaica merchant fleet, guarded by Sir Peter Parker.

No sooner did Howe return to port than he had orders to sail in aid of Gibraltar, which was not only greatly in need of stores and provisions, but was menaced by the combined armies and fleets of France and Spain with one great and overwhelming attack. The evil fortune of England did not yet, however, seem to have disappeared. The Royal George, the finest vessel in the British service, carrying one hundred and eight guns, was the flag-ship of Kempenfelt, as it had been of lord Hawke in his celebrated action on the coast of Brittany, and of several others of our admirals. This magnificent ship on its return, lying off Portsmouth, was crowded not only with its own crew, but with numbers of other people who had gone on board, including three hundred women and many children. On the 29th of

August the carpenters were busy caulking a seam, previous to her going out again on the voyage to Gibraltar. The ship was therefore laid somewhat on her side, but not so much as to inconvenience any one. The admiral and his officers remained on board. The brave Kempenfelt was writing in his cabin, the bulk of the people were between decks, when a sudden squall plunged the open gun-ports under water on the lower side, and as, it is said, the guns, in the process of cleaning the ship, being unlashd, ran all to that side, the great vessel went down in a moment, with all in her. The admiral, officers, all who were between decks, perished, as did also, it is supposed, upwards of one thousand persons in number. A victualler lying alongside was swallowed up in the whirlpool occasioned by the sinking of so vast a body. All in and about her perished, except about three hundred men, chiefly sailors, who escaped by swimming, or were taken up by boats.

But this awful catastrophe did not hinder the sailing of lord Howe. He had by great exertion mustered a fleet of thirty-four sail-of-the-line, and on the 11th of September steered out for Gibraltar. For upwards of three years this famous rock had now been beleaguered. In the summer of 1779 the Spaniards had sat down before the place at San Roque with a powerful camp, and had sent out a fleet to cut off all supplies. We have seen how the place had been stoutly defended by the gallant old general George Augustus Elliot, an officer who had learned originally the art of war at *La Fere*, in France, but had completed his military experience in Germany, had fought at Dettingen under George II., and afterwards in Germany under the duke of Cumberland and prince Ferdinand of Brunswick. We have also seen the united efforts of the Spaniards and French—both by sea and land—to take it, and the successful endeavours of Rodney, Digby, and Darby to throw in supplies at successive periods. To such distress was this undaunted garrison sometimes reduced that the price of a pound of the mouldy crumbs of biscuit was one shilling, and such luxuries as geese one pound ten shillings each—turkeys two pounds eight shillings each. The consequent ravages of scurvy and other disease were dreadful. After the relief thrown in by admiral Darby, the Spaniards, despairing of reducing the garrison by blockade, determined to destroy the town and works by a terrific bombardment. This bombardment was, accordingly, opened with unexampled fury and continued incessantly for days and weeks. The town was set on fire, and numbers of houses consumed; the damage done to the ramparts and public buildings was appalling. Vast masses of rock, loosened by the balls and shells, came toppling down on the houses, and thus were laid open many magazines of provisions, secreted by base traders, to be dealt out at famine prices in the moments of deepest distress. The soldiers and inhabitants, enraged at the discovery, seized the goods and appropriated them; others drank freely of the discovered stores of wine and spirits, and in their intoxication committed other excesses. Captain Drinkwater, in his able history of the siege, describes many singular features of this wild extravagance; such as seeing a party of soldiers roasting a pig at a fire of cinnamon!

General Elliot displayed the utmost temper and skill through this bombardment, as he did through the whole siege.

He continued by night, and at all other opportunities, to repair actively the damages done; and, reserving his fire for occasions when he saw a chance of doing particular damage, he caused the enemy to wonder at the little impression that they made.

But, in the autumn of 1781, they resolved on a renewed attack of the most vigorous kind. Elliot received information of this, and determined to anticipate the plan. At midnight of the 26th of November he ordered out all his grenadiers and light infantry, including the two veteran regiments with which he had seen service in Germany so many years ago, the 12th, and the regiment of general Hardenberg. These amounted to about two thousand men, under the command of brigadier-general Ross. Three hundred sailors volunteered to accompany them, and the brave old general himself could not stay behind. The detachment marched silently through the soft sand, and

following month of December, however, they slowly resumed their bombardment. It was not till the spring of the present year, 1782, that the Spaniards were cheered by the news that the duke of Crillon was on his way to join them with the army which had conquered Minorca.

In April, De Crillon arrived, and was followed by the Spanish and French troops from Minorca. From eighteen to twenty thousand men were added to the army already encamped before the place, and the most able engineers were engaged from almost all countries of Europe, at extravagant salaries, and great rewards were offered for inventions which might demolish the formidable works of the English on the rock. Nearly forty thousand troops were now congregated against the old fortress, and vast numbers of French princes and Spanish nobles flocked to St. Roque to witness the anticipated triumph over Gibraltar, as over Fort St. Philip in Minorca. One hundred and seventy pieces of heavy



JEAN FRANÇOIS GALAUP DE LA PROUSE. FROM AN AUTHENTIC PORTRAIT.

entered the fourth line almost before the Spanish sentinel was aware of them. In a very few minutes the enemy was in full flight towards the village of Campo, and the English set to work, under direction of the engineer officers, to destroy the works which had cost the Spaniards such enormous labour to erect. They spiked the cannon, dug mines, and blew the fourth line, with all its bastions and magazines of gunpowder, into the air. They then marched back in perfect order into their own defences, having lost not a single musket, spade, or tool of any kind. There were only four men killed, twenty-six wounded, and one missing. In the quarters of one of the officers a report was found drawn up, to be dispatched to the general the next morning, saying, "nothing particular had occurred." The news that morning was rather different; and the Spaniards for several days appeared so stupefied that they allowed their works to burn without any attempt to check the fire. In the

artillery were directed against it, and immense stores of ammunition were accumulated for this final and triumphant achievement. On the other hand, general Elliot had now repaired and strengthened his defences more than ever. His garrison was augmented to seven thousand men, including a marine brigade; eighty pieces of cannon frowned from the walls, and the bulk of his men were of the best and most seasoned kind. At this conjuncture, the Corsican general, Paoli, with sixty volunteers, joined the garrison, and two princes of the blood, the comte D'Artois and the duc de Bourbon, were, on the other hand, with the French troops.

The coming encounter fixed the attention of all Europe, and at length roared forth such an *inferno* of fire, and balls, and shells against the fortress, that its continued resistance appeared impossible. Charles III., the king of Spain, a man whom nothing had ever appeared capable of rousing into anything like life and interest, was now so much excited



THE COMTE DE GRASSE SURRENDERING HIS SWORD TO SIR HANUEL HOOD ON BOARD THE VESSEL THE HOD.

that he asked every morning, "Is it taken?" and, on being answered in the negative, always added, "Well, but it soon must be."

The French prince and general displayed the same high courtesy towards their brave antagonists as they had done in America. The duke de Crillon sent to general Elliot a plentiful supply of fruit, vegetables, and game for his own table, and promised that if he would let him know what he liked best he would continue to furnish them. The general replied with equal expressions of politeness and obligation, but assured the duke that it was a point of honour with him to indulge himself in nothing better than his soldiers could get, and therefore entreated him to send no more. The count D'Artois also sent in by the same opportunity a packet of letters, which had been seized by the Spaniards, written by the wives and relatives of the officers and soldiers. He had got them from the king of Spain, who intended no such civility.

De Crillon, seeing that his bombardment from shore produced little effect, determined to make the attack also from the sea. Amongst the multiplicity of inventions which the offered rewards had produced, the chevalier D'Arcon, a French engineer, had produced a scheme which excited the most confident expectations. The plan was to construct ten monster floating batteries of such capacity that they should carry the heaviest artillery, and so made and defended that they could be neither sunk nor burnt. The neighbouring fort of Algeiras was already in an unprecedented bustle in the construction of these engines, under the direction of the chevalier D'Arcon himself. Loud was the clangour of hammer and saw, and, as the secret could not be long preserved, equally busy was the garrison within, preparing furnaces, and laying ready huge piles of balls, to be discharged red-hot at these machines as soon as they arrived. The idea of the hot balls was said to be that of the lieutenant-governor Boyd, which had been at once eagerly adopted by general Elliot; the soldiers luxuriating in the expected effect of what they named "the hot potatoes."

To constitute the intended batteries, ten large ships of from six hundred to one thousand four hundred tons burthen were cut down, and made bomb-proof on the top. They were to be prevented sinking by the enormous thickness of the timber in their bottoms, and their sides, which were to be six or seven feet thick, bolted, and covered with raw hides. They were to be rendered more buoyant by thicknesses of cork, and the interstices were to be filled with wet sand to prevent combustion. There were to be plentiful supplies, by means of pumps, pipes, and cisterns, of water, everywhere, to put out fire, for they seem to have been aware of the burning balls preparing for them. To defend the assailants on these batteries, they were furnished with hanging roofs, constructed of strong rope netting covered with thick layers of wet hides, and these so sloping that it was calculated that the balls and shells would glance off into the water. Two hundred thousand feet of timber were consumed in the construction of these invincible batteries,

the whole country round was drained of hides of horses used for their covering. They were then supplied with bomb-cannon, so arranged that a whole broadside could be fired at once.

As a rumour of the approaching visit of lord Howe had reached the Spanish camp, all was in haste to anticipate his arrival, and take the great fortress before he could succeed it. Accordingly the great united fleet of Spain and France, which so lately had paraded in the British Channel, sailed into Algeiras Bay, and on the 13th of September the great floating batteries were hauled out by a number of the ships, and anchored at regular distances, within six hundred yards of the English works. There they were supported by forty gun-boats, with long guns; forty bomb-boats, mounted with twelve-inch mortars; five large bomb-ketches, and an immense raft, also mounted as a battery. There were also a dozen of frigates and lesser vessels acting as tenders, and three hundred row-boats busy supplying them with ammunition.

Whilst this extraordinary armada was approaching and arranging, the most tremendous fire was kept up from the land, with three hundred long guns and mortar, to divert the attention of the garrison; but old general Elliot was ready with his red-hot balls, and, the moment the floating batteries came within gunshot distance, he poured into them a most destructive fire-hail. The Spaniards notwithstanding, placed and secured their monster machines in a very short time, and then four hundred cannon from land and sea played on the old rock simultaneously and incessantly. The spectacle at this moment, perhaps, was exceeded in intense interest and sublimity. There was not a summit or slope of the Spanish hills all round, including those of Algeiras and Cabareta Point, but was thronged with spectators. For some time, the hot balls appeared to do no damage. The timbers, being of green wood, closed up after the balls, and so prevented their immediate ignition. In other cases, where smoke appeared the water-engines dashed in deluges, and extinguished the nascent fire. But anon the fire from the batteries began to slacken; it was discovered that the balls — which had many of them pierced into the timbers three feet deep — were doing their work. The floating battery, commanded by the prince of Nassau, on board of which was the engineer, D'Arcon, himself, was found smoking on the side of the garrison, at two o'clock in the day. No water could reach the seat of the mischief, and by seven o'clock it had become so extensive as to cause the firing to cease, and to turn the thoughts of all to endeavours for escape. Rockets were thrown up as signals for the vessels to come up and take off the crews. But this was found impracticable. The garrison actually rained deluges of fire, so that all approach to the monster machines was cut off. No vessel could approach, except at the penalty of instant destruction. For four more hours, the vaunted floating batteries remained exposed to the pitiless pelting of the garrison. Before midnight, the Talla Piedra, the greatest of the monster machines, and the flag-ship, *Pastera*, at her side, were in full flame, and, by their light, the ill-fatigable Elliot could see, with the more precision, to point his guns. The flames of the burning batteries and the fiery sweep of the blazing balls illuminated the whole scene with a terribly sublime splendour. Seven of the ten floating machines were now on fire; the guns of land had entirely ceased, and those on land, as if struck by

wonder and despair, ceased too. Then were heard the shrieks of the unfortunate crews on board the burning machines, and the English general, ceasing his fire, sent out captain Curtis, with his marine brigade of gun-boats, our only naval force there, to save the shrieking Spaniards. Before this could be accomplished, two of them blew up; but the English sailors dashed amongst the flaming wrecks, picking off their horrified enemies, or gathering them from floating fragments of timber to which they were clinging. At the utmost peril of their lives, they managed to bring off about two hundred and fifty of the sufferers, but not without considerable injury to themselves. Captain Curtis had an almost miraculous escape. One of the machines exploding when he was actually lifting men from it, involved him and his boatswain in the cloud of fire and smoke. General Elliot, who saw the occurrence, believed the whole boat's crew destroyed; but presently the pinnace emerged from the smoke, with the coxswain killed, several of her crew injured, but the captain alive. The bottom of the boat, however, was driven in by some of the falling timber, and the sailors only kept her afloat by stuffing their jackets into the hole. Thus vanished all the proud hopes built on the invention of the chevalier D'Arcon. That sanguine engineer was on board the *Talla Piedra* till the last moment. In the morning, he saw the whole of his leviathan machines destroyed, his one hundred and fifty fine brass cannon, with an immense amount of property beside, were all at the bottom of the sea; the whole scheme had vanished like a dream, and one thousand poor wretches had been killed, more than six hundred besides, were wounded or prisoners. In the first agony of his thoughts, he wrote to the French ambassador at Madrid:—"I have burnt the temple of Ephesus! Everything is gone, and through my fault. What comforts me under my calamity is, that the honour of the two kings remains untarnished."

It might have been imagined that this magnificent and destructive repulse would have convinced the allies that the siege was hopeless, but they were pretty well informed that general Elliot had well nigh exhausted his ammunition in this prodigal death-shower, and they had still their great combined fleet, snug in the narrow bay, with scouts in the straits to prevent the carrying in of supplies. But on the 24th of September news arrived at Madrid that the fleet of lord Howe was under weigh for Gibraltar. Immediately two thousand land troops were put on board the fleet, but it still continued to lie in the bay of Algeiras. On the 11th of October lord Howe's fleet came in sight, convoying one hundred and fifty transports and trading vessels, carrying all sorts of supplies for the garrison of Gibraltar. Howe's fleet of thirty-four sail-of-the-line, six frigates, and three fire-ships, though in the immediate neighbourhood of one of fifty sail-of-the-line, besides a number of frigates and smaller vessels, managed to get into the bay of Gibraltar all safe, and amid the wildest acclamations of soldiers and inhabitants. By the 18th all the store-ships had discharged their cargoes, and had passed through the straits, and on the 19th lord Howe followed them with his fleet. The enemy's fleet then came out after him, and the next day they were in the open ocean, and Howe proceeded to their leeward to receive them. Some of their vessels had suffered

in the late gales, but they had still at least forty-four sail to Howe's thirty-four, and, having the weather-gage, had every advantage. But after a partial firing, in which they received great damage from Howe, they hauled off, and got into Cadiz bay. Howe, then dispatching part of his fleet to the West Indies, and a second squadron to the Irish coast, returned home himself. The news of the grand defence of Gibraltar produced a wonderful rejoicing in England; thanks were voted by parliament to the officers and privates of the brave garrison; general Elliot was invested with the order of the Bath on the king's bastion in sight of the works which he had preserved, and on his return, in 1787, at the age of seventy, he was created a peer as lord Heathfield of Gibraltar. But the noblest fame which the veteran has achieved was that accorded by his enemies, who venerated him for his virtues, and long remembered with blessings his humanity in seeking with such zeal to save his defeated assailants.

With these superb demonstrations on the part of England terminated the war. Her enemies discovered that her hoped-for fall was yet far off, and were much more inclined to listen to overtures of peace, of which they were now all in great need. Before the dissolution of the Rockingham ministry, private negotiations had for some time been going on betwixt the English government and Franklin in Paris. Lord Shelburne, as secretary of state, had received an intimation of pacific views from Franklin, and had dispatched Mr. Richard Oswald, a London merchant, well versed in American affairs, to have an interview with the doctor. Franklin, with an astonishing coolness of demand, proposed that not only should the independence of the United States be acknowledged, but that Canada should be thrown into the bargain. This looked rather like a studied insult than a real desire for negotiation. The English ministry, however, without regarding for a moment the proposition regarding Canada, continued to state their views of a treaty, and Thomas Grenville was also dispatched to endeavour to induce M. Vergennes to enter into the negotiations on the part of France.

Upon the formation of the Shelburne cabinet, and the news of Rodney's victory over De Grasse, the negotiations were still continued, Mr. Grenville only being recalled, and Mr. Alleyne Fitzherbert, afterwards lord St. Helena, being put in his place. France, Spain, Holland, were all groaning under the costs and disasters of the war, yet keeping up an air of indifference, in order to enhance their demands. The Americans were more decided, for they were stimulated by the accounts of the wretched condition of affairs at home. It was represented to Franklin by congress, that, however France or Spain might delay proposals for peace, it was necessary for the United States. That, with their coasts blockaded by an English fleet, now augmented to twenty-six sail of the line, besides frigates, fire ships, &c., and the French so completely beaten at sea, without money and without credit, the American population, as well as the army, were fast sinking into the lowest condition of human misery.

The position of Franklin, nevertheless, was extremely difficult. There was the treaty of alliance betwixt France and the States of 1778, strictly stipulating that neither

party should conclude either peace or truce without the other. What added to the difficulty was, that France had, within the last two years, shown an unusual interest and activity of assistance. It had not only dispatched a fleet and army to America, but, besides its annual loans and advances to the United States, it had made them free gifts, amounting, together, to twelve millions of livres. Franklin, in order to strengthen his hands for the important crisis, requested that other commissioners might be sent to Paris; and John Jay quickly arrived from Spain, John Adams from Holland, and Henry Laurens from London. The American commissioners soon became strongly impressed with the sentiment, that France and Spain were keeping back a peace solely for their own objects; and this was greatly confirmed by a letter of M. de Marbois, the secretary of the French legation at Philadelphia, which had been seized by an English cruiser, and had been laid by Mr. Fitzherbert before them. This letter appeared to be part of a diplomatic correspondence betwixt the French minister, Vergennes, and the French minister in America, which threw contempt on the claims which America set up to a share of the Newfoundland fisheries. It created a strong belief that France was endeavouring to keep America in some degree dependent on her; and Jay and Adams were extremely incensed at Vergennes, and not only accused Franklin of being blindly subservient to the French court, but it made them resolve that no time should be lost in effecting a separate treaty. Vergennes contended for the rights of the Indian nations betwixt the Alleghanies and the Mississippi, and of Spain on the lower Mississippi, and this the American commissioners called an attempt to divide and weaken their territory. Vergennes sought only to restrain them from aggressions. When these matters were afterwards cleared up, the Americans were convinced that the French had, notwithstanding appearances, acted throughout with entire good faith towards America. The suspicion, excited, however, for the time, operated to determine a separate and prompt treaty, and to cause the Americans to let fall any such chimerical demands as that of Canada. A private and earnest negotiation for peace was therefore entered upon as soon as a severe illness of Franklin permitted.

There was no difficulty in these negotiations as to the full and entire recognition of the independence of the states. The great and difficult points were but two—first, that regarding the fishery; and second, regarding the interests of the loyalists or tories. The British commissioners stood out strongly for the free permission of all who had been engaged in the war on the English side to return to their homes, and for the restitution of all property confiscated in consequence of such partisanship. The American commissioners endeavoured to get rid of this demand by saying the recommendations of congress would have all the effect that the English proposed. This the commissioners properly regarded as so many words, and they stood out so determinedly on this head, that it appeared likely that the negotiation would be broken off altogether. At last Franklin, who was never at a loss for subtle devices, said they would consent to allow for all losses suffered by the royalists, on condition that a debtor and a creditor ac-

count was opened, and that allowance was made for all the damages done by the royalists on the other side, in burning houses and plantations, carrying off slaves, &c.; commissioners to be appointed for the purpose of settling all these claims. The English envoys saw at once that this was a deception, that there would be no meeting, or no use in meeting, and they therefore abandoned the point; and the question of the fishing being in part conceded, the provisional articles were signed on the 30th of November, by the four American commissioners on the one side, and by Mr. Oswald on the other. In the preamble, it was stated that these articles were to be inserted in and to constitute a treaty of peace, but which treaty was not to be concluded until the terms of peace were also settled with France and Spain.

This proviso, however, by no means affected the treaty with America. This secret treaty was made binding and effectual so far as America and England were concerned. The first article acknowledged fully the independence of the United States. The second fixed their boundaries, much to the satisfaction of the Americans; and liberty was secured to them to fish on the banks of Newfoundland, in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and wherever they had been accustomed to fish, but not to dry the fish on any of the king's settled dominions in America. By the fourth, fifth, and sixth articles it was engaged for congress that it should earnestly recommend to the several legislatures to provide for the restitution of all estates belonging to real British subjects who had not borne arms against the Americans. All other persons were to be allowed to go to any of the states and remain there for the settlement of their affairs. Congress also engaged to recommend the restitution of all confiscated estates on the repayment of the sums for which they had been sold; and no impediments were to be put in the way of recovering real debts. All further confiscations and prosecutions were to cease. By the seventh and eighth articles the king of England engaged to withdraw his fleets and armies without causing any destruction of property, or carrying away any negro slaves. By these articles, the navigation of the Mississippi, from its source to the ocean, was to remain for ever free and open to both parties. If West Florida happened to be in the possession of England at the termination of a general peace, a secret article determined its boundaries.

Such were the conditions on which this great contest was finally terminated. The Americans clearly had matters almost entirely their own way, for the English were desirous that everything should now be done to conciliate their very positive and by no means modest kinsmen, the citizens of the United States. It was, in truth, desirable to remove as much as possible the rancour of the American mind, by concessions which England could well afford, so as not to throw them wholly into the arms of France. The conditions which the Americans, on their part, conceded to the unfortunate royalists consisted entirely of recommendations from congress to the individual states, and when it was recollected how little regard they had paid to any engagements into which they had entered during the war—with general Burgoyne, for example—the English negotiators felt, as they consented to these articles, that, so far, they would prove a mere dead letter. They could only console themselves with the thought that they would have protected

the unhappy royalists, whom Franklin and his colleagues bitterly and vindictively continued to designate as *traitors*. Franklin showed, on this occasion, that he had never forgotten the just chastisement which Wedderburn had inflicted on him before the privy council for his concern in the purloining of the private papers of Mr. Thomas Whateley, in 1774. On that occasion, he laid aside the velvet court suit, in which he appeared before the council, and never put it on till now, when he appeared in it at the signing of the treaty of independence. For eight long years, filled with the great and anxious interests of a world, the sting of his own private chagrin had never died out.

And so the war of American separation was ended! On the part of England, it had been conducted with a degree of imbecility in all departments, in council and in action, with a wonderful blundering, and a total lack of foresight, such as no other period of her history can parallel. On the part of the Americans, it had been maintained with no want of bravery or ability, but a want of generosity and regard to principle and engagements, which astonished the whole world. In the very winding-up, in the last act of all—the treaty—they had been equally treacherous to their allies, France and Spain, as they had been to their enemies, the English. Bound by the most sacred engagements not to make peace without their allies, most sacred because doubly binding from gratitude, they, as soon as their own turn was served, made peace alone, and unknown to their friends and supporters. To England the honour of good faith at least remained, and it was surely no dishonour to have failed in a contest with four nations at once, some of them the most powerful in the world. For it was not by America that its own independence was achieved; it was by the united and gigantic action of France, Spain, Holland, and their colonists. In this contest France had spent seventy million pounds sterling; Spain, forty thousand; and Holland, ten millions. Such was the price paid by the European nations to snatch from us our American colonies. They succeeded in separating those included in the United States; but, to say nothing of the long-consequent exhaustion of Spain and Holland, or of the frightful Nemesis which France brought directly upon herself, fulfilling to the letter the warnings of the sagacious Turgot, the envy of Europe was no nearer to its gratification. England soon rose into a higher and more wonderful development: able to do battle against the whole world in arms; able, by her Nelson, to triumph on the seas, by her Wellington on land. England was taught one great lesson by the contest with America, one by which she has wisely profited, to allow her colonies to govern themselves. She had yet to be taught another, equally needed—to cease her interference in continental quarrels betwixt kings and their people. Whilst learning these grand truths, she has gone on colonising and civilising all round the globe, in a manner unknown to any other nation in any other age. She has assumed a higher tone of magnanimity and Christian wisdom at home and abroad. Has America derived anything like these advantages? She has grown in population, but has she grown in real political greatness? With her free institutions, are her people or her public opinion free? Would she not have derived more true glory, more real freedom, a higher tone of public sentiment, had she remained

a portion of the great British empire? Every traveller thence brings home the sorrowful verdict of the best and most interesting portion of her population, that it is not the best but the worst and overwhelming portion of her community that sways her destinies. Every one glances with terror at the corruptions of principles and the perversions of Christian truths which the great canker of black slavery on her heart—a canker from which England has long freed her colonies—more and more inspires. Lord Macaulay, almost with his dying breath, has put on record his deliberate verdict, that the boasted institutions of the United States, established on the separation of England, have proved an *utter failure*.

The great historian, accustomed to weigh the character of nations, foresees the terrible consequences which must necessarily result from such a state of things. Surveying the social and political elements at present effervescing in the United States, he says:—"Is it possible to doubt what sort of legislature will be chosen? On one side is a statesman preaching patience, respect for vested rights, strict observance of public faith, on the other is a demagogue ranting about the tyranny of capitalists and usurers, and asking why anybody should be permitted to ride in a carriage and drink champagne while thousands of honest folks are in want of necessaries? Which of the two candidates is likely to be preferred by a working man who hears his children crying for more bread? I seriously apprehend that you will, in some such season of adversity as I have described, do things which will prevent prosperity from returning. Either some Cæsar or Napoleon will seize the reins of government with a strong hand, or your republic will be as fearfully plundered and laid waste by barbarians in the twentieth century as the Roman empire was in the fifth, with this difference—that the Huns and Vandals will have been engendered within your own country by your own institutions."

Unquestionably, if there be a divine ruler of the universe, the disregard of human rights by the Americans on the one hand, and of principles of political and diplomatic integrity on the other, will produce their certain punishment in terrors and convulsions; and it will, in our opinion, be only through such a purifying process that America will eventually rise to sounder principles and nobler sentiments than at present.

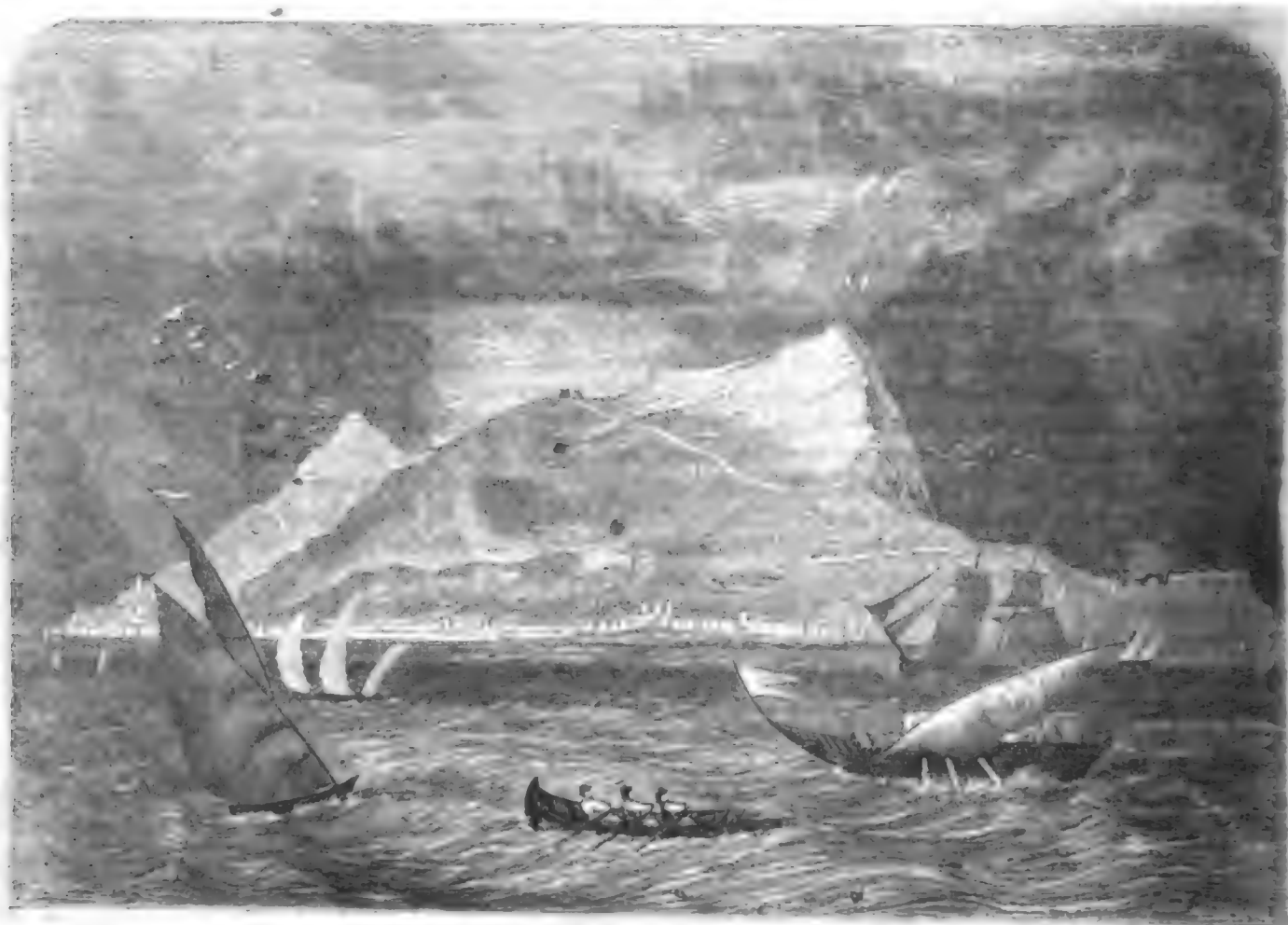
When the conduct of the American commissioners, in making a separate peace, came to the knowledge of the French government, great was its indignation. M. Vergennes, writing to the minister of France at Philadelphia, thus plainly expressed himself:—"You will surely be gratified, as well as myself, with the very extensive advantages which our allies, the Americans, are to receive from the peace; but you certainly will not be less surprised than I have been at the conduct of the commissioners. They have cautiously kept themselves at a distance from me. Whenever I have had occasion to see any one of them, and inquire of them briefly the negotiations, they have constantly clothed their speech in generalities, giving me to understand that it did not go forward, and that they had no confidence in the sincerity of the British ministry. Judge of my surprise when, on the 30th of November, Dr

Franklin informed me that the articles were signed! The reservation retained on our account does not save the infraction of the promise which we have made to each other, not to sign, except conjointly. This negotiation is not yet so far advanced in regard to ourselves as that of the United States; not but that the king, if he had shown as little delicacy in his proceedings as the American commissioners, might have signed articles with England long before them."

On the 5th of December parliament met, and the king, though not yet able to announce the signing of the provisional treaty with France and America, intimated pretty plainly the approach of that fact. Indeed, lord Shelburne had addressed a letter to the lord mayor of London eight

Almighty God, that Great Britain may not feel the evils which might result from so great a dismemberment of the empire, and that America may be free from the calamities which have formerly proved, in the mother country, how essential monarchy is to the enjoyment of constitutional liberty. Religion, language, interest, affections may, and I hope will, yet prove a bond of permanent union between the two countries; to this end neither attention nor disposition on my part shall be wanting."

This announcement drew from the opposition a torrent of abuse of ministers, who, in reality, had only been carrying out the very measure which they had long recommended, and which Fox, in particular, had been zealously endeavouring to accomplish whilst in office. Their censures appeared

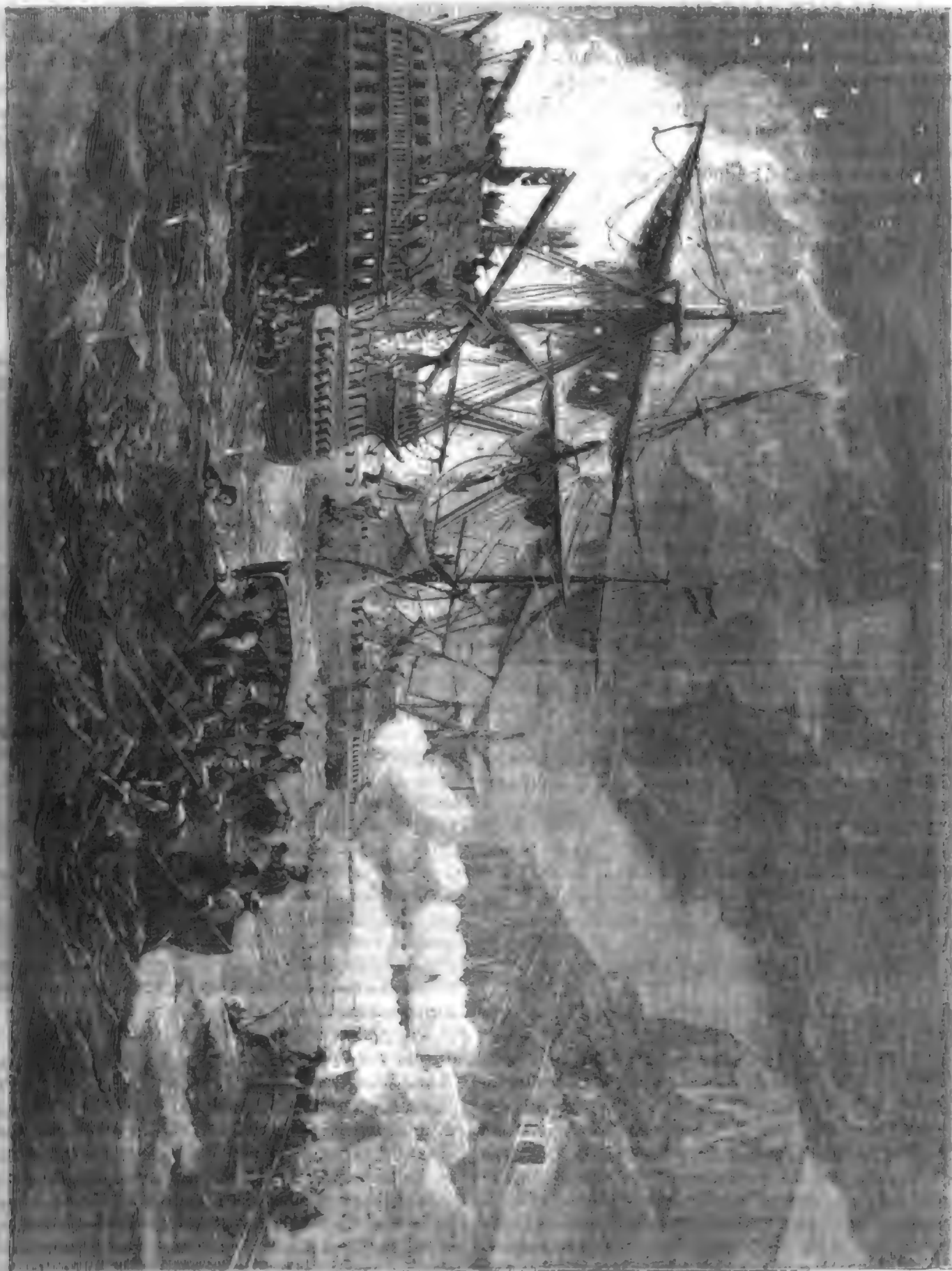


GENERAL VIEW OF THE ROCK, TOWN, AND FORTIFICATIONS OF GIBRALTAR.

days before the articles with America were actually signed, that this event was so near at hand that parliament would be prorogued from the time fixed for its meeting, the 26th of November, to the 5th of December. It was, indeed, hoped that by that day the preliminaries with France and Spain would be signed too. This not being the case, the king could only declare that conclusion all but certain. He admitted that he had sanctioned a provisional compact with America, granting full independence. With much emotion George said:—"In thus admitting the separation of those colonies from the crown of these kingdoms, I have sacrificed every consideration of my own to the wishes and opinions of my people. I make it my humble and earnest prayer to

to arise rather from the fact that the war was ended without their mediation than from anything else. Fox upbraided lord Shelburne with having once said that, when the independence of America should be admitted, the sun of England would have set. Yet this had been the opinion not of lord Shelburne merely, but of numbers who now saw reason to doubt that gloomy view of things, and there was the less reason for Fox to throw this in the face of the prime minister, as he had been himself, whilst his colleague, earnestly labouring with him for that end. Burke declared the king's speech to be a medley of hypocrisies and nonsense, yet it only announced what Burke had himself warmly and long called for, and for which, with a strange inconsistency, he thanked

THE SIEGE OF GIBRALTAR BY THE ARMED FORCES OF FRANCE AND SPAIN.



the king before he sat down. Fox, on the 18th of December, moved for copies of such parts of the provisional treaty as related to American independence; but in this he was supported by only forty-six members.

On the 26th, the houses adjourned for a month, for the Christmas recess, and during this time the treaties with France and Spain made rapid progress. The fact of America being now withdrawn from the quarrel, coupled with the signs of returning vigour in England—Rodney's great victory, the astonishing defence of Gibraltar, and the offer of various parties in England, proposing to build ships and present them ready armed and equipped to the government—these things acted as wonderful stimulants to pacification. Spain still clung fondly to the hope of receiving back Gibraltar, and this hope was for some time encouraged by the apparent readiness of lord Shelburne to comply with the desire, as Chatham and lord Stanhope had done before. But no sooner was this question mooted in the house of commons than the public voice denounced so energetically the idea, that it was at once abandoned. Franklin did not omit, at the last moment, to throw in a farewell damaging influence against England. He strongly supported count D'Aranda, the Spanish ambassador at Paris, in his demand for the cession of the rock; he insisted that it ought to be one of the conditions of the peace, and put arguments into the count's mouth to this end. D'Aranda, under this guidance, became quite violent in persisting upon this point; but, finding it useless, he offered Oran, and then Oran and Porto Rico, in exchange. The English commissioner, Mr. Alleyne Fitzherbert, informed him that his government would consent to no terms for the surrender of the fortress; and, as France was resolved to complete the treaty, Spain was compelled, though sullenly, to acquiesce.

On the 20th of January, 1783, Mr. Fitzherbert signed, at Versailles, the preliminaries of peace with the comte de Vergennes, on the part of France, and with D'Aranda, on the part of Spain.

By the treaty with France, the right of fishing off the coast of Newfoundland and in the Gulf of St. Lawrence was restored, as granted by the treaty of Utrecht; but the limits were more accurately defined. The islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, on the coast of Newfoundland, were ceded for drying of fish. In the West Indies, England ceded Tobago, which France had taken, and restored St. Lucia, but received back again Granada, St. Vincent, Dominica, St. Kitt's, Nevis, and Montserrat. In Africa, England gave up the river Senegal and the island of Goree, but retained Fort St. James and the river Gambia. In India, the French were allowed to recover Pondicherry and Chandernagore, with the right to fortify the latter, and to carry on their usual commerce. They regained also Mahé and the Comptoir of Surat, with their former privileges. The articles regarding the demolition of the fortifications of Dunkirk, in the treaty of Utrecht, were abrogated.

Spain was allowed to retain Minorca and both the Floridas, but she agreed to restore Providence and the Bahamas. The latter, however, had already been retaken by us. She granted to England the right of cutting log-wood in Honduras, but without the privilege of erecting forts or stock-houses, which rendered the concession worth-

less, for it had always been found that without these it was impossible to carry on the trade.

With the Dutch a truce was made on the basis of mutual restoration, except as concerned the town of Negapatam, which Holland ceded. The preliminaries, however, were not settled till nearly eight months afterwards.

No allusion was made to the armed neutrality.

It was not to be wondered at that when, on the 24th of January, the preliminaries of peace were laid on the tables of the two houses, there should be a violent denunciation of the large concessions made by ministers. Spain had obtained better terms than in any treaty since that of St. Quintin. She had obtained the most desirable island of Minorca, with the finest port on the Mediterranean. She had got the Floridas, and had given up scarcely anything, whilst, had the English, now freed from the dead weight of America, pursued the war against her, she must soon have lost most of her valuable insular colonies. France had given up more, but she retained very important territories which she had lost, and especially her settlements of Pondicherry, Chandernagore, &c., in the East Indies; but America had conceded nothing, and yet had been allowed to determine her own frontier, and to share the benefits of the fishing all round our own transatlantic coasts.

A new and surprising phenomenon was discovered in the attacks upon ministers for these concessions: Fox and North were in coalition! Fox, who so lately had declared North and his colleagues men "void of every principle of honour and honesty," and who would consent, should he ever make terms with them, to be called "the most infamous of mankind," now as warmly declared, that he had ever found lord North—this man void of honour and honesty—a man always "open and sincere as a friend, honourable and manly as an enemy, above practising subterfuges, tricks, and stratagems." Such is the value of the most solemn party protestations! Lord North, on his side, repaid the compliments of Fox, growing enthusiastic on the genius, eloquence, and generous nature of that statesman. "While I admire the vast extent of his understanding," exclaimed North, "I can rely on the goodness of his heart." The commons, on both sides of the house, were equally edified by the touching spectacle of this sudden attachment, and with the combined momentum with which the now loving foes came down on the existing ministry. Forgetting that Fox and Burke had a hundred times threatened North with the block for continuing the war, the whole coalition now, with one fell swoop, tore away every vestige of credit from this so long-demanded peace.

Lord John Cavendish truly represented that France and Spain were on the verge of ruin; that Holland was in an exhausted and helpless condition; and that as for America, it was in the very gulf of destitution, the people refusing to pay the taxes ordered by congress for the continuance of the war. And it was to such defeated and demolished enemies that ministers had conceded almost everything they had asked. Lord North turned more particularly to the concessions made to the French in the East Indies. It was in that quarter, he said, that he looked for a consolidated and expanding empire, calculated to recompense us, and more than recompense us, for the loss of America. From

that splendid continent we had completely driven the French, and the soundest policy dictated their continued firm exclusion from it. Yet here had ministers most fatally re-admitted them, to renew their old plots and alliances against us, by which they would to a certainty continue to harass, thwart, and weaken us, till we once more went through the ruinous and sanguinary process of expulsion. He was equally severe on the surrender of Minorca and the Floridas to Spain, and the admission of the unconquering, unconquered Americans to our own proper fishing grounds. Fox called on ministers to produce the treaty which he had sketched a few months before, and to see what very different terms he had demanded, and would have exacted. That the sense of the house went with these sentiments was shown by both the amendments of the coalition being carried by a majority of sixteen.

Pitt defended the treaty, drawing the most dismal picture that he could of our own exhaustion; but lord John Cavendish moved another resolution strongly condemning the terms of the treaty, but consenting that the peace now made should remain inviolate. This was also carried, by a majority of seventeen, being two hundred and seven votes against one hundred and ninety.

This majority of the coalition compelled lord Shelburne to resign; but the rest of the administration remained in their places, in the hope that Pitt would now take the premiership. In fact, the king, on the 24th of February, sent for Pitt and proposed this to him; but Pitt was too sensible of the impossibility of maintaining himself against the present combination of parties. The next day Dundas moved and carried an adjournment for three days, to give time for the arrangement of a new cabinet. Pitt continued to persist in declining to take the premiership, and on the 2nd or 3rd of March the king sent for lord North. His proposal was, that North should resume the management of affairs; but North insisted on bringing in his new friends, and to that the king objected. Matters remained in this impracticable condition till the 12th, when the king sent for North and proposed that the duke of Portland should be asked to form an administration; but this did not at all advance matters, for Portland was equally determined with North to maintain the coalition, and the king was resolved to have nothing to do with Fox, whilst Fox was equally determined not to admit the king's friend, lord Stormont, to any cabinet of which he was a member.

On the 24th of March Coke, of Norfolk, moved an address to his majesty, praying his attention to the damage to public affairs resulting from the distracted state of the government. This was carried almost unanimously; and the king, in reply, assured the house that his most anxious endeavours were bent on removing the difficulties of the situation. On the 31st lord Surrey moved a still stronger address, but this was rendered unnecessary by the announcement that Pitt had resigned, and that the king was prepared to submit to the terms of the coalition. The king, with deep and inward groans, submitted himself once more to the slavery of the great whig houses, and, as some small recompense, the coalition admitted lord Stormont to a place in the cabinet.

The new administration arranged itself as follows:—The

duke of Portland, first lord of the treasury; lord North, home secretary; Fox, secretary for foreign affairs; the earl of Carlisle, privy seal; lord John Cavendish, again chancellor of the exchequer; admiral lord Keppel, the head of the admiralty again; lord Stormont, president of the council; the great stumbling block, Thurlow, removed from the woolack, and the great seal put into commission in the hands of lord Loughborough, Mr. Justice Ashurst, and baron Hotham; lord Mansfield, old as he was, accepted for a time the speakership of the house of lords; lord Townshend became master-general of the ordnance; colonel Fitzpatrick, secretary at war, Burke again paymaster of the forces, with his brother Richard as secretary to the treasury in conjunction with Sheridan, who was as eloquent and clever as he was poor; Charles Townshend was treasurer of the navy; lord Sandwich, almost as poor as Sheridan, was put into the easy and lucrative rangership of the parks; his son, lord Hinchinbrook, had the buckhounds; the earl of Jersey was made captain of the band of pensioners; lord North's son and Mr. St. John, under-secretaries of state; Wallace and Lee again became attorney and solicitors-general; the earl of Northampton was appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland; and Mr. William Wyndham, secretary of Ireland.

Such was this strange and medley association, well deserving Burke's own description of a former administration, as of a strange assemblage of creatures, "all pigging together in one truckle-bed." Those who formed exclusively the cabinet were Portland, North, Fox, Cavendish, Carlisle, Keppel, and Stormont, so that the great whigs had taken care again to shut out Burke, who was only a man of genius. Such an incongruous company could not long hold together. The king did not conceal his indignation at seeing Fox in office; the whole court openly expressed its loathing of the anomalous union; the country had no confidence in it; Fox felt that he had seriously wounded his popularity by his sudden and violent change; and the whole arrangement boded its own speedy dissolution.

Ministers were very soon called on to undergo the strictures from the opposition of which they themselves had been so liberal when in that position. They had to propose a loan of twelve million pounds, and to impose a stamp duty on receipts. It was curious to hear ministers eloquently defending these measures as most necessary, and the stamp duty as an excellent mode of taxation, and the late inflictors of these charges attacking them with all the former fury of those now in office.

On the 7th of May Pitt moved a series of resolutions as the basis of a bill for reform of parliament. The main features of this scheme were those of taking measures against bribery and corruption; the disfranchisement of boroughs when a majority of the electors was proved corrupt; and the addition of a hundred new members to the house of commons, nearly all of them from the counties, except an additional member or two from the metropolis. It was evident that Pitt was fast drifting towards conservatism. His county members would have greatly strengthened the landed interest, and he now avowed himself, like his father, wholly opposed to the disfranchisement of the rotten boroughs as a class. His lopped and

curtailed scheme, however, was rejected by two hundred and ninety-three votes against one hundred and forty-nine.

The new administration now exerted itself to introduce some articles for the regulation of commercial intercourse with the United States of America. Instead of Mr. Oswald and Mr. Fitzherbert, the agents of lord Shelburne, the duke of Manchester and Mr. David Hartley were sent to Paris to discuss these points with the American commissioners. Fox expressed himself desirous of giving as much facility to trade betwixt the two countries as the principles of the navigation act allowed; but the English envoys found the American commissioners as uncomplying on this head as on all others, and they therefore abandoned the negotiation, leaving the treaty for the definitive peace with the United States to be merely a transcript of the provisional articles. Still, lord Sheffield in the house of lords, and other persons in the commons, urged all possible concessions, and a bill was accordingly brought in and passed, repealing the restraining act, removing other obstacles, and vesting in the crown a power to make future regulations.

The unhappy condition of the American royalists was also brought under the notice of parliament. A general and well-founded impression prevailed that neither congress nor the assemblies of the separate states would pay much attention to the earnest recommendations of the English commissioners in the treaty on behalf of these sufferers. It was confidently felt that the only hope of the royalists lay, not in any relencings of their countrymen, but in the generosity of Great Britain. John Adams, during the negotiations, declared that, if he could have his way with them, "he would fine, imprison, or hang all who had been inimical to the cause, without favour or affection." The American commissioners made no secret of the futility of the very recommendations for merciful treatment which the English were insisting on in the treaty. Nay, the Americans were greatly exasperated that they were bound by the treaty to pay old debts to British merchants, "which," says Hildreth, "they had fondly hoped the war had wiped out for ever. Against this article of the preliminary treaty the assembly of Virginia and the council of Pennsylvania made warm remonstrances. Maryland and Virginia had especially confiscated British debts, and a considerable amount of them had been paid into the treasuries of those states in the depreciated paper."

The royalists soon found all the fears of the British commissioners on their behalf realised. "In consequence," adds Hildreth, "of laws still in force against them, several thousand Americans found it necessary to abandon their country. A considerable portion of these exiles belonged to the wealthier classes: they had been officials, merchants, large landowners, conspicuous members of the colonial aristocracy. Those from the north settled principally in Nova Scotia or Canada—provinces the politics of which they and their descendants continued to control till quite recently. Those from the south found refuge in the Bahamas and other British West India Islands. Still objects of great popular odium, these loyalists had little to expect from the stipulated recommendations in their favour. Some of the states, whose territory had been longest and most recently occupied, were even inclined to enact new confiscations." Such

an act New York did pass, authorizing the owners of real estates to recover rents and damages from all such persons as had used their buildings by British authority during the war, and following it up by disfranchising all who had held any British commission, civil or military, or had been concerned in fitting out privateers.

The royalists thus driven from their country and their property, applied to Great Britain for indemnification, and there they found a treatment as liberal as that from their own countrymen had been unrelenting. Commissioners were appointed to investigate their claims; and there was awarded to them altogether, from first to last, upwards of twelve millions sterling. The American historian just quoted says:—"The refugees had clamoured loudly at the delay of payment and the curtailment of their claims; but no defeated faction ever fared so well. The Penn and Cahert families came in for a handsome share of this parliamentary allowance."

During this session of parliament, on the 17th of June, a petition was presented by the Society of Friends for the total abolition of the slave trade. It was received with smiles, as the romantic demand of amiable enthusiasts; but it proved to be the commencement of the greatest and most perseveringly-prosecuted agitation in the cause of humanity. In a short time, Clarkson and Wilberforce were working it with heart and soul: the enthusiasm spread and deepened, and became national, and did not terminate until it had not only destroyed that accursed trade in men, but had liberated every negro slave in the British dominions.

On the 23rd of June, the king sent down a message to the commons, recommending them to take into consideration a separate establishment for the prince of Wales, who had arrived at the age of twenty-one. This young man, whose whole career proved to be one of reckless extravagance and dissipation, was already notorious for his debauched habits, and for his fast accumulating debts. He was a great companion of Fox, and the gambling *ronés* amongst whom that great orator but spendthrift man was accustomed to spend his time and money, and therefore, as a pet of this coalition ministry, the duke of Portland proposed to grant him one hundred thousand pounds a-year! The king, alarmed at the torrent of extravagance and vice which such an income was certain to produce in the prince's career, declared that he could not consent to burthen his people, and encourage the prince's habits of expense, by such an allowance. He therefore requested that the grant should amount only to fifty thousand pounds a-year, paid out of the civil list, and fifty thousand pounds as an outfit from parliamentary funds. The ministers were compelled to limit themselves to this, though the saving was merely nominal, for the debts on the civil list were again fast accumulating, and the prince was of a character which would not hesitate to apply to parliament to wipe off his debts, as well as his father's, when they became troublesome to him. Resenting, however, the restraint attempted to be put upon him by his father, the prince only the more closely connected himself with Fox and his party, and the country was once more scandalised by the repetition of the scenes enacted when Frederick, the prince of Wales, George III.'s father, was the constant opponent of his own father, George II., and the associate of his

opponents. Such, indeed, had been the family divisions in every reign, since the Hanoverian succession.

On the 16th of July parliament was prorogued, and Pitt and Wilberforce, then inseparable friends, went over to Paris, with Mr. Elliot, for an introduction to the French court, and to improve their French. Whilst they were in that capital, the preliminary treaty with Holland was signed there on the 2nd of September, and on the next day, the 3rd—Oliver Cromwell's great day—the definitive treaty was also signed betwixt England, France, Spain, and America. John Adams was soon after named the first American ambassador at London; but he did not present himself for an audience at court till the 1st of June of the following year. Being then presented by lord Carmarthen to the king, he thus addressed his late sovereign:—"I think myself more fortunate than all my fellow-citizens in having the distinguished honour to be the first to stand in your majesty's presence in a diplomatic character; and I shall esteem myself the happiest of men if I can be instrumental in recommending my country more and more to your majesty's royal benevolence."

"Sir," replied king George, "I wish you to believe, and that it may be understood in America, that I have done nothing in the late contest but what I thought myself indispensably bound to do by the duty which I owe to my people. I will be very frank with you. I was the last to consent to the separation; but, the separation having been made and having become inevitable, I have always said, as I now say, that I would be the first to meet the friendship of the United States as an independent power."

A laud, in his letter to secretary Jay, said, "The king was indeed much affected, and I confess I was not less so." Jay himself, who had written some of the most fiery proclamations and appeals against both the king and England, in which he had designated George as a bloody and brutal tyrant, when, a year or two later, he was introduced to him, became equally changed in his feelings and opinions towards him and this country; but Jefferson never seemed capable of divesting himself of his revolutionary animus against both England, the English, or the monarch, who was naturally benevolent, but was more easily misled by those about him than recalled to the right track when once out of it.

The re-gathering of parliament, on the 11th of November, was distinguished by two circumstances of very unequal interest. The prince of Wales, having arrived at his majority, took his seat as duke of Cornwall, as it was well known, intending to vote for a great measure which Fox was introducing regarding India. We shall now almost immediately enter on the narration of the important events which had been transpiring in India during the American war. It is sufficient here to observe that these were of a nature to give the most serious concern and alarm to all well-wishers of the country, and of the unfortunate natives of that magnificent peninsula. Fox's measure for the reform and restraint of the East India Company was comprehended in two bills, the first proposing to vest the affairs of the company in the hands of sixteen directors, seven of them to be appointed *by parliament*, and afterwards sanctioned *by the crown*, and nine of them to be elected by the holders of stock. These were to remain in office four years;

the seven parliament nominees to be invested with the management of the territorial possessions and revenues of the company; the nine additional to conduct the commercial affairs of the company under the seven chief directors; and both classes of directors to be subject to removal at the option of the king, on an address for the purpose from *either house of parliament*. The second bill related principally to the powers to be vested in the governor-general and council, and their treatment of the natives.

The bills were highly necessary, and, on the whole, well calculated to nip in the bud those enormous and ever-growing abuses of India and its hundred millions of people which, in our own time, have compelled government to take them out of the hands of a mere trading company, whose only object was to coin as much money as possible out of them. But it required no great sagacity to see that the means of defeat lay on the very surface of these bills. Those whose sordid interests were attacked by them, had only to point to the fact that *parliament*, and not the *crown*, was to be the governing party under these bills, in order to defeat them at once. This was quickly done through a most ready agent. Thurlow had been removed by the present ministry from the woolsack, where he had remained as a gross anomaly, and a steady opponent of all the measures of his colleagues; and it required only a hint from the India House, and he was at the ear of the king. The fact of his being frequently closeted with the king on this subject seems to have been well known at the time. Nothing was easier than for Thurlow to inspire George III. with a deep jealousy of the measure, as aiming at putting the whole government of India into the hands of parliament and of ministers—and the effect was soon seen.

Fox introduced his first bill on the 20th of November; all went smoothly, and the second reading was ordered for that day week. Then the storm burst. Mr. Grenville, afterwards lord Grenville, described the bill as a scheme to put the company into the hands of ministers, and to annihilate the prerogatives of the crown at the same time. He denounced it as one of the most daring and dangerous attempts that had ever been brought into that house. He moved that it should lie over till after Christmas, and there was a strong phalanx ready to support him. Pitt, Dundas, Jenkinson, afterwards lord Liverpool; John Scott, afterwards lord Eldon, who opened his long tory career that evening; Erskine, who also spoke for the first time in parliament that night, zealously supported the motion. Grenville did not press the motion to a division, and the bill was read a second time on the 27th, when a vehement and long debate took place. Pitt put forth his whole strength against it, Fox for it, and it was carried by two hundred and twenty-nine votes against one hundred and twenty. On the 1st of December it was moved that the bill be committed, when the opposition was equally determined. On this occasion, Burke, who had made himself profoundly acquainted with Indian affairs, took the lead, and delivered one of his very finest speeches, equally full of information and eloquence. Pitt resisted the going into committee with all his power, and pledged himself, if the house would throw out the bill, to bring in another equally efficacious, and at the same time devoid of its danger. The

debate, like the former one, did not close till half-past four in the morning, and then it was with a triumphant majority of two hundred and seventeen against one hundred and three. The bill, thus carried by such majorities through the commons, was carried up to the lords, on the 9th of December, by Fox, accompanied by a numerous body of the commons, and it was considered as certain of passing there; but the king and his party, exasperated at this resolute conduct of the house of commons, had gone lengths to quash the bill in the lords that are rarely resorted to by the crown. As in the lower house, so here, it was allowed to be read the first time without dividing; but it was attacked with an ominous solemnity by Thurlow, the duke of Richmond, and lord Temple, who, since his recall from the lord-lieutenancy of Ireland, had thrown himself into the

no less than that the king had written a note to lord Temple, stating that "his majesty would deem those who voted for the bill not only not his friends, but his enemies; and that if lord Temple could put this into still stronger language, he had full authority to do so."

The duke of Richmond read a paragraph from a newspaper in which the report was stated, naming lord Temple without any disguise. On this Temple rose, and admitted that he had given certain advice to the king, but would neither admit nor deny that it was of the kind intimated in the report. That the rumour was founded on truth, however, was immediately shown by the division. Numbers of lords who had promised ministers to vote for the bill withdrew their support; the prince of Wales declined voting; and the opposition moved and carried a resolution for



RECEPTION OF WASHINGTON AND THE AMERICAN ARMY IN NEW YORK.

opposition with peculiar vivacity. It was known that he had been frequently closeted with the king of late, and he bluntly declared the bill infamous. Thurlow went further; and, fixing one of his most solemn glances on the prince of Wales, who was sitting in the house to vote for the bill, declared that if this measure passed the crown of England would not be worth wearing; and that, if the king allowed it to become law, he would, in fact, have taken it from his head and put it on that of Mr. Fox. On the 15th, when the bill was proposed for the second reading, then the royal proceedings against it were brought at once to the day-light. The duke of Portland rose, and said, before going into the question, he was bound to notice a report which was confidently in circulation, and which, if true, vitally affected the constitution of the country. This was

adjournment till the next day, in order to hear evidence in defence of the East India Company. It was clear that the bill had received its death-blow, and would never pass the lords after this determined expression of the royal will. But it did not at all intimidate ministers. That evening, in the house of commons, Mr. Baker moved, that to report any opinion, or pretended opinion, of his majesty on any bill or other proceeding, &c., pending in either house of parliament, with a view to influence the members, was a high crime and misdemeanor, derogatory to the honour of the crown, a breach of the fundamental privileges of parliament, and subversive of the constitution; and, secondly, that the house would, on Monday next, resolve itself into a committee to consider the state of the nation.

Fox was very indignant, and made no scruple of attribut-



JOHN ADAMS, FIRST AMERICAN AMBASSADOR TO THE ENGLISH COURT, PRESENTED TO KING GEORGE III.

ing the conduct of the king, not to mere report, but to fact. "There is," he said, "a written record to be produced. This letter is due to be put in the house with the lie of the day;" whereupon he pulled from his pocket a copy of the note said to have been written by the king to lord Temple. When lord Grenville rose, and stated that he had taken down the words read as the king's note, and had shown them to his relative, lord Temple, who had authorised him to say that such words had never been made use of by him. But Fox demanded whether lord Temple had not used words to that effect, and Grenville was silent. Fox continued in a very fierce strain, denouncing back-stairs lords and back-chamber politicians, and declared that the best-meant and best-concerted plans of ministers were subject to the blasting influence of a villanous whisper. He added that he could not continue in office any longer consistent either with his own honour or the interests of the nation. He felt that he was goaded to it, and upbraided for not resigning instantly; but a very honourable majority of that house stood pledged to a grant measure, and ministers were equally bound not to abandon the affairs of state in the midst of so much emergency. These last words, and the division, which was nearly two to one in favour of ministers, left it doubtful, after all, whether Fox and his colleagues would resign. As such language, however, could not be used by ministers with impunity, and a dissolution of the cabinet was probable, Erskine moved another resolution, pledging the house to persevere in the endeavour to remedy the abuses in the government of India, and declaring "that this house will consider as an enemy to this country any person who shall presume to advise his majesty to prevent, or in any manner interrupt, the discharge of this important duty." All strangers were excluded, but it was ascertained that the motion was severely censured as an invasion of the king's prerogative; yet the resolution was carried by one hundred and forty-seven votes against seventy-three.

Strong as was the majority of ministers, however, the king did not wait for their resigning. The day after this debate (Thursday, December 18th), the king sent, at twelve o'clock at night, to Fox and lord North an order to surrender their seals of office to Mr. Frazer and Mr. Nepaul, under-secretaries, as a personal interview, under the circumstances, would be disagreeable. Fox instantly delivered up his, but lord North was already in bed, and had entrusted his seal to his son and under-secretary, colonel North, who could not be found for some time. The seals were then delivered to lord Temple, who, on the following day, sent letters of dismissal to all the other members of the coalition cabinet. Pitt, though in his twenty-fifth year only, was immediately appointed first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer, and on him devolved the arduous office of forming a new administration under these conflicting circumstances. Earl Gower was nominated president of the council, and lord Temple one of the secretaries of state. When the house of commons met in the afternoon, Fox imagined, from a motion of Dundas, to proceed to business without the usual adjournment on Saturday, that it was the object of the new party to pass certain money bills, and then resort to a dissolution. Fox opposed the motion, declaring that a dissolution at this

moment would produce infinite damage to the service of the nation, and that, should it take place, in order to suit the convenience of an ambitious young man—meaning Pitt—he would, immediately on the meeting of the new house, move for an inquiry into the authors and advisers of it, in order to bring them to punishment. This caused lord Temple, who had occasioned the breaking up of the coalition, to resign again immediately, declaring that he preferred meeting any aspersions upon him in his private and individual capacity. This certainly removed a great danger from his colleagues, although it rendered the task of his friend and relative, Pitt, still more difficult, in having to form an administration alone. The ministry was then filled up thus:—Viscount Sydney, secretary of state for the home department; the marquis of Carmarthen for the foreign; the duke of Rutland, first made lord privy seal, but this office was soon changed, lord Gower taking the privy seal and Rutland going to Ireland as lord-lieutenant; lord Camden became president of the council; the duke of Richmond, master-general of the ordnance; William Grenville and lord Mulgrave joint paymasters of the forces; lord Tiltshire again chancellor; lord Howe, first lord of the admiralty; duke of Chandos, lord-steward of the household; Dundas, treasurer of the navy; Sir George Yonge, secretary at war. Mr.—afterwards Sir—George Rose and Thomas Sturt, secretaries of the treasury; Mr. Lloyd Kenyon—afterwards lord Kenyon—attorney-general; and Mr. Arden, solicitor-general.

When the commons met, on the 22nd, it was informed of the resignation of lord Temple, and the house then resolved itself into a committee on the state of the nation. Erskine referred to the words which had been attributed to lord Temple as ominous of an intended dissolution, and declared that, after the house had devoted two years to the consideration of Indian affairs, such a dissolution just now would be most calamitous. Mr. Banks said he was authorised by Mr. Pitt, who was not in the house, a new writ for Appleyby being moved for on his appointment to office, to say that he had no intention to advise a dissolution. Erskine's motion, therefore, was carried without a division, and an address on that point was proposed to the king. Lord North vindicated his late ministry and present party from the perpetual cry of coalition. He observed that some one had recommended the house to keep a starling to shout perpetually, "Coalition! coalition!" but that there was no occasion for a starling whilst certain gentlemen were in the house; and he wittily defended the union of persons of different political opinions by an anecdote of two men shut in together in the Eddystone lighthouse for six weeks, who were so opposed to each other that they never spoke, yet, out of mere rivalry, took care to do each his duty in maintaining the light. When some one also spoke of Mr. Fox as having resigned, North sharply retorted, "No; my right honourable friend did not resign—he was turned out; I was turned out; we were all turned out!" Lord Beauchamp moved that the commissioners of the treasury ought not to permit the acceptance of bills from India until the house should be satisfied that they could be provided for by the company out of their clear effects, after discharging all sums due to the public; but lord Mulgrave properly remarked that the lords

of the treasury were authorised by act of parliament to accept such bills, and could not be restrained. His majesty, on the 24th of December, having assured the house that he would not interrupt their meeting after the recess by either prorogation or dissolution, the house adjourned till the 20th of January.

When parliament reassembled, Fox seized the very earliest moment to address the chair, and occupy the attention of the house. He rose at the unusually early hour of half-past two o'clock in the day, before the newly-returned members had taken their oaths. Pitt himself was in this predicament, but, as soon as he had taken his oath, he rose to speak; but Fox contended that he was already in possession of the house, and, though Pitt announced that he had a message from the king, Fox persisted, and moved that the house should go into committee on the state of the nation. This allowed Pitt to speak, who declared that he had no objection to the committee; but he thought it more advisable to go into the question of India, on which subject he proposed to introduce a bill. He then made some sharp remarks on the conduct of Fox, in thus seizing, by artifice, a precedence in speaking, and on the petulance and clamour which the opposition had displayed, and on the violent and unprecedented nature of their conduct, by which they hoped to inflame the spirit of the country, and excite unnecessary jealousies.

In truth, Fox and his party were now running a most unwise career. Possessed of a large majority, they were indignant that the king should have dismissed them, and thought that they could outvote the new ministry, and drive them again from office. They had, no doubt, such a majority; but, at the same time, they had the king resolute against them. They had insulted him by their violent denunciations of his letter, and they had not, in their anger, the discernment to perceive that not only would this be made use of by their opponents to injure them, both in parliament and out of it, but their proceeding with so much heat and violence was calculated to make them appear factious—more concerned for their places than for the interests of the country. All this took place: the king and ministry saw how all this would operate, and calmly awaited its effects. Fox and his party had, moreover, deeply incensed the powerful India party, and it was actively exerting itself to turn public opinion against them. Fox and North, under the circumstances, should have been particularly calm and prudent in their proceedings; they were wholly the contrary, and they soon felt the fatal effects of their impetuous demeanour. The whole of this session was a violent struggle for the ascendancy betwixt the two parties, in which one was all fire, and declamation, and impatient partisanship; the other quiet, immobile persistence under defeat after defeat, but still seeing victory sure in the end. The first debate lasted twelve hours, from two o'clock in the day till two o'clock the next morning, and terminated by a majority of thirty-nine against ministers.

During the debate, Pitt and his colleagues were taunted with coming into power through secret and back-stairs influence; that Pitt was the minister of the crown, but not of the house; that, though the king certainly possessed the prerogative of dissolving parliament, without the confidence

of parliament this was but a scarecrow prerogative; and Erskine predicted that Pitt would be minister of only a few hours. Pitt, on his part, maintained a wonderful coolness for so young a man, merely saying that he went into office by no back-stairs influence, and that, if he discovered any, he would immediately go out.

Fox, in committee, moved that, "if any person employed in the issuing of public money, should pay any sums for services voted during the session after parliament should have been prorogued or dissolved—if that event should take place before the passing of an act for the appropriation of supplies—he would be guilty of a high crime and misdemeanour." This was carried without division.

Next, lord Surrey moved that there should be an administration, which, in the present circumstances of public affairs, had the confidence of the house and nation. Dundas moved an amendment, that the motion should include the crown as well as the parliament and the nation; but this was rejected, and the motion carried after a warm debate, being a fresh insult to the crown on the part of Fox and his friends. Fox then moved, and lord Surrey seconded, a motion for deferring the reading of the mutiny act till the 23rd of February, another means of postponing any dissolution of parliament, and this, too, was carried. Lord Surrey instantly followed this up by another motion—"that the late changes in his majesty's councils were preceded by dangerous and universal reports, that his majesty's sacred name had been unconstitutionally abused to affect the deliberations of parliament, and that the appointments made were accompanied by circumstances new and extraordinary, and such as did not conciliate or engage the confidence of the house." Dundas moved an adjournment, as it was now six o'clock in the morning, and the debate very vehement; but he was overruled, and ministers were once more left in a minority of fifty-four! These triumphant majorities might look like decided victory on the part of Fox and his late colleagues, but every one of them in reality weakened them, for they were palpably the mere efforts of a faction to drive the new administration, without a trial, from their seats. Fox declared that Pitt and his supporters could not see what stared them in the face; but Fox and his supporters could not see what equally stared them in the face, that they were destroying themselves out of doors by their successes within, and that Pitt was quietly waiting the operation of their suicidal exertions.

When the house met again on Wednesday, Pitt moved for leave to bring in his bill for the better government and management of the affairs of the East India Company. He was aware, he said, how certain men would triumph when he informed them that he had based his intended measures on the resolutions of the proprietors of India stock; that he agreed almost entirely with their views. He was so miserably irresolute, he said, as not to venture on a bill founded on violence and disfranchisement. He was so weak as to pay respect to chartered rights; and he had not disdained, in proposing a new system of government, to consult those who had the greatest interest in the matter, as well as the most experience in it. These were all hard hits at Fox and his party. In his bill he went on the principle of placing the commerce of India chiefly under the control

of the company itself; but the civil and military government, he admitted, required some other control than that of the company, yet even this, in his opinion, ought to be established in accordance with the convictions of the company. In truth, it was a bill rather calculated to win the good will of the East India Company—at that moment so critical to Pitt's ministry—than to reform the abuses of that body, and to protect the interests of the natives. Fox, with as much truth as personal feeling, designated the bill as the wisdom of an individual opposed to the collective wisdom of the commons of England.

The bill was suffered to pass the second reading, but was thrown out, on the motion for its being committed, by two hundred and twenty-two against two hundred and fourteen. Fox then gave notice of his intention of bringing in a new bill of his own on India, and demanded to know from the ministers whether he might expect to proceed in security with it, or whether the house would be dissolved. Pitt did not answer; the question was repeated by other members, but Pitt continued silent, till general Conway said it was a new thing to see a minister sitting in sulky silence, and refusing to satisfy the reasonable desires of the house. He declared that the ministry originated in, and maintained themselves by, darkness, secrecy, and artifice, and were now about dissolving parliament after sending agents to bribe electors. This brought out Pitt with an indignant denial; but he preserved silence as to the probability of a dissolution. The debate was adjourned for half a day, and then resumed. Lord Charles Spencer, previous to this debate, had moved that the ministers retaining their posts after the strong expression of the house, was contrary to the principles of the constitution, and to the interests of the king and people. This, too, had been carried by a majority of twenty-one, and it was now thrown out in debate that a coalition betwixt the parties of Fox and Pitt was desirable. This was singular after so much abuse of coalitions had passed, but Fox appeared to listen to it. Pitt, however, observed drily, that a coalition not founded on principle would be fallacious and dangerous.

These party tactics were continued with unwonted heat by the opposition on all occasions, till the house adjourned for three days, to meet again on the 29th, the opposition revelling in large majorities, though they were aware that both the king and the house of lords were adverse to them; but the country was also now growing weary of this unsatisfactory position of things, and began to sympathise with the great patience of Pitt rather than the tumultuous conduct of Fox and his friends. At this time of day, no ministry could have remained, like that of Pitt, in direct opposition to the majority, and the repeated votes of the house of commons; but Pitt was strong in the assurance of the adhesion of the crown and the peerage, and saw unmistakable signs of a revulsion in the feeling of the public. The majorities of the commons were themselves becoming every time less, and on the 16th the city of London had presented a strongly-expressed address to the king, declaring its approval of the late dismissal of ministers, and its opinion that the India bill of Fox was an encroachment on the prerogative of the crown.

This was the signal for a general movement in the country.

Fox saw the growing change with alarm. He saw that all their resolutions and addresses produced no effect on the ministerial party; he did not dare to go further and pass a bill, either legislative or declaratory, for he felt that the lords would throw it out; and to stop the supplies, or delay the mutiny bill, would probably disgust and annihilate the very majority on which he depended. Under these circumstances, he probably saw with satisfaction further attempts at coalition. Mr. Grosvenor, the member for Chester, during the three days of the adjournment, called a meeting of members of both parties at the St. Alban's Tavern, for the purpose of seeing whether a coalition could not be formed, and thus put an end to this violent contest. About seventy members met, and an address to the duke of Portland and Mr. Pitt was signed by fifty-four. Pitt expressed his readiness to co-operate in such a plan, but the duke of Portland declared that the first indispensable step towards such a measure must be the resignation of the present ministers. This put an end to all hope of success. When the house met on the 29th, Fox adverted to this meeting at the St. Alban's Tavern, and still declared himself friendly to the attempt, but equally of opinion with the duke of Portland, that nothing could avail but a resignation of ministers, and he moved and carried another adjournment till the 2nd of February, to enable them to consider their real situation.

On the 2nd, Mr. Grosvenor moved that nothing but a strong and united ministry could retain the confidence of the people, and put an end to the unhappy distractions of the country. This was carried, but Pitt remained unmoved; and then a second motion was carried by Coke, of Norfolk, declaring that the continuance of the present ministry in office was an obstacle to such a united and satisfactory administration. Pitt only replied that the house had rushed on from one motion to the other, all without effect, and that the two real paths open to the opposition were, impeachment of ministers, if they had committed any crimes, and an address to the crown. The latter idea was accepted by Mr. Coke, who moved and carried, by a majority of twenty-four, that the two resolutions of the house just passed should be laid before his majesty.

But at this crisis the house of lords, which had remained so far a passive spectator of this furious war in the commons, began to comment upon it in strong terms. The earl of Effingham condemned the proceedings of the opposition in the commons as a direct attack upon the prerogative of the crown, and the setting up of a new power. He moved resolutions, declaring it most unconstitutional for one branch of the legislature to assume to itself the right to pass resolutions, attempting to impede or stop the executive power of the government, and to dispute the right of the crown to appoint to the great offices of the executive government. A long debate ensued, in which lords Fitzwilliam and Loughborough, and the duke of Manchester, opposed the resolutions; and the duke of Richmond, the lord chancellor, and lord Sydney, supported the resolutions, which were both carried by one hundred against fifty-three, and an address to his majesty was also carried, in pursuance of the resolutions, to which the king immediately returned a most gracious answer.

No sooner was the king's answer received, than unequivocally demonstrating the feelings of his majesty as well as of the lords, than lord Beauchamp, whose measure was thus censured, moved that the journals of the house of lords should be searched for precedents, and then moved a string of six resolutions, sanctioning the proceedings of the opposition, which were carried by a majority of twenty-nine. But a different majority was rapidly growing out of doors.

The address of the city of London had produced a succession of such, not, indeed, as in Westminster and Middlesex, without some opposition, but still bearing unmistakable evidence that the feelings of many constituencies were undergoing a rapid change. Fox himself had imprudently dared the ministry to such a test. "Where," he exclaimed, "is that popularity of the present administration in which they confide? Why do not gentlemen call meetings; muster their friends and partisans, and carry their addresses to the house? Till this is done, till the fact is proved, I, for one, will question the truth!"

The fact was now being rapidly proved: Worcester, Exeter, York, Edinburgh, and many other towns, made similar demonstrations. For three months, whilst the opposition in the house of commons were exulting on their majority, the majority amongst the people was rapidly sliding from them; and, whilst they were straining every nerve to prevent the dissolution of parliament, they were only more securely preparing their own fall, for Pitt and the government had been zealously at work everywhere undermining them.

From the 11th of February to the 20th, the struggle went on, many endeavours being made, but without effect, to come to an agreement between the parties. On that day, Mr. Powys moved an address to his majesty, praying him to take measures for a strong and united administration. Fox complained bitterly, in this debate, of the load of obloquy which had been thrown upon him and his friends, for proposing the postponement of the supplies, as a fatal blow given to the national credit, and for his objection to an immediate dissolution of parliament. Most imprudently did Fox now censure the electors, as he had already and repeatedly censured the king; indeed, prudence, in his mortification on dismissal from office, seemed to have been annihilated. He declared that the people, at the present moment, were labouring under deception and delusion—were running upon their own ruin, and therefore it was an act of duty to resist them. Powys's motion was carried by a majority of twenty; and then Fox moved, and carried a resolution, that an address, founded on this, should be presented to his majesty.

On the 25th the whole of the house, or rather of the opposition, went up with the address. His majesty replied that he was as desirous as the commons could be to form such an administration as they recommended, but that he could not see how the dismissal of his present ministers could promote that end, and he therefore trusted that his faithful commons would not wish for such a sweeping measure until there was a prospect of its answering the purpose, as, moreover, he had received many addresses from his subjects, commending strongly the late changes. This answer was so explicit that it might have convinced any

persons but those blinded by their passions that the king was not likely to give way. It only tended, however, to exasperate Fox and his party. On the 27th, when it was reported, lord Beaumont moved that it should be taken into consideration on Monday, the 1st of March, and to that day the house adjourned, thus deferring again the supplies and the mutiny bill.

On the 1st of March Fox moved that a second address be carried up to the king by the whole house, representing the violence done to the constitution by a minister retaining his place after a vote of want of confidence by the commons, and insisting strongly on the right and duty of that house to advise his majesty on the exercise of his prerogative. Pitt replied, that, by attempting to force the king to decide contrary to his judgment, they were placing the sceptre under the mace; but the resolution was carried by a majority, though of twelve only, and on the 4th the address was carried up, when the king repeated that his sentiments remained the same. Fox, on the return of the house, moved that this answer should not be taken into consideration before the 8th, and till then the mutiny bill should remain in abeyance.

The house on the 8th was excessively crowded, for a very warm debate was anticipated, but Sir James Lowther took an effectual means for preventing the public hearing the speeches of Fox and his friends, or even getting them reported. As soon as this motion was brought on he rose, and, asserting that he brought down a friend to hear the debates, but had found it impossible to obtain for him a seat in the gallery, he therefore inferred that there were strangers in the gallery not introduced by members, and moved that the gallery be cleared. Many members zealously opposed this motion, but Sir James persisted, and carried it. In consequence, the speech of Fox was very imperfectly reported, and Burke, who spoke for two hours, was not reported at all. Fox, however, moved that a third address be carried up to the king, expressing the surprise and affliction of the commons at the replies which his majesty had been advised to make to them, and that this should be in the form of an humble representation, which required no answer. Fox could not conceal his chagrin at the falling away of his majorities, nor refrain from stigmatising those who had ceased to support him, as men of whose society no one was even ambitious. Pitt scarcely cared to reply, for he saw too well that Fox was most effectually ruining his own cause, but Dandae vehemently exposed the absurdity and the mischief of the present proceeding. He declared it the final consummation of a monstrous outrage on the constitution. "Why," he asked, "did Fox not claim the right for the house to negative his majesty's appointment of ministers without giving a single reason? Why send such an address to the king, at the same time forbidding any answer? The right honourable gentleman had not asked for the punishment of ministers, because they had committed no crime; he only asked for their removal, and the world would readily understand that he merely wanted their places."

Fox did not escape without considerable triumphant ridicule from those who saw how matters were going. Sir Richard Hill repeated some burlesque verses which he had written upon

him by the name of Carlo Khan, the name given to him in a very popular caricature issued during the progress of his first India Bill, in which he was riding as Mogul emperor into Delhi on an elephant, having the queer, fat face of North, and a hircarrah, equally like Burke, leading the elephant, as his trumpeter. When the house came to divide about midnight, Fox was found to have carried his resolution, but only by a majority of one.

This was the climax of defeat. The once triumphant opposition saw that all was over with them, and they gave up the contest. Never, in fact, had a great and powerful party so completely destroyed itself by rash and headlong intemperance. They had heaped upon themselves the censures of all parties, from the highest to the lowest; whilst their enemies, by a patient endurance, and an unwearied activity to turn their opponents' follies to account, had been constantly growing in public opinion. Nothing could have been more unconstitutional, more repugnant to the sense of English fairness, than the remaining in office of Pitt and his colleagues in the face of such marked majorities of the house of commons; and had Fox and his friends been content to wait the legitimate effect of this, they might have immensely profited by it. But they showed too plainly that they were more rabid for regaining office than anxious to labour for the interests of the nation, and they fell never to rise again for nearly twenty long years, through a succession of most momentous events.

The supplies and the mutiny bill were now passed without much difficulty, but ministers did not venture to introduce an appropriation bill. On the 23rd, lord North, stating that the dissolution of parliament was confidently asserted out of doors, declared that such a dissolution, without passing an appropriation bill, would be an unparalleled insult to the house. He expressed his astonishment that the minister did not condescend to utter a syllable on the subject of the proposed change. Pitt, now confident of his position, replied that gentlemen might ask as many questions as they pleased; that he had adopted a course which he felt was advantageous to the country, and did not feel bound to enter then into any explanations. All mystery, however, was cleared up the next day, for the king went down to the house of lords and prorogued parliament, announcing that, under the particular circumstances, he felt it his duty to the constitution and the country to convoke a new parliament as speedily as possible. Accordingly, on the next day, the 25th of March, he dissolved parliament by proclamation.

When the new parliament met, on the 18th of May, it was seen how completely Fox and North had destroyed their prestige by their late factious conduct, and how completely Pitt had made himself master of the situation. His patience and cool policy under the tempestuous assaults of the opposition had given the country a wonderful confidence in him. One party extolled him as the stanch defender of the prerogative, another as the champion of reform and enemy of aristocratic influence. Not less than one hundred and sixty of the supporters of the late coalition ministry had been rejected at the elections, and ridiculed as "Fox's Martyrs." The king, in opening the session, could not repress the air of triumph, and congratulated the houses on the declared sense of his people, not forgetting to designate

Fox's India bill as a most unconstitutional measure. In fact, no one was so delighted as the king. He had contemplated the victory of Fox and his friends over Pitt with actual horror. He had never liked Fox, and the violent and overbearing manner in which he had endeavoured to compel the king to dismiss his ministers, had increased his aversion into dread and shuddering repugnance. In his letters to Pitt he had said, "If these desperate and factious men succeed, my line is a clear one, and to which I have fortitude to submit." Again: "Should not the lords stand boldly forth," alluding to lord Effingham's motion, "this constitution must soon be changed; for if the two remaining privileges of the crown are infringed, that of negating the bills which have passed both houses of parliament, and that of naming the ministers to be employed, I cannot but feel, as far as regards my person, that I can be no longer of utility to this country, nor can, with honour, remain in the island." In fact, George was menacing, a second time, a retreat to Hanover; a step, however, which he was not very likely to adopt. The sentiment which the words really express is his horror of the heavy yoke of the great whig houses. The addresses from both houses of parliament expressed equal satisfaction in the change, Pitt's triumphant majority having now rejected the amendments of the opposition.

On the 21st of June Pitt introduced and carried several resolutions, which formed the basis of his "Commutation Act." These went to check smuggling, by reducing the duty on tea from fifty to twelve and a half per cent., and to raise the window-tax so as to supply the deficiency. A bill was then passed to make good another deficiency in the civil list, to the amount of sixty thousand pounds. Early in August Mr. Pitt brought in his India bill, which differed chiefly from his former one in introducing a government board of commissioners, with power to examine and revise the proceedings of the court of directors. This, which has since acquired the name of the Board of Control, was strongly opposed by Fox, but passed both houses with little trouble. We shall enter more particularly into the merits of this measure in our approaching treatment of India affairs.

Before this great measure had passed, Pitt had introduced his budget. On the 30th of June he made his financial statement. He stated that the resources of the country were in a very burthened and disordered state; but that was not his work, but the work of his predecessors. The outstanding arrears, owing to the late war, were already ascertained to amount at least to fourteen million pounds. These operated very injuriously on the public credit, being at a discount of from fifteen to twenty per cent.; and that, without greatly affecting the public securities, he should not be able to find more than six million six hundred thousand six hundred pounds of them at once. To meet the interest, he proposed to raise taxes to the amount of nine hundred thousand pounds a-year. The imposts—some entirely new, and some augmented—were on hats, ribbons, gauzes, coats, saddle and pleasure-horses, printed linens and calicoes, candles; licences to deal in exciseable commodities, bricks, and tiles; licences for shooting game; paper, and hackney coaches.

The duties on bricks and tiles were most strongly opposed, as affecting brick-makers rather than the public, because stone and slates were not included. These duties were, however, carried, and the bill passed; but, great discontent arising regarding the duties on coals and on licences to deal in exciseable commodities, the chancellor of the exchequer was obliged to produce a supplementary budget, and, after withdrawing these duties, to lay others on the sale of ale, on gold and silver plate, on the exportation of lead, on postage of letters, at the same time limiting the privilege of franking.

at one hundred and seventy thousand pounds a-year. By the present plan, no member was to permit any letter to be addressed to him except at the place where he actually was; and he was required, in writing a frank, to give the name of the post town where he wrote it, with the dates of day and year, and to write himself the whole address.

The last great act of this session was one of genuine liberality, being the restoration of the estates forfeited by the Scottish rebels in 1745. Forty years had now elapsed since this forfeiture; the population of the highlands had become



THOMAS ERSKINE, AFTERWARDS LORD ERSKINE. FROM AN AUTHENTIC PORTRAIT.

It was high time that the latter practice was put under regulation, for the privilege was enormously abused. Till this time, a simple signature of a member of parliament, without name of the post town whence it was sent, or date, freed a letter all over the kingdom. Many persons had whole quires of these signatures, and letters were also addressed to numbers of places where they did not reside, so that, by an arrangement easily understood, the persons they were really meant for received them post-free. The loss to government by this dishonest system was calculated

as loyal as that of any other part of the kingdom; the estates had remained in trust under the crown, and it was a measure calculated particularly to conciliate the people of Scotland. Mr. Dundas introduced the bill, and observed that lord Chatham had been the first to put an end to the remembrances of past feuds, and had, with admirable success, called the inhabitants of the highlands to aid in the defence of the country at large. They had responded with a spirit and a valour that had been equally honourable to them and the nation, and he felt assured that, had the late

ministry now been in office, they would have brought forward such a measure. Personally, he knew that lord North was anxious for it.

Dundas did no more than justice to the opposition; they supported the measure cordially, and Mr. Fox strongly recommended that this graceful act of clemency should be extended to the heirs of the earl of Derwentwater, whose case was still stronger, it being then seventy years since the confiscation of those estates. Pitt did not respond to this challenge, and the bulk of these fine estates of lord Derwentwater have since been conferred on Greenwich Hospital; but the bill for Scotland went through the house of commons without even an adverse comment. In the lords, Thurlow made some grumblings over it as a removal of those severities which ought always to surround treason; but he begged that these might be taken as his thoughts and not as his objections, and added that, should the bill go into committee, he would absent himself and throw no further obstacle in its way. The bill therefore passed on the 18th of August, and, on the 20th, the appropriation bill and other measures of routine having been carried through with great triumph by the now strong ministry, the king prorogued the parliament, which did not meet again till the 25th of January following. Pitt had now firmly rooted himself in a power which for seventeen years he was destined, with unshaken security, to wield. Could the nation, however, at this period have foreseen the stupendous scenes into which his policy was to lead it, and the then inconceivable taxation which he was destined to impose, its horror would far have exceeded that of the king at the drowsed return of the whigs to power.

CHAPTER X.

REIGN OF GEORGE III. (Continued.)

Scrutiny into the Westminster Election—Determined Attempt of Pitt's Government to keep Fox out of Parliament as the Westminster Representative—Fox triumphant—Obtains Damages from the High Bailiff—Affairs of Ireland—Formidable Aspect of the Volunteer Body—Their National Congress—Resolutions regarding the Trade of Ireland passed in the Irish Parliament—This introduced by Pitt to the English House of Commons, but there modified—These altered Resolutions rejected by the Irish Parliament—Pitt's Motion for Reform of Parliament—His Motion for Regulation of Offices—Pitt's Irish Taxes—Review of our Affairs with the Continent since 1761—Pitt's Financial Measures—Proposes a Sinking Fund, and carries it—Fresh Arrears of the Civil List—Duke of Richmond's Plan of Fortifying our Dockyards rejected—INDIAN AFFAIRS: CHIT. Returns to India in 1766—His Fame as Sahib Jung—He returns again to England—War with Hyder Ali—Peace—Attacks in Parliament on Clive—His Death—Warren Hastings First Governor-General—The Munny Begum—War with the Rohillas—Nonsmar Trist and Hanzel—Case of Sir English Impey—Philip Francis—Hastings Supreme—Affairs of Madras—Lord Pigot—Paul Benfield—Sir Thomas Rumbold—War with the Cabinet at Pondicherry with the French—Scindiah and Holkar—Francis and Impey—War recommenced with Hyder Ali—Victories of Sir Eyn. Clive—Choyte Sing—Hastings' Journey to the North-Western Provinces—Begun of Oude—Rumors of Hastings' Cruelties—Parliamentary Inquiries into them—War with the Dutch in India—Sutlej—Deaths of Hyder Ali and Sir Eyn. Clive—Peace concluded with Tipu Sahib—Wretched State of Oude—Journey of Hastings thither—Sahib Alim—Hastings resigns the Governorship of India—Lord Cornwallis appointed—Mr. Francis moves for a Bill to amend Pitt's India Bill—Dundas's Bill—Death of the Nabob of Arcot—Burke's Motions on Indian Affairs—Papers on India demanded by Philip Francis—Impeachment of Hastings voted.

Fox came into the new parliament in a very remarkable and anomalous position. In the election for Westminster, the candidates had been, beside himself, admiral lord Hood

and Sir Cecil Wray. The election was of the most violent kind, distinguished by drunkenness, riot, and abuses of every kind. It continued from April the 1st to the 16th of May, and the numbers on the poll-books, at its termination, stood as follows:—For lord Hood, 6,694; for Fox, 6,233; for Sir Cecil Wray, 5,598. The prince of Wales had shown himself one of the most ardent partisans of Fox, all the more, no doubt, because Fox was detested by the king. The prince had displayed from his carriage the "Fox favour and laurel," and, at the conclusion of the poll, had given a grand *levee* at Carlton House to more than six hundred Foxites, all wearing "blue and buff." But Fox was not allowed to triumph so easily. The tory candidate, Sir Cecil Wray, as was well understood, instigated and supported by the government, demanded a scrutiny; and Corbett, the high bailiff, under the circumstances, could make no return of representatives for Westminster. As a scrutiny in so populous a district, and with the impediments which government and its secret service money could throw in the way, might drag on for a long period, and thus, as government intended, keep Fox out of parliament, he got himself, for the time, returned for a small Scotch borough, to the no small amusement of his enemies.

Almost immediately on the meeting of the house of commons, Welbore Ellis demanded whether a return had been made for Westminster, and being answered in the negative, moved that Mr. Corbett, the high bailiff, with his assessor, should attend the house; and the next day, February 2nd, colonel Fitzpatrick presented a petition from the electors of Westminster, complaining that they were not legally and duly represented. In fact, the scrutiny had now been going on for eight months, and as not even two of the seven parishes of Westminster were yet scrutinised, it was calculated that, at this rate, the whole process would require three years, and the city would, therefore, remain as long unrepresented. The high bailiff stated that the examinations, cross-examinations, and arguments of counsel were so long, that he saw no prospect of a speedy conclusion; and Mr. Murphy, his assessor, gave evidence that each vote was tried with as much form and prolixity as any cause in Westminster Hall; that counsel, and this applied to both sides, claimed a right to make five speeches on one vote; and that propositions had been put in on the part of Sir Cecil Wray to shorten the proceedings, but objected to on the part of Mr. Fox.

On the 8th, the high bailiff was called again before the house on the occasion of another petition from the electors, but he declared that he had no authority to enforce greater speed, and that it would take more than three years from first to last, rather than less, to terminate the scrutiny. On this avowal, Mr. Welbore Ellis moved that the high bailiff should at once make a return. There was a warm debate. Mr. Windham, on this occasion, made his first speech in the house, with great effect. But the ministers, through lord Mulgrave, made and carried an amendment that the high bailiff should proceed to make a return when he thought it best.

Fox complained bitterly of the conduct of Pitt in the course of this debate. He said, "He had always wished to stand well with the right honourable gentleman. He re-

membered the day he had first congratulated the house on the acquisition of his abilities. It had been his pride to fight side by side with him the battles of the constitution, little thinking that he would one day lend himself to be the instrument of that secret influence which they had both combated so successfully. He might have been prepared to find a formidable rival in the right honourable gentleman—a rival that would leave him far behind in the pursuit of glory—but he never could have expected that he could have descended so low as to be the court persecutor of any man. He fancied that he saw in him so much generosity of soul, so much elevation of mind, that so grovelling a passion as malice could not have found an asylum in his breast. He saw plainly that it was a pecuniary contest, and that his friends were to be tired out by the expense of it. The scrutiny on both sides could not cost less than thirty thousand pounds sterling a-year. This was enough to shake the best fortunes. His own last shilling might easily be got at, for he was poor; but, little as he had, he would spend it to the last shilling. If, in the end, he should lose his election, it would not be through want of a legal majority, but through want of money! and thus would he, perhaps, be deprived of his right, and the electors of Westminster of the man of their choice, because he was not able to carry on a pecuniary contest with the treasury."

Pitt replied to these severe strictures in terms equally severe and more caustically insulting. He declared that Fox was "mad with desperation and disappointment:" and he continued, with a cold, sneering air, "I say, nevertheless, I am not surprised that he should pretend to be the butt of ministerial persecution; and if, by striving to excite the public compassion, he should seek to reinstate himself in that popularity which he once enjoyed, but which he so unhappily has forfeited—for it is the best and most ordinary resource of these political apostates to court and offer themselves to persecution, for the sake of the popular predilection and pity which usually fall upon persecuted men—it becomes worth their while to suffer for a time political martyrdom, for the sake of the canonisation that awaits the suffering martyr; and I make no doubt the right honourable gentleman has so much penetration, and, at the same time, so much passive virtue about him, that he would be glad not only to seem a poor, injured, persecuted man, but he would gladly seek an opportunity of even really suffering a little persecution, if it be possible to find such an opportunity."

This was bitingly pungent satire in a man who really was all the time oppressing his defeated rival with all the power of the treasury and the secret approbation of the crown. Pitt was an able, but far from a generous, man, and it was now his policy to degrade and irritate Fox, till he caused him to further injure himself by rash and impetuous conduct. But Pitt's wisdom, though of the successfully worldly sort, was not of the highest and more intrinsic kind, as this country has since had to acknowledge and heavily pay for, and in this instance he pushed his revenge a little too far.

On the 18th of February colonel Fitzpatrick, Fox's most intimate friend, presented another petition from the electors of Westminster, praying to be heard by counsel, in consequence of new facts having come to light, but lord Frederick

Campbell, on the part of government, moved that such counsel should not argue against the legality of the scrutiny. The counsel, on being admitted, refused to plead under such restrictions. The house then called in the high bailiff, and demanded what the new facts were on which the petition was based, and he admitted that they were, that the party of Mr. Fox had offered to take the scrutiny in the parishes of St. Margaret and St. John alone, where Mr. Fox's interest was the weakest, in order to bring the scrutiny to an end, and that Sir Cecil Wray had declined the offer. Colonel Fitzpatrick then moved that the high bailiff should be directed to make a return, according to the lists on the close of the poll on the 17th of May last. This motion was lost, but only by a majority of *nine*, showing that the opinion of the house was fast running against the new minister, and on the 3rd of March alderman Sawbridge put the same question again, when it was carried by a majority of *thirty-eight*. It was clear that the government pressure could be carried no further. Sawbridge moved that the original motion should be put, and it was carried without a division. The next day the return was made, and Fox and lord Hood were seated as the members for Westminster.

Fox immediately moved that the proceedings on this case should be expunged from the journals, but without success. He also commenced an action against the high bailiff for not returning him at the proper time, when duly elected by a majority of votes. He laid his damages at two hundred thousand pounds, and the trial came on before lord Loughborough, formerly Mr. Wedderburn, in June of the following year, 1786, when the jury gave him immediately a verdict, but only for two thousand pounds, which he said should be distributed amongst the charities of Westminster. Thus ended this truly unconstitutional attempt on the part of government to deprive a hostile member of his seat, but not with it ended the vexations and unworthy artifices of Pitt to irritate and obstruct his opponents. The method which continued to disgrace the house of commons to a late period of coughing, hemming, and making all sorts of noises, was now shamelessly practiced by the ministerial members to drown the voices of the opposition members, and led to scenes of much angry violence. Pre-eminent amongst the tory members in this dirty work of government was Mr. Rolle, member for Devonshire, the hero of "The Rolliad," and afterwards made lord Rolle by Pitt for these and other services not more creditable.

The king's speech, at the opening of this session, recommended a consideration of the trade and general condition of Ireland; and indeed it was time, for the concessions which had been made by the Rockingham ministry had only created a momentary tranquillity. The volunteers retaining their arms in their hands after the close of the American war, were evidently bent on imitating the proceedings of the Americans. In September, 1789, delegates from all the volunteer corps in Ireland met at Dungannon, representing one hundred thousand men, who passed resolutions declaring their independence of the legislature of Great Britain. A circumstance which greatly interested the protestant party at that moment, was a proposal of a large body of natives of Geneva, who were at feud with their fellow-citizens on political and religious questions, to settle in Ireland. The

idea of receiving a numerous population of protestant republicans was particularly agreeable to the Irish protestants; and it was contemplated to advance fifty thousand pounds for this purpose, and to settle them on a grant of crown lands in the county of Waterford, near the confluence of the rivers Barrow and Skir, there called Passage, and to give it the name of New Geneva. But it was soon found that the demands of the Swiss were inadmissible, for they insisted on being governed by their own laws, and upon having nevertheless representatives in parliament. The scheme was therefore abandoned.

There were, in fact, ample elements of disquiet in the native population without any fresh infusion of republican foreigners. The delegates at Dungannon claimed the right to reform the national parliament, and appointed a convention to meet in Dublin in the month of November, consisting of delegates from the whole volunteer army in Ireland. Accordingly, on the 10th of November, the great convention met in Dublin, and held their meetings in the Royal Exchange. They demanded a thorough remodelling of the Irish constitution. They declared the Irish house of commons was wholly independent of the people; that its term of duration was equally unconstitutional; and they passed zealous votes of thanks to their friends in England. These friends were the ultra-reformers of England, who had freely tendered the Irish reformers their advice and sympathy. The Rev. Christopher Wyvill, chairman of the committee of the Yorkshire association, had counselled them to avoid universal suffrage, but to admit as electors all who possessed property, however small, all who paid taxes, all copyholders and leaseholders for terms exceeding thirty years, of a yearly value of forty shillings, not excepting catholics, but still to exclude catholics from the lower house itself. Lord Effingham gave them a plan of very extended borough reform; but the duke of Richmond not only advised universal suffrage, but annual parliaments! Catholics were to enjoy these privileges; but ballot was to be rejected. Drs. Jebb and Price and major Cartwright recommended similarly extensive schemes of reform to them.

The Irish people were ready to hail the delegates as their true parliament, and the regular parliament as pretenders. Within the parliament house itself the most violent contentions were exhibited betwixt the partisans of the volunteer parliament and the more orthodox reformers. Henry Flood was the prominent advocate of the extreme movement, and Grattan, who regarded this agitation as certain to end only in fresh coercion, instead of augmented liberty for Ireland, vehemently opposed it.

On the 20th of November Flood moved for leave to bring in a bill for the more equal representation of the people. This was the scheme of the volunteer parliament, and all the delegates to the convention who were members of the house, or had procured admittance as spectators, appeared in uniform. The tempest that arose is described as something terrific. The orders of the house, the rules of debate, the very rules of ordinary conduct amongst gentlemen, were utterly disregarded. The fury on both sides was uncontrollable. When he could be heard, Yelverton, the attorney-general, vociferated, "We do not sit here to register the edicts of another assembly, or to receive directions at the

point of the bayonet. So long as the volunteers confined themselves to their first line of conduct, it was their glory to preserve domestic peace, to render their country formidable to foreign enemies, to aid the civil magistrates, and to support parliament. They were then entitled to applause, and commanded respect; but when they form themselves into a convention, and with that rude instrument, the bayonet, probe and explore the constitution, which it requires the nicest hands to touch, respect and veneration for them are destroyed. If it be averred that this proposition originating with them, can be carried, it decides the question whether the house or the convention represents the people, and whether parliament or the volunteers are to be obeyed."

Flood declared, in reply, that this was the voice of the people, and that it was opposed because it was said to be the demand of the volunteers: but the people and the volunteers were the same, and that his propositions had been made constitutional by every act except that of their adoption by that house, which, indeed, was not necessary, as they had the full assent of the people. The motion was indignantly rejected by one hundred and fifty-seven votes against seventy-seven; and the house immediately voted a cordial address to his majesty, declaring their perfect satisfaction in the blessings enjoyed under his most auspicious reign, and the present happy constitution, and their determination to support him with their lives and fortunes. The house then adjourned.

But the national convention immediately agreed to a counter address, in which they denied the intentions of revolution imputed to them, and professed the warmest loyalty. This did not, however, prevent the volunteer bodies continuing their high pretensions. They professed to have saved the country, and they claimed to govern it. They were instructing all that they could in the use of arms, and catholics and protestants forgot their differences in the ardour of this object. The elective franchise was demanded by the volunteers for people of all religious persuasions. On the 18th of March, Mr. Flood introduced his bill once more, for equalising the representation of the people in parliament. It proposed to abolish the right of boroughs altogether to send members, and to place the franchise in the people at large. Sir John Fitzgibbon, the attorney-general, stoutly opposed it; Grattan dissented from it, and it was thrown out on the motion to commit it.

Exasperated at the failure of this measure, a furious mob broke into the Irish house of commons on the 15th of April, but they were soon quelled, and two of the ring-leaders seized. The magistrates of Dublin were censured for observing the gathering of the mob, and taking no measures to prevent its outbreak. The printer and supposed publisher of the "Volunteers' Journal" were called before the house and reprimanded, and a bill was brought in and passed, to render publishers more amenable to the law. The spirit of violence still raged through the country. Tumultuous associations were formed under the name of Aggregate Bodies. Some adopted the North American system of tarring and feathering their victims; some, more desperately inhuman, called themselves houghers, and deliberately maimed the objects of their vengeance, particularly soldiers. It was found necessary to pass an act to restrain their

violence, and to make provision for its crippled victims. The lord-lieutenant himself was insulted by them, and the Whiteboys once more came forth and renewed their atrocities. Means were taken for assembling another congress in Dublin. They insisted that the sheriffs should call meetings for the election of delegates to the congress.

These circumstances roused the attention of Pitt, who instructed the attorney-general to warn the sheriffs against any compliance with these demands; and the sheriff of the county of Dublin having already complied, was prosecuted, fined five marks, and confined for a week. But this formidable agitation was suddenly shorn of its most menacing phases in a manner which could not have been foreseen. The question of the catholic disabilities was introduced into the discussions of the volunteer meetings, and so completely broke up their great military body, "that," says Plowden, "constituted and organised as they were, formidable in numbers, fierce in debate, vigorous in resolution, commanded and directed by noblemen of high rank, and regarded with affection by one party and alarm by the other, they disappeared like a bubble on the face of a stream. At night they existed with all their attributes of power and their claims to respect; on the following day, the room of their assembly was shut, their colours waved no more, their uniform no longer was seen in the streets, and the body, without formal order or notice, was disbanded."

The congress, which met in October, was but partially attended, passed some strong resolutions, and then peaceably adjourned. But commercial and manufacturing distress was severe in the country, and the unemployed workmen flocked into Dublin and the other large towns, demanding relief and menacing the police, and directing their fury against all goods imported from England. On the 2nd of January, 1785, another congress met in Dublin, consisting of delegates from twenty-seven counties, and amounting to about two hundred individuals. They held adjourned meetings, and established corresponding committees in imitation of their great models, the Americans. In truth, many of the leaders of these present movements drew their inspiration now from American republican correspondents, as they did afterwards from those of France, by whom they were eventually excited to rebellion.

The government of England saw the necessity of coming to some conclusion on the subject of Irish commerce, which should remove the distress, and, as a consequence, the disorder. The Irish government, at the instigation of the English administration, sent over commissioners to consult with the Board of Trade in London, and certain terms being agreed upon, these were introduced by Mr. Orde, the secretary to the lord-lieutenant, to the Irish house of commons, on the 7th of February. These were, that all articles not of the growth of Great Britain or Ireland should be imported into each country from the other, under the same regulations and duties as were imposed on direct importation, and with the same drawbacks; that all prohibitions in either country against the importation of articles grown, produced, or manufactured in the other should be rescinded, and the duties equalised. There were some other resolutions relating to internal taxation, to facilitate the corn trade, and some details in foreign and international commerce.

These, after some debate, were passed on the 11th, and, being agreed to by the lords, were transmitted to England.

On the 22nd of February the English house of commons resolved itself into a committee, on the motion of Pitt, to consider these resolutions. Pitt spoke with much liberality of the old restrictive jealousy towards Ireland. He declared that it was a system abominable and impolitic: that to study the benefit of one portion of the empire at the expense of another was not promoting the real prosperity of the empire at large. He contended that there was nothing in the present proposals to alarm the British manufacturer or trader. Goods, the produce of Europe, might now be imported through Ireland into Britain by authority of the navigation act. The present proposition went to allow Ireland to import and then to export the produce of our colonies in Africa and America into Great Britain. Beyond the Cape of Good Hope, or the Straits of Maghellan, they could not go, on account of the monopoly granted to the East India Company.

Delay was demanded, to hear what was the feeling of merchants and manufacturers in England, and these soon poured in petitions against these concessions from Liverpool, Manchester, and other places: one of them, from the Lancashire manufacturers, being signed by eighty thousand persons. After two months had been spent in receiving these petitions, hearing evidence and counsel, Mr. Pitt introduced his propositions on the 12th of May. It was then found that the English interests, as usual, had triumphed over the ministerial intentions of benefiting Ireland. Not only was Ireland to be bound to furnish, in return for these concessions, a fixed contribution out of the surplus of the hereditary revenue towards defraying the expenses of protecting the general commerce, but to adopt whatever navigation laws the British parliament might hereafter enact. Lord North and Fox opposed these propositions, on the ground that the cheapness of labour in Ireland would give that country an advantage over the manufacturers in this. The resolutions were at length carried both in the committee and in the house at large on the 25th of July.

But the alterations were fatal to the measure in Ireland. Instead now of being the resolutions passed in the Irish parliament, they embraced restrictive ones originating in the English parliament—a point on which the Irish were most jealous, and determined not to give way. No sooner did Mr. Orde, the original introducer of the resolutions to the Irish parliament, on the 2nd of August, announce his intention to introduce them as they now stood, than Flood, Grattan, and Dennis Browne declared the thing impossible; that Ireland never would surrender its birthright of legislating for herself. Mr. Orde, however, persisted in demanding leave to introduce a bill founded on these resolutions, and this he did on the 12th of August. Flood attacked the proposal with the utmost vehemence. He exclaimed: "I am content to be a fellow-subject of my countrymen, but not their fellow-slave. If you give leave to bring in such a bill, you are no longer a parliament: I will no longer consider you so. Meet it, then, boldly, and not like dastards fearful to guard your rights, and, though you talk loudly to your wives and children, trembling at a foreign nation." Grattan,

Curran, and others declared that the Irish parliament could hear no resolutions but those which they themselves had sanctioned. Accordingly, though Mr. Orde carried his permission to introduce his bill, it was only by a majority of nineteen, and under such opposition that, on the 15th, he moved to have it printed for the information of the country, but announced that he should proceed no further in it at present. This was considered as a total abandonment of the measure, and there was a general rejoicing as for a national deliverance, and Dublin was illuminated. But in the country the spirit of agitation on the subject remained: the non-importation associations were renewed, in imitation of the proceedings in Boston, and the most dreadful menaces were uttered against all who should dare to import manufactured goods from England. The consequences were the

suggest such a motion." His plan consisted in transferring the franchise from thirty-six rotten boroughs to the counties, giving the copyholders the right to vote. This plan would confer seventy-two additional members on the counties, and thus, in fact, strengthen the representation of the landed interest at the expense of the towns; and he proposed to compensate the boroughs so disfranchised by money. Wilberforce, Dundas, and Fox spoke in favour of the bill; Burke spoke against it. Many voted against it, on account of the compensation offered, Mr. Bankes remarking that Pitt was paying for what he declared, under any circumstances, unsaleable. The motion was lost by two hundred and forty-eight against one hundred and seventy-four.

But though Pitt ceased to be a parliamentary reformer—and, by degrees, became the most determined opponent of all



DUNBRODY ABBEY, NEAR WATERFORD.

stoppage of trade—especially in the sea ports—the increase of distress and of riots, and the soldiers were obliged to be kept under arms in Dublin and other towns to prevent outbreaks.

Before the Irish affairs were done with, Pitt moved for leave to bring in his promised reform bill. If Pitt was yet really desirous of reforming parliament, it was the last occasion on which he showed it, and it may reasonably be believed that he introduced this measure more for a show of consistency than for any other purpose. He had taken no active steps to prepare a majority for the occasion; every one was left to do as he thought best, and his opening observations showed that he was by no means sanguine as to the measure passing the house: "The number of gentlemen," he said, "who are hostile to reform are a phalanx which ought to give alarm to any individual upon rising to

reform—he yet made an immediate movement for administrative reform. He took up the plans of Burke, praying for a commission to inquire into the fees, gratuities, perquisites, and emoluments which are, or have lately been received in the various public offices, with reference to abuses existing in the same. He stated that, already—acting on the information of the reports of the board of commissioners appointed in lord North's time—fixed salaries, instead of fees and poundages, had been introduced in the office of the land-tax, and the post-office had been so improved as to return now weekly into the treasury three thousand pounds sterling, instead of seven hundred sterling. Similar regulations he proposed to introduce into the pay-office, the navy and ordnance office. He stated, also, that he had, when out of office, asserted that no less than forty-four millions sterling remained unaccounted for by men who had been in different offices. He was ridi-



MEETING OF THE IRISH VOLUNTEERS IN THE CHURCH OF DUNGANNON.

named for that statement, and it was treated as a chimera; but already twenty-seven millions of such defalcations had been traced, and a balance of two hundred and fifty-seven thousand pounds sterling was on the point of being paid in. In fact, the state of the government offices was, at that time, as it had long been, such that it was next to impossible for any one to get any business transacted there without bribing heavily. As a matter of course, this motion was strongly opposed, but it was carried, and Mr. Francis Baring and the two other comptrollers of army accounts were appointed the commissioners.

Pitt announced his scheme of a sinking fund by appropriating surplus revenue to the liquidation of the national debt. The scheme was, in reality, that of Dr. Price, an eminent dissenting minister, and friend of Dr. Priestley. This, however, he deferred to the next session, but proceeded at once to lay on new taxes with that unhesitating facility for which he became more and more famous. He wanted to raise four hundred and thirteen thousand sterling a-year, and his taxes were all laid on the industrious, and some of them on the very poorest: a stamp duty on gloves, on post-horses, pawnbrokers' licences, and hawkers' licences; but the most objectionable, perhaps, were those on men servants, on whom he proposed to levy thirty-five thousand pounds sterling, and on women servants one hundred and forty thousand pounds sterling. They were all carried. Some of these were so unpopular, or so unprofitable, that they were soon repealed again.

Our relations with Holland were now brought under notice of parliament. The Dutch had been severely punished for their ingratitude to us in the late war. Having received from England the most extraordinary and unselfish aid against the attempts of Louis XIV. to swallow up their country, having been brought triumphantly out of that, to them, otherwise overwhelming conflict, on the very first opportunity of showing a due sense of the benefit, at the persuasion of their old antagonist, France, still their most dangerous neighbour, and instigated by a base hope of destroying our power at sea, and with it our rivalry in commerce, as well as of possessing themselves of a good share of our foreign possessions, east and west, they joined France and Spain against us. The consequence was that their fleet was soon almost entirely destroyed, and their West Indian Islands captured by us. France, their new ally, had taken some of these from us; but, on the peace, refused to return them to their beloved allies, the right owners. Thus deservedly weakened and humiliated, Holland was still further paralysed by internal faction. There was the faction of the house of Orange, which stood by the stadtholder; and the French faction, which was in violent opposition to the house of Orange. The Orangists accused the French faction of encouraging the designs of France, of opening the country to the influences of that most dangerous nation, and to a democratic licence which favoured the hopes of an ambitious and unscrupulous neighbour. On the other hand, the democratic party accused the Orangists of aiming at monarchy, and thus crushing for ever the ancient liberties of Holland. The eyes of Joseph II. of Austria were fully observant of this condition of weakness and disorganisation, and he determined to profit by it. Joseph was a man of

many right and liberal ideas; he was a great reformer, but rash, and therefore unsuccessful in that character; and he was, at the same time, ambitious, which made him, like all ambitious of aggrandisement, unprincipled. He was in close alliance with France, his sister, Marie Antoinette, being queen; he therefore calculated that France would not interfere with his proceeding against the Dutch, and England, the great naval power, which, more than all others, could have defeated his plans, was utterly alienated from the Dutch by their ingratitude.

Joseph therefore determined to throw down that great barrier of fortified towns betwixt Holland and Flanders, which William III. of England and Marlborough had established, and which, at the same time, constituted the strongest barrier against French inroads, open up the whole navigation of the Scheldt to Austria, and establish Antwerp and Ostend as great commercial ports and most damaging rivals of the Dutch. On pretence that the Dutch were suffering the fortifications to fall to decay, and that he could himself defend the frontiers from any attacks of France, he entered the barrier towns, destroyed the fortifications, and sold the materials. The Dutch sent commissioners to Brussels to remonstrate with the Austrian authorities; but these were disregarded and fresh aggressions made. The Austrians seized the fort of Old Lillo, pulled down the Dutch flag on other parts of the frontier, seized on the old city of Maastricht and the country round, and claimed full and free navigation of the Scheldt, spite of the barrier treaty.

In this dilemma, feeling themselves unable to cope with Austria, the Dutch threw themselves into the arms of France, which, notwithstanding the alliance with Joseph, entered into a treaty of mutual defence. Joseph put an army of sixty thousand men on march for the occupation of his usurpations in Holland, but winter setting in before the arrival of the news of the Dutch and French treaty, caused the troops to halt. Meantime, the rashly ambitious movements of Joseph had raised up powerful opponents. He was found to be endeavouring to exchange his Austrian Netherlands with the elector of Bavaria for his electorate. This would have added all Bavaria to Austria, and have completely destroyed the balance of power in the German empire. This roused the alarm of Frederick of Prussia, who, though he had refused every overture of reconciliation with the kings of England since they supported Austria against him, now did not hesitate to apply to George III., as elector of Hanover, in common with the other German powers, to form an alliance for the preservation of the integrity of Germany.

Compelled to desist in this quarter, Joseph was now glad to surrender his plans of opening the navigation of the Scheldt, except to his own dominions; to surrender Maastricht; to abandon the right of the navigation of the Meuse, which he next claimed, and simply to accept ten millions of gilders (nine hundred and sixteen thousand six hundred and sixty-six pounds), on the plea of injuries sustained, two millions of which (one hundred and eighty-three thousand pounds) the French paid, being highly delighted with their achievement of the treaty with Holland and the destruction of the barrier treaty. Joseph was also allowed

to retain the forts of Old Lillo and Liefkenshoeck; but France boasted that by the treaty she was as good as in positive possession of Holland. She made her party still more powerful in that country, and aided it by all her power to destroy the influence of the house of Orange. The stadtholder was deprived of his government of the Hague and of his body guard; his power was annihilated, and he retired in indignation to his patrimonial city, sending his wife and family to West Friesland. The French were in the ascendant in the country: the French marshal, De Maillebois, was at the head of their army, and at his instigation the Dutch discharged the troops from their oath to the stadtholder, and enjoined a new oath to the states alone. The jealousies of the two contending parties laid the country at the feet of the French, who had numerous officers in the Dutch army, who so well studied the strength and weakness of it as to become the ablest pioneers of the French revolutionary hosts, which, a few years after, overran and subjugated the ungrateful and impolitic Dutch.

This state of things had attracted anxious notice in the English parliament before its prorogation, on the 2nd of August, 1785: but when the house of commons met again, the 24th of January, 1786, Fox introduced the subject with extreme earnestness. In the debate on the address, he commented most severely on the delinquency of the government in allowing France to form such a close compact with Holland. He contended that, by a liberal abandonment of resentment, we might have offered our assistance to Holland against the aggressor, and have thus shut out the busy interference of France. True, we should have offended the emperor Joseph, who was the only ally on the continent capable of awing France: but we had now mortally offended him, by opposing his bargain for Bavaria, without securing the friendship of Holland. The consequence was, that France, Holland, and Spain, would remain banded against us at sea, and would necessitate an unusually large and expensive navy. At the same time, we might have formed a strong and useful alliance with the czarina, whilst she was harassed by the Turks: but now she had made peace with the Ottoman empire, and such a union was become proportionately more difficult. Both Fox and the earl of Surrey condemned the taxes of Pitt as most injudicious, and his attempt at legislating for Ireland as having resulted in disgracing both countries. Lord Surrey remarked that, whilst Pitt was professing administrative reform, we maintained an ambassador for Spain, who, for two years, had never been in that country; and two for France, with separate establishments.

The great financial questions of this session were the duke of Richmond's plan of fortifying Portsmouth and Plymouth, Pitt's proposal of a sinking fund to pay off the national debt, an excise duty on wines, and some regulations of the woods and forests. During the previous session the duke of Richmond, master-general of the ordnance, had proposed a plan of fortifying these great arsenals, so that, in the supposed absence of our fleet on some great occasion, they would be left under the protection of regiments of militia, for whom enormous barracks were to be erected. A board of officers had been appointed to inquire into the advantages of the plan, and their report was now brought up on the 27th of February, and introduced by Mr. Pitt, who moved that the

plan be adopted. This scheme was strongly opposed by General Burgoyne, Colonel Barré, and others. Mr. Bastard moved an amendment declaring the proposed fortifications inexpedient. He said the militia had been called the school of the army, but to shut them up in these strongholds, separate from their fellow-subjects, was the way to convert them into universities for prætorian bands. He protested against taking the defence of the nation from our brave fleet and conferring it on military garrisons: tearing the ensign of British glory from the mast-head, and fixing a standard on the ramparts of a fort. The bill was rejected, Fox, Sheridan, Wyndham, and all the great oppositionists declaiming against it.

On the 21st of March, a committee which had been appointed early in the session to inquire into the public income and expenditure, and to suggest what might in future be calculated on as the clear revenue, presented its report through Mr. Grenville, their chairman. On the 29th, Pitt, in a committee of the whole house, entered upon the subject, and detailed the particulars of a plan to diminish progressively and steadily the further debt. It appeared from the report of the select committee that there was, at present, a clear surplus revenue of nine hundred thousand pounds sterling, and that this surplus could, without any great additional burthen to the public, be made a million per annum. This he declared to be an unexpected state of financial vigour after so long and unfortunate a war. "To behold," he said, "this country emerging from a war which had added such an overwhelming accumulation of sums before enormous, boldly viewing its situation, and, instead of crouching in despair, establishing, upon a spirited and permanent plan, the means of relieving itself from all incumbent ices, must give ideas of our resources and spirit of exertion which would astonish foreign nations and restore our just pre-eminence."

The plan which he proposed was to pay two hundred and fifty thousand pounds quarterly into the hands of commissioners appointed for the purpose to purchase stock to that amount, which was under par, or to pay stock above par, and thus cancel so much debt. In addition to this, the annuities for lives, or for limited terms, would gradually cancel another portion. All dividends arising from such purchases were to be similarly applied. Pitt calculated that by this process, and by the compound interest on the savings to the revenue by it, in twenty-eight years no less than four million sterling per annum of surplus revenue would be similarly applied, or employed for the exigencies of the state. By this halcyon process he contemplated the eventual extinction of that enormous debt, to pay the mere interest of which every nerve had been stretched, and every resource nearly exhausted.

In a delightful state of self-gratulation, Pitt declared that he was happy to say that all this was readily accomplishable: that we had nothing to fear, except one thing—the possibility of any minister in need violating this fund. Had the original sinking fund, he said, been kept sacred, we should have had now very little debt. To prevent the recurrence of this fatal facility of ministers laying their hands on this fund, he proposed to place it in the hands of commissioners, and he declared that "no minister could ever have the confidence to come down to that house, and desire the repeal of so beneficial a law, which tended so directly to relieve the people from their burthens." He added that he felt that he had by this measure raised a

firm column, upon which he was proud to flatter himself that his name might be inscribed." He said not a word about the name of Dr. Price being inscribed there, to whom the whole merit of the scheme belonged; he never once mentioned his name at all. On his own part, Dr. Price complained not of this, but that he had submitted three schemes to Pitt, and that he had chosen the worst.

The greater part of the house, as well as the public out of doors, were captivated with the scheme, which promised thus easily to relieve them of the monster debt; but Sir Grey Cooper was the first to disturb these fairy fancies. He declared that the whole was based on a fallacious statement; that it was doubtful whether the actual surplus was as described; but even were it so, that it was but the surplus of a particular year, and that it was like the proprietor of a hop-ground endeavouring to borrow money on the guarantee of its proceeds in a particularly favourable year. Fox, Burke, and Sheridan followed in the same strain. They argued that, supposing the assumed surplus actually to exist, which they doubted, it would immediately vanish in case of war, and a fresh mass of debt be laid on. Sheridan said, the only mode of paying off a million a-year would be to make a loan of a million a-year, for the minister reminded him of the person in the comedy who said, "If you won't lend me the money, how can I pay you?" On the 4th of May he moved a string of fourteen resolutions unfavourable to the report of the committee, which he said contained facts which could not be negatived, but the house did negative them all without a division, and on the 15th of May passed the bill. In the lords it met with some proposals from earl Stanhope, which were to render the violation of the act equivalent to an act of bankruptcy, but these were negatived, and the bill was passed there on the 26th.

The immediate effect of the measure was to strengthen public credit, and encourage trade and manufactures; but the course of this history will have to show how completely all the defences of this bill failed to protect it from the hands of needy ministers, and how the debt throve far beyond its former bounds, in the hands of this very person who endeavoured to set bounds to it. It is a singular circumstance that the two opponents who most ably showed the fallacy of the scheme, Fox and Sheridan, knew more than any men living the difficulty of limiting private debts, except Pitt himself, who was hopelessly over head and ears in money embarrassments. Whilst he was so confident of managing a nation's finances, his own were in the most deplorable condition. Though he was not married, had, therefore, no expensive family of his own, had no expensive habits, was neither gambler nor horseracer, and lived in the most simple style, he was plundered by his servants and tradesmen, in compact, to an extent which could not for a week have escaped the attention of any man who thought at all of his affairs. Finding that he could not make his income meet the demands upon him, though he kept little company, and frequently dined out, he asked his friend, Robert Smith, afterwards baron Carrington, to examine his accounts, and this able man of business soon stood in speechless astonishment at the bills which came before him. One month's account from his butcher amounted to three thousand eight hundred pounds of meat! This butcher's

bill averaged ninety-six pounds a-week, and those of all the other purveyors for his household were on a like scale. Smith declared that the bills altogether exceeded everything that he could ever have imagined.

Pitt's master, the king, was little better off. Notwithstanding the repeated grants to clear the civil list, and its augmentation to nine hundred thousand pounds per annum, Pitt had to request a fresh grant of two hundred and ten thousand pounds. There were many expressions of discontent and astonishment at these continual demands for the royal household, and the fact of the prince of Wales now being engaged in the building of Carlton House, a palace which his allowance was insufficient to maintain, added to these censures, as this augured similar applications from that quarter at no distant period.

In order to enable the revenue to furnish the required million surplus for the sinking fund, Pitt found it necessary to propose to extend the excise laws to foreign wine, which had hitherto been under the jurisdiction of the custom house. He contended that, on a moderate calculation, the sum lost to the revenue by the frauds in the trade in wine amounted to upwards of two hundred and eighty thousand pounds per annum. To remedy this, and to prevent at once smuggling and the adulteration of wine, that the excise officers should have free access to the cellars of all who sold wine, but not into private ones. To abate that repugnance to the law which all excise laws awaken in the public mind, Pitt stated that the change would not amount to more than thirteen thousand pounds a-year, and that not more than one hundred and seventy additional officers would be required, who could add little to the influence of the crown, as they were by law incapable of voting at elections.

He carried his bill with little difficulty through the commons; but in the lords, lord Loughborough made a decided set against it, and pointed out one most shameful provision in it, namely, that in case of any suit against an exciseman for improper seizure, a jury was prohibited giving more damages than twopence, or any costs of suit, or inflicting a fine of more than one shilling if the exciseman could show a *probable cause* for such a seizure. Lord Loughborough declared justly that this was a total denial of justice to the complaint against illegal conduct on the part of excisemen, for nothing would be so easy as for the excise to plead false information as a *probable cause*. It was a disgraceful infringement of the powers of juries, and lord Loughborough called on lord Camden to defend the sacred rights of juries as he had formerly done. Camden was compelled to confess that the clause was objectionable; but that, to attempt an alteration, would destroy the bill for the present session, and so it was suffered to pass with the monstrous clause.

On the 16th of June Pitt communicated a message from his majesty, proposing the appointment of a commission to inquire into the condition of the woods and forests, and the land revenues of the crown. A bill was at the same time submitted for that object. In the commons, Mr. Jolliffe pointed out, and defeated a clause, which enabled the commissioners "to call for and take into their keeping all titles, maps, plans, documents, which related to lands holden of the crown." Mr. Jolliffe's amendment protected all private titles

deals, and bound the commissioners to report their proceedings to parliament. In the lords, however, lord Loughborough pointed out that the bill did not agree with the message from the crown, which was simply to inquire; but the bill gave authority to alienate such property, and to alienate it without reserve of sundry rents reserved in former acts to certain persons, and for certain salutary uses, thus committing actual fraud on private persons, and otherwise introducing inquisitorial powers over private rights and privileges. Notwithstanding this strenuous opposition of lord Loughborough, the bill passed; but Pitt perceived that he should meet with considerable trouble from the pretended patriotism of Loughborough, till he silenced him by the presentation of some good office, which eventually became that of lord chancellor.

The remaining measures of the session were an alteration of the militia laws, rendering the service less onerous to the individual, and less expensive to the nation, by enacting that only two-thirds of those balloted should be called out; and some attempts at parliamentary reform introduced by Wilberforce. The chief of these was to purify the elections in counties by establishing a general register of the freeholders, and by opening the poll at several places in one day; another was to extend the power of judges to consign the bodies of executed murderers to the surgeons to the bodies of burglars. Both these were thrown out in the lords, and Loughborough, who knew that Wilberforce was a great friend of Pitt's, was particularly severe upon the last, as "the project of an inexperienced youth, unacquainted with the laws."

But during the whole of this session, or at least to the 17th of February and to the 11th of July, there was one question which engrossed the attention of both parliament and the public far more than any other. This was the demand by Burke for the impeachment of Warren Hastings, late governor-general of Bengal, for high crimes and misdemeanours there alleged to have been by him committed. It therefore becomes necessary at this point to resume our narrative of Indian affairs from the year 1775, which our connected view of the events of the American war necessarily suspended.

At the point at which our former detail of Indian affairs ceased lord Clive had gone to England to recruit his health. He had found us possessing a footing in India, and had left us the masters of a great empire. He had conquered Arcot and other regions of the Carnatic; driven the French from Pondicherry, Chandernagore, and Chinsura; and though we had left titular princes in the Deccan and Bengal, we were, in truth, masters there: for Meer Jaffer, though seated on the Musnud of Bengal, was our mere instrument.

The English having deposed Suraja Dowla, the nabob of Bengal, and set up their tool, the traitor Meer Jaffer, who had actually sold his master, the nabob, to them, the unfortunate nabob was soon assassinated by the son of Meer Jaffer. But Meer Jaffer, freed thus from the fear of the restoration of the nabob, soon began to cabal against his patrons, the English. Clive was absent, and the government conducted by Mr. Henry Vansittart, the father of the late lord Bexley, a man of little ability, and of less steadiness in a course of policy. All discipline ceased to exist amongst

the English: their only thought was of enriching themselves by any possible means.

Meer Jaffer was not blind to this. He saw how hateful the English were making themselves in the country, and was becoming as traitorous to them as he had been to his own master. Early, therefore, in the autumn of 1769 Vansittart and colonel Gillaud marched to Cossim-Bazar, a suburb of Moorshedabad, where Meer Jaffer lived, at the head of a few hundred troops, and offered certain terms to him. Meer Jaffer appeared to shuffle in his answer; and, without more ceremony, the English surrounded his palace at the dead of night, and compelled him to resign, but allowed him to retire to Fort William, under the protection of the British flag; and they then set up in his stead Meer Cossim, his son-in-law.

Meer Cossim, for a time, served their purpose. They obtained, as the price of his elevation, a large sum of money and an accession of territory. But he was not a man of the obsequious temper of Meer Jaffer. They had exacted large sums from him; and he made the same exactions on his subjects. His temper was imperious and unscrupulous. The English liked the activity with which he raised money to pay their claims upon him, but he soon extended this again to the English themselves. He put in practice every species of cruelty and injustice to obtain the money he had to pay to the English commanders; but he found the insolence and rapine of the *gomastahs*, the native factors or agents in British pay, interfere with his own operations. He therefore took measures to free himself of these obstructions. He removed his court from Moorshedabad to Monghir, two hundred miles further from Calcutta. He increased and disciplined his troops; he then made compulsory levies on the English traders, from which they had always claimed exemption. There was a loud outcry, and a determined resistance on the part of the English; but Meer Cossim not only continued to compel them to pay the same revenue dues as others, but imprisoned or disgraced every man of note in his dominions who had ever shown regard to the English. It was clear that he chafed under the impositions of his elevators, and meant to free himself from them and their obligations together.

It was in vain that the English council in Calcutta uttered warning and remonstrance; there was the most violent controversy betwixt the English factory at Patna and Meer Cossim. Vansittart hastened to Monghir, to endeavour to arrange matters with Cossim. He consented to the payment, by the English, of the inland revenue to the amount of nine per cent.; and on his part he accepted a present for himself from Cossim of seven lacs of rupees, or upwards of seventy thousand pounds.

Large as this bribe may appear, it was but on the ordinary scale of such bribes to our officers, at that time, by the native princes. According to the report of the committee of the house of commons of 1773, the sums received by the civil and military officers in 1757, from Meer Jaffer, to enable him to depose his master, was one million two hundred and sixty-one thousand and seventy-five pounds, which was divided betwixt Drake, the governor of Calcutta, Clive, as commander-in-chief, Watts, a leading member of the council, and the officers of the army. Drake got thirty-

one thousand pounds; Clive two hundred and thirty-four thousand pounds; Watts one hundred and seventeen thousand pounds; and the rest of the council, Becher, Marringham, Walsh, Lushington, &c., from sixty thousand pounds down to five thousand pounds each. The army and navy had upwards of six hundred thousand pounds. For the elevation of Meer Cossim, the sums paid to Vansittart, Summer, Holwell, and the rest of the council, including the honorarium to colonel Caillaud and major Yorke, were two hundred thousand two hundred and sixty-nine pounds; for restoring Meer Jaffier again, as we shall see, two million one hundred and fifty thousand pounds!

but as it went to undo what Vansittart had just done, Cossim, who saw no end of exactions, and no security in treating with the English, caused his troops to fall on the unfortunate deputation as they passed through Moorshedabad, and they were all cut to pieces. Here was an end to all agreement with this impracticable man, so the council immediately decreed the deposition of Meer Cossim, and the restoration of the more pliant puppet, Meer Jaffier.

The English took the field in the summer of 1763 against Meer Cossim with six hundred Europeans and one thousand two hundred Sepoys. Major Adams, the commander of this force, was vigorously resisted by Meer Cossim, but drove



CALCUTTA.

And for similar work with other princes, from 1757 to 1766, the total received by the English officers, civil and military, exclusive of Clive's jaghire, worth thirty thousand pounds a-year, was five million nine hundred and forty thousand four hundred and ninety-eight pounds!

Such were the secret springs which moved our many infamous proceedings in the early acquisition of territory in India. But on this occasion, though Vansittart had pocketed this large bribe from Meer Cossim, the council in Calcutta, who got nothing, voted the terms most dishonourable, and sent a fresh deputation to Cossim at Monghir. This deputation was headed by Mr. Amyott;

him from Moorshedabad, gained a decided victory over him on the plains of Geriah, and, after a siege of nine days, reduced Monghir. Reduced to his last place of strength in Patna, and feeling that he must yield that, Meer Cossim determined to give one parting example of his ferocity to his former patrons, as, under their protection, he had given many to his own subjects. He had taken prisoners the English belonging to the factory at Patna, amounting to one hundred and fifty individuals. These he caused to be massacred by a renegade Frenchman in his service, named Sombre, but called by the Indians Sumroo. On the 5th of October, after taking away their knives and forks, and

leaving them wholly defenceless, this Sumroo and his soldiers massacred the whole of them except William Fullarton, a surgeon known to the nabob, and therefore excepted by him. The mangled bodies of the victims were thrown into two wells, which were then filled up with stones. This done, the monster Cossim fled into Oude, and took refuge with its nabob, Sujah Dowlah. The English immediately entered Patna, still reeking with the blood of their countrymen, and proclaimed the deposition of Meer Cossim, and the elevation of Meer Jaffier as nabob of Bengal; the

thousand two hundred Europeans and eight thousand Sepoys. Before the two armies came in sight of each other Adams died, and the command was assumed by major, afterwards Sir Hector Munro.

The most alarming circumstance to the English was that there was mutiny in their camp. The Sepoys did not much relish the service against the Great Mogul and their former chief; and Munro resorted to that frightful mode of quelling it which shocks all our ideas of civilisation, but which our commanders in the late general insurrection in India deemed



PALACE IN THE FORT OF ALLAHABAD.

council having bargained with this latter compliant individual for reward to themselves for this service to the amount, as above stated, of two millions one hundred and fifty thousand pounds.

The nabob of Oude zealously embraced the cause of Meer Cossim. He possessed not only great resources in his own province, but he possessed additional authority with the natives from having received also at his court the titular emperor of Delhi, Shah Allum, who, though driven from his throne and territory by the Mahrattas, was still in the eyes of the people the Great Mogul. With the Great Mogul in his camp, and appointed vizier by him, Sujah Dowlah advanced at the head of fifty thousand men against major Adams and his little army, now numbering about one

themselves compelled to imitate. He blew twenty-four of the mutineers from the mouth of cannon. With troops thus rather over-awed than well-affected, Munro led his army to Buxor, more than a hundred miles higher up the Ganges. There, in the month of October, 1764, he came into conflict with the army of Oude, and put it thoroughly to the route, killing four thousand men, and taking one hundred and thirty pieces of cannon and much spoil.

The next day the Great Mogul went over to the stronger party. He had no further hope of assistance from Sujah Dowlah, and so he rode, with a few followers, to the English camp. He was received most willingly, for, though the English had shown no disposition to recognise his authority, now he was in their hands they acknowledged him as the

rightful sovereign of Hindostan, and lost no time in concluding a treaty with him; and, on condition of his yielding certain territories to them, they agreed to put him in possession of Allahabad and the other states of the nabob of Oude. After this, Munro continuing the war against Sujah Dowlah, endeavoured to take the hill fort of Chunar, in which all the treasures of Cossim were said to be deposited, but failed. On his part, Sujah Dowlah had obtained the assistance of Holkar, a powerful Mahratta chief, and, with this advantage, endeavoured to make a better peace with Munro; but that officer declined treating, unless Cossim and the assassin, Sombre, were first given up to him. Dowlah proposed, instead of this surrender of those who had sought his protection, the usually triumphant argument with the English, a large sum of money. But Munro replied that all the lacs of rupees in Dowlah's treasury would not satisfy him without the surrender of the murderers of his countrymen at Patna. Dowlah, though he would not surrender the fugitives, had no objection to give a secret order for the assassination of Sombre; but Munro equally spurned this base proposal, and the war went on. Munro was victorious, and early in 1765, having reduced the fort of Chunar and scattered Dowlah's army, he entered Allahabad in triumph, and put the Mogul in possession of it.

Whilst these affairs were progressing, Clive in England was maintaining an arduous warfare in the India House against powerful enemies there. He had been received in England with the highest honours, as the founder of our real empire in India. He had accumulated a fortune of three hundred thousand pounds, independent of his jaghire, which produced thirty thousand pounds a-year. His wealth, and the reputation of immensely more than he possessed, gave him great *éclat*. He was created a baron in the peerage of Ireland, by the title of baron Clive, of Plassey, the scene of his greatest Indian victory, and was promised an early English peerage. He became a member of the house of commons. His support was sought by the contending parties of the time; but, with an instinctive feeling of one great spirit for another, he attached himself to Pitt, afterwards Chatham; and when Pitt was thrown out of office after the accession of George III., and the transfer of power to his favourite, lord Bute, Clive still adhered to the fortunes of Pitt, and rejected the overtures of Bute, though he did not neglect to warn him, on the approach of peace with France, against admitting that people again to their former possessions in India. Bute, finding that he could not gain Clive, united himself with Sullivan and the party in the India House which was hostile to Clive. Supported by the minister, this party now set about reducing the authority of Clive, and inflicting the vengeance of their animosity upon him. They accused him of having corruptly obtained his jaghire, though they had not expressed the slightest reproach at the time, and they proceeded to deprive him of it by a vote of the court of directors.

At that time, every share of five hundred pounds conferred a vote in the election of directors, and in the strife of parties the manufacture of fictitious votes was carried to an enormous extent. Clive confessed that, in endeavouring to

defend himself and wrest the power from his opponents, he had spent one hundred thousand pounds in creating votes. It was not till 1765 that this practice was checked by an act of parliament, requiring every proprietor, before voting, to take an oath that the stock was really his own, and had been so for twelve months. In the course of the contest with Sullivan's party, Clive, in 1763, made a determined attempt to drive Sullivan and his friends from the direction; but, spite of his creation of votes, he found himself defeated. The loss of his jaghire was the immediate result. The directors confiscated it, and transferred the income to their own coffers.

Clive was not the man to put up quietly with this conduct towards him. He instantly filed a bill in chancery against the court of directors; and the most eminent lawyers whom they consulted, Yorke, the attorney-general, Sir Fletcher Norton, the solicitor-general, and other distinguished lawyers, gave them little hope of establishing this proceeding against him. Whilst things were in this position, and the India House was thus rewarding the man who had created an empire for them, the news of the massacre of the residents of the factory at Patna arrived; and it was yet all uncertain how the war with the nabob of Oude would terminate. To this was added the anxieties occasioned by the weakness of the governments in the different presidencies of India, and their jarrings one with another. In none of the three presidencies had the governor yet more than one voice in the council; and, as there was hitherto no supreme government, each of the three was jealous of the other's successes, and ready to thwart each other's movements. Still more, the example set by Clive and his colleagues, of levying such amazing sums on the princes they had had to deal with, had roused the most boundless rapacity throughout every branch of the service. Of this rapacity, we shall presently quote Clive's own description. It was felt now by all parties, that if India was to be saved, the India House must compromise its disputes, and send out again the only man who had vigour enough to repress in some degree the disorders of the officials, and to guide the public counsels.

At a meeting, therefore, of the proprietors, in the early spring of 1764, it was proposed that justice should at once be done to Clive by the restoration of his jaghire, and that he should be appointed both governor and commander-in-chief of Bengal. Clive immediately rose, and desired that this proposition should not be put to the vote; that he could not think of going to India with so considerable a property as the jaghire in dispute; that, to facilitate an easy adjustment of that question, he had resolved to offer terms of liberal compromise; but that even when that was settled, there was another point, of equal importance, to be determined before he could accept the proposed appointments. "It would be in vain for me," he said, "to exert myself as I ought in India, if my measures are to be thwarted and condemned at home, under the influence of a chairman who is known to be my personal and inveterate enemy. It is a matter of indifference to me who fills the chair, if Mr. Sullivan does not; but, if he does, I must decline to go."

This declaration produced a violent uproar, amid which, Mr. Sullivan endeavoured to make himself heard. So far as he succeeded, it was to represent the certain effect of lord

Clive's appointment, in the jealousies and heartburnings amongst those now in command. But the tumult only grew the greater, and, when Sullivan saw that he could not be heard, he proposed to decide the matter by ballot; yet, by the bye-laws of the company, it required at least nine proprietors to demand it; and though upwards of three hundred were present, nine could not be found. The directors saw that they were completely in a minority, and consented to the appointment of Clive to both the offices of governor and commander-in-chief. Still, Clive would not announce his acceptance of the offices, till he saw how the direction would be determined at the annual election, which would take place on the 25th of April. On that day there was a vehement contest, but in the end Clive was triumphant. Sullivan had prepared a list of twenty-three directors, whom he supported with all his influence; but he only succeeded in carrying half his number, and was within one vote of being excluded himself. But was no longer minister, the affairs of India were urgent. In the contest for the chair, Clive was again triumphant; his two stout friends, Rous and Bolton, were elected chairman and deputy-chairman. Clive then made his proposal respecting the jaghire, which was so very reasonable, that it was at once accepted. It was that the rents of the jaghire should be guaranteed to him for ten years, provided the company still continued possessors of the lands round Calcutta charged with those rents.

These matters all satisfactorily settled, Clive lost no time in embarking for India for the third and last time. He went out with the firm determination to curb and crush the monster abuses that everywhere prevailed in our Indian territories. He had made a fortune of forty thousand pounds a-year, and he was, therefore, prepared to quash the system by which thousands of others were endeavouring to do the same. No man was sharper than Clive in perceiving, where his own interest was not concerned, the evils which were consuming the very vitals of our power, and making our name odious in Hindostan. On the voyage he wrote these virtuous sentiments in a letter:—"See what an Augean stable is to be cleansed! The confusion that we behold, what does it arise from? Rapacity and luxury; the unwarrantable desire of so many to acquire in an instant what only a few can or ought to possess. Every man would be rich without the merit of long services; and from this competition undoubtedly springs that disorder to which we must apply a remedy, or be undone; for it is not only malignant, but contagious."

After a tedious voyage, Clive landed at Calcutta, in May, 1765, and found things still worse than he had anticipated. He thus wrote home to the directors; and his letter remains in the third report of the parliamentary committee of 1772:—"Upon my arrival, I am sorry to say, I found your affairs in a condition so nearly desperate as would have alarmed any set of men whose sense of honour and duty to their employers had not been estranged by the too eager pursuit of their own immediate advantages. The sudden, and, among many, the unwarrantable acquisition of riches [who was so entitled to say this?], had introduced luxury in every shape, and in its most pernicious excess. These two enormous evils went hand in hand together

through the whole presidency, infecting almost every member of every department. Every inferior seemed to have grasped at wealth, that he might be enabled to assume that spirit of profusion which was now the only distinction between him and his superiors. Thus all distinction ceased, and every rank became, in a manner, upon an equality. Nor was this the end of the mischief; for a contest of such a nature amongst our servants necessarily destroyed all proportion between their wants, and the honest means of supplying them. In a country where money is plenty, where fear is the principle of government, and where your arms are ever victorious, it is no wonder that the lust of riches should readily embrace the proffered means of its gratification, or that the instruments of your power should avail themselves of their authority, and proceed even to extortion, in those cases where simple corruption could not keep pace with their rapacity. Examples of this sort, set by superiors [and who had set such more than Clive?], could not fail of being followed, in a proportionate degree, by inferiors. The evil was contagious, and spread among the civil and military, down to the writer, the ensign, and the free merchant."

Thus we have the causes frankly confessed by lord Clive of all the evils and oppressions which have disgraced our sway in India, and which no representations, on the part of the more conscientious, could arrest, till they resulted in the late terrible insurrection, and in all its horrors. That passage, followed by abundance of similar ones from the highest authorities, and from authorities in the India House itself, in all succeeding epochs, is a full answer to the glozing sophistry of those historians who have professed to find nothing in our Indian history but humanity and blessing. In vain has lord Macaulay, a writer essentially glittering in his rhetoric, but worldly and unsound in his moral sentiments, endeavoured to excuse the conduct of such men as Clive and Hastings; their real deeds are recorded by the faithful pen of Mill, the historian of our Indian empire, drawn from the archives of the East India Company itself.

The directors replied to this very letter, lamenting their conviction of its literal truth:—"We have the strongest sense of the deplorable state to which our affairs were on the point of being reduced, from the corruption and rapacity of our servants, and the *universal depravity of manners throughout the settlement*. The general relaxation of discipline and obedience, both military and civil, was hastily tending to a dissolution of all government. Our letters to the select committee express our sentiments of what has been obtained by way of donations, and to that we must add, that we think the vast fortunes acquired in the inland trade *have been obtained by a series of the most tyrannic and oppressive conduct that ever was known in any age or country!*"

Clive set instantly about correcting this in others; how far he practised his own virtuous sentiments we shall see anon. The first and most glaring abuse of power which arrested his attention was as regarded his old puppet, Meer Jaffier. He had lately died, and his own court had proposed to set up his legitimate grandson, the son of Meeran, who had been killed by lightning in his tent, when out with Colonel Caillaud, in 1760, against Sujah Dowlah and Shah Allum; but the council preferred his natural son, Nujee-

ul-Dowlah, a poor spiritless youth, who agreed that the English should take the military defence of the country, and also appoint a naib-subah, or sub-nabob, to manage the revenue and other matters of government. The council agreed to this, and received a present from the new nabob of their creation of one hundred and forty thousand pounds, which they divided amongst themselves. This was directly in opposition to the recent order received from the court of directors, not to receive any presents from the native princes; but, as Clive states, he found them totally disregarding anything but their own avarice. Nujeem-ul-Dowlah, their new puppet, proposed to have one Nuncomar as his naib, but Nuncomar was too great a rogue even for them. He had alternately served and betrayed the English and his master, Meer Jaffier, and the council set him aside, and appointed to that office Mohammed Reza Khan, a Mussulman of far better character. Clive confirmed the appointment of Mohammed, but compelled Nujeem-ul-Dowlah to retire from the nominal office of nabob, on a pension of thirty-two lacs of rupees.

On showing his decisive authorities from the court of directors to the council, and announcing not only his great displeasure at the deposition of Meer Jaffier, the nabob of his own creation, and the measures following that act, but his firm determination to put an end to the system of presents, one of the most busy of the nabob-makers, a Mr. Johnstone, ventured to express some dissent. "Do you dare to dispute our authority?" demanded Clive, sternly, and the affrighted Johnstone replied, humbly, "I never had the least intention of doing such a thing!" "Upon this," writes Clive, "there was an appearance of very long and pale countenances, and not one of the council uttered another syllable."

The very name of Clive brought the war with Oude to a close. Sujah Dowlah was encamped on the borders of Bahar, strongly reinforced by bands of Mahrattas and Afghans, and anxious for another battle. But no sooner did he learn that Clive was returned, than he informed Cossim and Sombre that as he could no longer protect them, they had better shift for themselves. Accordingly, they escaped, and took shelter, one amongst the Rohillas, and the other among the Jauts. He then dismissed his followers, rode to the English camp, and announced that he was ready to accept such terms of peace as they thought reasonable. Clive proceeded to Benares to settle these terms. The council of Calcutta had determined to strip Sujah Dowlah of all his possessions, but Clive knew that it was far more politic to make friends of powerful princes. He therefore allowed Sujah Dowlah to retain the rank and title of vizier, and gave him back all the rest of Oude, except the districts of Allahabad and Corah, which had been promised to Shah Allum as an imperial domain. On Shah Allum, as Great Mogul, he also settled, on behalf of the Company, an annual payment of twenty-six lacs of rupees. Thus the heir of the great Aurungzebe became the tributary of the East India Company, and, so far from feeling the humiliation of his situation, he was delighted at the idea of possessing a clear income in future, which had not to pass through the hands of his rapacious ministers, and he exclaimed—"Thank God! I shall now have as many dancing-girls as I please!"

In return for this favour, Clive obtained one of infinitely more importance. It was the transfer of the sole right of

dominion throughout the provinces of Bengal, Orissa, and Bahar. All that vast territory was thus made the legal and valid property of the East India Company. The conveyance was ratified by *Dewanee*, or public deed, which was delivered by the Great Mogul to Clive in presence of his court, the throne on which he was elevated during this most important ceremony being an English dining-table, covered with a showy cloth. And of this prince—who was entirely their own puppet—the English still continued to style themselves the vassals, to strike his coins at their mint, and to bear his titles on their public seal! Clive saw the immense importance of maintaining the aspect of subjects to the highest native authority, and to avoid alarming the minds of the native forces by an open assumption of proprietorship. By this single treaty, at the same time that he had freed the company from all dependence on the heirs of Meer Jaffier, he derived the company's title to those states from the supreme native power in India; and he could boast of having secured to his countrymen an annual revenue of two millions of money. In writing home, he met the natural fears of the company at the sudden assumption of such vast regions, by saying—} With regard to the magnitude of our possessions, do not be staggered. Assure yourself that the company must be what they are, or be annihilated." Just before, he had written in the like strain—"We have at last arrived at that critical period which I have long foreseen: I mean that period which renders it necessary for us to determine whether we can or shall take the whole to ourselves. Jaffier Ali Khan is dead. His natural son is a minor; but I know not whether he is yet declared successor. Sujah Dowlah is beat from his dominions. We are in possession of them, and it is scarcely hyperbole to say—'To-morrow the whole mogul empire is in our power.' The inhabitants of the country, we know by long experience, are neither disciplined, commanded, nor paid like ours. Can it, then, be doubtful that a large army of Europeans will effectually preserve us sovereigns?"

Having thus arranged with the natives, Clive came to the far more arduous business of compelling the Europeans to conform to the orders of the company, that no more presents should be received. In his letters home he recommended that to put an end to the examples of corruption in high places, it was necessary that the governor of Bengal should have a larger salary; that he and others of the higher officers should be prohibited from being concerned in trade; that the chief seat of government should be at Calcutta; and the governor-general should have the authority, in cases of emergency, to decide, independent of the council. These were all sound views, but to carry them out required the highest exercise of his authority. He exacted a written pledge from the civil servants of the company, that they would receive no more presents from the native princes. To this there was considerable objection, and some resigned; but he carried this through, nominally at least. To sweeten the prohibition of civil servants engaging in trade, he gave them a share in the enormous emoluments of the salt monopoly—two hundred per cent. being laid on the introduction of salt, one of the most indispensable requisites of life to the natives, from the adjoining state of Madras into that of Bengal.

With the military he had a far more violent contest. After the battle of Plassey, Meer Jaffier had conferred on the officers of the army what was called *double batta*, meaning an additional allowance of pay. Clive had always told the officers that it was not likely that the Company would continue this; and, now that the territories of Jaffier were become virtually their own, he announced that this must be discontinued. The governor and council issued the orders for this abolition of the double batta; he received in reply nothing but remonstrances. The officers, according to Burke's phrase, in his speech of December 1st, 1783, "could not behold, without a *virtuous emulation*, the moderate gains of the civil service." Clive was peremptory, and found his orders openly set at defiance by nearly two hundred officers, headed by no less a person than his second in command, Sir Robert Fletcher. These gentlemen had privately entered into a bond of five hundred pounds to resign on the enforcement of the order, and not to resume their commissions unless the double batta was restored. To support such as might be cashiered, a subscription was entered into, to which the angry civilians of Calcutta are said to have added sixteen thousand pounds.

The conspirators flattered themselves that, in a country like India, held wholly by the sword, Clive could not dispense with their services for a single day. They were mistaken. On receiving the news of this military strike, Clive immediately set off for the camp at Moughir. He was informed that two of the officers vowed that if he came to enforce the order, they would shoot or stab him. Undaunted by any such threats, although in failing health, and amid drenching rains, he pursued his journey, and, on arriving, summoned the officers of the army, and, treating the threats of assassination as those of murderers and not of Englishmen, he reasoned with them on the unpatriotic nature of their conduct. His words produced the desired effect on many; the privates showed no disposition to support their officers in their demand, and the sepoy all shouted with enthusiasm for Sabut Jung, their ideal of a hero. The younger officers, who had been menaced with death if they did not support the conspiracy, now begged to recall their resignation, and Clive allowed it. He ordered Sir Robert Fletcher and all who stood out into arrest, and sent them down the Ganges to take their trial at Calcutta. Many are said to have departed with tears in their eyes.

Clive wrote to the council enjoining the most unyielding firmness; to imprison the officers in the new fort, if they showed any insolence or contumacy; and if the civilians attempted to fete them, to dismiss instantly all such from the service. By this spirited conduct Clive crushed this formidable resistance, and averted the shame which he avowed not all the waters of the Ganges could wash out, that of a successful mutiny.

Whilst showing this firmness towards others, Clive found it necessary to maintain it in himself. In face of the orders of the company which he had been enforcing, that the British officials should receive no more presents, the rajah of Benares offered him two diamonds of large size, and the nabob vizier, Sujah Dowlah, on the conclusion of his treaty, a rich casket of jewels and a large sum of money. Clive

declared that he could thus have added half a million to his fortune; and our historians have been loud in his praises for his abstinence on this occasion. Lord Mahon observes:—"All this time the conduct of Clive was giving a lofty example of disregard of lucre. He did not spare his personal resources, and was able, some years after, to boast in the house of commons that this his second Indian command had left him poorer than it found him."

But how was it possible for Clive to act otherwise? At the very time that he was enforcing in the sternest manner the orders of the company, that this practice should cease, was he himself to set the most public example—breaking the rule for his own private benefit? The deed could only have covered him with overwhelming infamy, and have destroyed his reputation and his influence together. Clive had already secured a princely fortune, and he was too ambitious not to sacrifice now a large sum for the preservation of his fame. There were other and plentiful sources of emolument, however, much less prominent to the public gaze; and these Clive did not neglect. Much eloquence has been expended by Macaulay, in a celebrated article in the *Edinburgh Review*, to show that the salt monopoly was an old impost, and that Clive did nothing but what was quite admissible in putting a certain portion of the maintenance of the civil servants of the company on the salt duty, as he only enabled them to make steady but slower fortunes than by private trade and the system of presents. But Macaulay should have shown—which he could not—that this enriching men out of the salt monopoly put an end to the practice of presents, or sums extorted as presents. The archives of the India House dissipate all this mere sophistry.

Clive himself entered largely into private trade, and into the vast monopoly of salt, to the most serious oppression of the people, and the detriment of their health, to which, with their rice diet, this article is so essentially necessary: and he did this on the avowed ground of enabling some gentlemen, whom he had brought out, to make their fortunes! His committee sanctioned the private trade in salt, betelnut, and tobacco, out of which nearly all the abuses and miseries he complained of had grown; only confining it to the *superior servants* of the company. And he himself, when the orders of the directors were laid before him in council, carelessly turned them aside, saying, "The directors, when they wrote them, could not know what changes had taken place in India." No! they did not know that he and his council were now partners in the salt trade, and realising a profit, including interest, of fifty per cent.! Perhaps Clive thought he had done a great service when he attempted to lessen the number of harpies by cutting off the trade of the juniors, and thus turning the tide of gain more completely into his own pockets, and those of his fellows of the council.

Giving Clive all the credit possible for endeavouring to check the system of trading by the civil servants of the company, it is impossible to exempt him from the charge of trading himself, and thus paralysing his own regulations. Nor is there any reason to believe that the orders against trading or receiving presents were extended very widely or deeply. Both Hastings and Vansittart describe the frightful persistence of these practices all over the country. Verelst, in his "View of Bengal," describes black merchants at this period

as purchasing the names of young writers in the company's service, and, under this sanction, as guilty of extortion towards the natives in the provinces. He says, many a young writer made one thousand five hundred pounds and two thousand pounds a-year by this selling of his name. Hastings, then a subordinate officer, says:—"The evil is not confined to our dependents alone, but is practised all over the country by people assuming the habit of our sepoys, or calling themselves our *gomastahs*." In going up the country, he says, the very sight of sepoys "caused most of the petty

India, or, perhaps, any other country! It is in vain for our essayists and historians to endeavour to convert such men as Clive and Hastings into models of moderation and humanity. If they simply would be content to say that they were great and successful men, as far as their talents went, and that this country owes them much for the territory they won, and the power they established in India, every one must admit it. But the less said of the means by which they achieved this the better, for the whole annals of India, as drawn from the archives of Leadenhall-street, and



FUTTEHPOOR, ALLAHABAD.

towns and serais to be deserted at our approach, and the shops shut up, from the apprehension of the same treatment from us!"

Such was the state of the country as witnessed by Hastings; such it was when Clive arrived. And Clive, who so forcibly described it to the directors—what did he do? He aggravated it; enriched himself enormously by the very system, and so left it. Such it continued till Mr. Hastings—this Mr. Hastings, who so feelingly wrote his views to the president, Vansittart, came into supreme power; and what did the wise and benevolent Mr. Hastings? He became the Aaron's-rod of gift-takers, the prince of exactors, and the most relentless oppressor of the natives that ever visited

as stamped on the pages of all eminent writers who had lived in the country, is a revolting chronicle of the foulest rapacity, the most unchristian oppressions. We may admit that Clive wonderfully restored order by this short sojourn in India, made some invaluable treaties, and, compared with some who came after him, showed great wisdom and moderation; but his health could no longer endure the climate, and, in January, 1766, after a residence of only nine months, he left again for England, Mr. Verelst, a man of mere ordinary ability, occupying his post till a successor should be sent out. He concluded his farewell speech in council with the words:—"I leave the country in peace; I leave the civil and military departments under discipline



THE GREAT MOGUL DELIVERING TO LORD CLIVE THE RIGHT OF DOMINION OVER THE PROVINCES OF BENGAL, ORISSA, AND BAHAR.

and subordination; it is incumbent on you to keep them so." He arrived in England in July, and was received by the court of directors with acclamations; he had, indeed, in a few months, made them the avowed masters of a great empire. He was received also by the king and queen with the most cordial marks of esteem. Though he would accept no presents from the nabob of Oude for himself, he had accepted most valuable ones for their majesties: a diamond of immense value, and a sword set with diamonds for the king; a splendid pearl necklace, and other ornaments for the queen, &c. Having delivered these, Clive sought, with his family, the waters of Bath, to disperse, if possible, that nervous malady which haunted him with strange horrors of imagination, and under the influence of which he eventually put an end to his life. Before that event, however, we shall see him called upon to defend himself against charges in his administration of the countries which he won for this kingdom.

Whilst Clive had been reducing our enemies in Bengal and Oude, a more powerful antagonist than any one whom we had yet encountered in India was every day growing more formidable in Mysore, and combining several of the petty chiefs of the different states of Madras as his allies against us. He was now far more considerable than when he had appeared against us as the ally of the French general, Lally, in the neighbourhood of Pondicherry. Hyder Ali was a self-made man. He was originally the grandson of a wandering fakir, or Mohammedan monk; became fond of wild field sports, then the captain of banditti, then at the head of an army composed of freebooters; continually growing in the number of his followers, and in the wealth procured by plunder, he at length became commander-in-chief of the rajah of Mysore. Soon rising in his ambition, he seized the rajah, his master, pensioned him off with three lacs of rupees, and declared himself the real rajah. In 1761 he was become firmly established on the throne of Mysore, but this distinction did not satisfy him. He determined to be the founder of Mysore as a great kingdom, and attacking by turns the rajahs of Sera, Belapoor, Gooty, Harpoonelli, Chitteldroog, and other districts, he reduced them under his dominion. He next, on pretence of supporting the claims of an adventurer in the district of Bednore, seized on the region for himself, with immense wealth in it, and afterwards overran Srenda, on the north of Bednore, and extended his power to near the banks of the Kistna. There he was met and repulsed by Madhoo Row, the peishwa of the Mahrattas, who crossed the Kistna, defeated him repeatedly, seized some of his newly-acquired territory, and levied on him thirty-two lacs of rupees.

Hyder returned to Seringapatam, which he had made his capital, and had strongly fortified, and he thence conducted an expedition against Malabar, which he conquered, and put the chiefs to death to make his hold of it the more secure. It was whilst thus engaged that the news reached him of new and formidable combinations against him. His victorious neighbours, the Mahrattas, had joined the English and the nizam of the Deccan, and were preparing an invasion of his kingdom. This coalition was scarcely to have been expected, for the nizam, who had murdered his brother reigning subahdar, Salibut Jung, and seized his

throne, had till recently been hostile to the English. He had invaded the Carnatic, and made war on our ally, Mohammed Ali, with great ferocity; but colonel Campbell marching against him, and severely chastising him, he had made peace with the English, and confirmed to them the possession of the Northern Circars, on condition that they paid him a small tribute, and held a certain force ready to assist him when needed. This being agreed upon, it required little further to induce the English to join the nizam and the Mahrattas in an endeavour to check the career of Hyder Ali, of whose subtle and bold genius the English as yet were ignorant.

But Hyder soon showed them a sample of his diplomatic adroitness. There are writers who have adorned him with all the attributes of a hero of romance. The truth is that he was a clever, unprincipled adventurer, cruel and ferocious, and never lacking a wily word or scheme to accomplish his ends. A good example of his finesse occurred in his treatment of a brahmin, Khondc Row, who had been greatly in his confidence, but who took up arms against him. When he was besieged by him, he was entreated by the ladies to give him favourable terms of surrender. "I will not only spare his life," replied Hyder, "but I will cherish him like a parroquet." As parroquets are greatly petted in the East, this was enough; Row surrendered himself, and was shut up for life in an iron cage!

Colonel Smith having agreed to invade Mysore with the nizam and the Mahrattas in the spring of 1767, the Mahrattas advanced first into the high table lands of that country with their cavalry; colonel Smith followed with his own little army, consisting of about one thousand five hundred Europeans and nine thousand sepoy, and accompanied by the large, disorderly host of the nizam. But Smith was soon struck with dismay by the intelligence that Hyder had succeeded in winning over the peishwa of the Mahrattas by the payment of thirty-five lacs of rupees, and that for this sum the Mahratta chief had engaged to break with the English and quit the country. This was speedily followed by the more alarming discovery that the nizam, too, was in treaty with Hyder to desert the English, and unite with him and the Mahrattas in driving the English from every district on the Coromandel coast. Smith instantly separated from the nizam, and hastened to secure the passes into the Carnatic, the first object of Hyder's attack. He obtained some reinforcements from Mohammed Ali, but he speedily found himself not merely deserted, but combined against. The Mahrattas and the nizam were coming against him in league with Hyder Ali, and colonel Smith endeavoured to retreat to Changanah, but, before he could reach that place, this huge united force was upon him. He turned and stood his ground, eventually beating off his numerous assailants, but with the loss of his stores of rice for his sepoy, which the Mahratta cavalry made themselves masters of.

To avoid famine, and being surrounded by overwhelming hosts, Smith made a rapid march, day and night, for Trincomalee, a well-fortified and provisioned town on a hill. The enemy pursued at his heels, laying waste the whole country as they came. No sooner did colonel Smith reach Trincomalee and refresh his army, than he again sallied

forth and endeavoured to put a stop to the ravaging of the country. Being almost destitute of cavalry, he found it difficult to do this, as the Mahrattas, with their cavalry, could sweep over the whole district. To cause him greater embarrassment, and cut off any reinforcements, Hyder dispatched his son, Tippoo Sahib, with five thousand horse to beat up the neighbourhood of Madras. Tippoo executed this command with so much secrecy and expedition, that he was very nearly seizing the president and councillors, with the richest merchants of Madras, in their country houses round the town. There was a rush of the inhabitants to secure themselves in the fortress, and Tippoo plundered and ransacked the town, the black town, the magazines, and warehouses, collecting a princely booty. He burnt and laid all waste, and then retreated as fast as he came. This was a terrible blow, and reduced the English and their dependents at Madras to great misery. But colonel Smith did not leave the outrage long unavenged. He drew out his little army of about ten thousand against the combined host, said to amount to nearly seventy thousand men. The nizam professed desperate courage on entering into the battle, but he very soon turned and fled at full speed, his troops following him as fast. The only instance of courage in his army was said to have been one of his ladies, who called out from her bowdah, "This elephant has not been taught to turn in this manner; he only follows the standard." Nor would she allow the elephant to be turned till she saw the standard in full flight. The troops of Hyder and the Mahrattas fought bravely, but they were utterly routed.

The nizam was quite satisfied with war. He drew off his forces from Hyder and the peishwa, and left them to take care of themselves. They again took the field with a strong force; but colonel Smith met them in the month of December, near Amboor, a town in the Carnatic, about one hundred and eight miles from Madras, and gave them a more decisive defeat than at Trincomalee. This decided the nizam, who had waited the event before making up his mind. He made peace on condition that the English recognised his title as subahdar or nizam, and agreed to assist him in emergency with two battalions of sepoys and six cannon. He, on his part, confirmed the company's title to the Northern Circars, and to grant the dewannees of Balaghaut, a country in possession of Hyder, to the English on payment of certain tribute. He also lowered the tribute for the Circars.

This confederacy being broken up, and the Mahrattas having withdrawn, the presidency of Madras thought it a good opportunity to punish Hyder Ali, and reduce his power. These traders were little aware of the real vigour of character of Hyder. They might have had him for a friend, but they despised him as an adventurer, and too late discovered their mistake. He was no common enemy. Ever full of resources, and restrained by no principle but that of his own interest, he had raised himself from nothing to be the head of a great kingdom, and commander of a hundred thousand troops. He would willingly be the ally of the English; he must have their support, or that of the Mahrattas. The English rejected his overtures; threw him into the arms of the Mahrattas, and he and his son, Tippoo, became the mortal and implacable enemies of the English

race and name. By the aid of the Mahrattas and the French he was enabled to maintain himself against them, and to inflict on them the most serious injuries.

The Madras council now determined to carry the war into the very heart of Hyder's kingdom of Mysore; but, instead of allowing colonel Smith, who had shown himself so capable of conducting an Indian campaign, to act upon his own plans, they adopted the fatal one of prescribing the course of action for him. Nothing but disaster could result from this absurd system; and it speedily came. Colonel Smith proposed to invade first the frontier and fertile districts of Mysore; but these tradesmen directors ordered him to push forward into the barren region near Bangalore, where he assured them he should not be able to provide for his army. To weaken his operations, colonel Wood was commanded to take part of his troops and operate on the frontiers. This was bad enough, but they did worse. They adopted the Dutch plan, which had so hampered and irritated Marlborough, till he broke through it, and sent two field deputies to act in concert with them at the presidency, and thus reduce the nominal commander to a mere machine. The result was, what it must be under such circumstances. Colonel Smith refused to follow the orders of the field deputies; the whole of the officers and the army shared his spirit, and nothing succeeded.

To co-operate with this movement, the Bombay presidency sent an expedition to attack Hyder's recent conquests on the coast of Malabar. The fleet reduced his seaport of Mangalore, took Onore and other places. Hyder, leaving a force to cope with colonel Smith, made a rapid transit to Mangalore, appeared before it in May, when least expected; and the English were glad to re-embark as fast as possible, leaving two hundred sick and wounded in Hyder's hands. Meantime, Smith reached Bangalore, and Wood had ravaged the frontier districts; but Hyder hastened back to Bangalore, and there made overtures of peace, which the field deputies rejected. But Smith, under the thralldom of the deputies, could not take the strong city of Bangalore, and the presidency recalled him, and sent colonel Wood in his place. If Smith could not act under the absurd directions of the traders on their sofas in Madras, and the paralysing incubus of the field deputies, Wood was not likely to do it. He was speedily compelled by Hyder to fall back, was surprised, beaten, and lost all his baggage. The presidency superseded Wood by major Fitzgerald, and arrested Wood and sent him to Madras. But Fitzgerald succeeded no better; Hyder drove him out of all his territories, and then fell again on the Carnatic, laid waste the provinces of Madura and Tinnevely, and penetrated into Pondicherry, where he was warmly welcomed by the French officers, who gave him the advice, to avoid all pitched battles with the English, but to scour their territories with flying detachments of cavalry; to come by surprise on districts where they had no horse to cope with and pursue him, and to burn, destroy, and plunder everywhere, and especially the Carnatic, or the country whence they drew their supplies. This was counsel exactly after Hyder's head and genius. The French sent able officers to assist him, and he executed this plan of operations with such success that the council of Madras were glad to replace colonel Smith and to recall their

deputies. Smith could not restore the army to an effective condition all at once, but he exerted himself strenuously to that end, and soon produced so much effect that Hyder began to wish for peace. But he was too sagacious to make any move for this purpose till he could do it to great advantage. Therefore, after once more consulting his French friends at Pondicherry, he, by an artful feint, drew the English army, in the spring of 1769, a hundred and forty miles to the south of Madras. Then, by a rapid march, he suddenly appeared, with a body of five thousand horse, on the heights of St. Thomas, overlooking Madras. The whole of the city and vicinity, except the port of St. George itself, lay at his feet and at his mercy. The town, the black-town, the warehouses, the country villas, and villages all round, were open to his plunder and burning, as they had been to the fury of his son Tippoo before. The terrified council, in all haste, offered most advantageous terms of peace, which it was the very object of Hyder to accept, and that, too, before colonel Smith could arrive, and intercept his retreat. Hyder gladly consented to the terms, which were those of mutual restitution, and of alliance and mutual defence. The last, a condition which, with Hyder's disposition to aggrandisement, was sure to bring the English into fresh trouble.

This was immediately made evident. The treaty was concluded on the 4th of April, 1769, and the first news was that Hyder had quarrelled with the Mahrattas, and called on the presidency of Madras to furnish the stipulated aid. But the presidency replied that he had himself sought this war, and therefore it was not a defensive but an offensive war. The peishwa of the Mahrattas invaded Mysore, and drove Hyder to the very walls of Seringapatam, dreadfully laying waste his territory. Hyder then sent piteous appeals to his allies, the English, offering large sums of money; but they still remained deaf. At another time, they were solicited by the Mahratta chief to make an alliance with him, but they determined to remain neutral, and left Hyder and the peishwa to fight out their quarrels. In 1771 the Mahrattas invaded the Carnatic, but were soon driven out; and in 1772 the Mahrattas and Hyder made peace through the mediation of the nabob of the Carnatic, or of Arcot, as he was more frequently called. Hyder had lost a considerable portion of Mysore, and had to pay besides fifteen lacs of rupees, with the promise of fifteen more. The refusal of the English to assist him did not fail to render him more deeply hostile than ever to them.

During this period—from 1769 to 1772—Warren Hastings had been second in the council at Madras; but in the latter year he was promoted to the head of the council in Bengal. During this period, too, the English had been brought into hostilities with the rajah of Tanjore. The history of these proceedings is amongst the very blackest of the innumerable black proceedings of the East India Company. The rajah of Tanjore was in alliance with the company. In 1762 they had guaranteed to him the security of his throne; but now their great ally, Mohammed Ali, the nabob of the Carnatic, called for help to the English against the rajah. He asserted that the rajah of Tanjore had seized some territory which belonged to him, or was claimed by him. The conduct of honourable men who bore the name of Christians would have been to offer themselves

as mediators, and so settle the business; but not by such means was the whole of India to be won from the native princes. The rajah of the Carnatic offered to purchase the territory of Tanjore from the English for a large sum. Let it be remembered that the territory was none of theirs; that they had no more right to it than John Smith has to the estate of his neighbour, John Brown. On the contrary, they had guaranteed the defence of these territories to the rajah of Tanjore by express treaty. No matter, they closed the bargain with the rajah of the Carnatic; they agreed to seize Tanjore, and make it over to Mohammed Ali.

An army assembled at Trichinopoly on the 12th of September, 1771, but it was found that Mohammed's second son, who was to have prepared the provisions for the troops, had betrayed his trust, and that no such supplies were to be found. When, after collecting provisions with great difficulty, the army sat down before Vellum, and the English were ready to enter a breach and take the city, it was found that Mohammed's eldest son had made a secret treaty with the rajah of Tanjore, on payment of a large sum. The council refused to assent to this treacherous peace, and the rajah of Tanjore was obliged to cede to them two districts adjoining Madura. But the following spring, spite of this fresh treaty with the rajah, the English marched into the Marawara, by another bargain with Mohammed, and again they had Mohammed's eldest son, Omdut-ul-Omrah, with them, but under bond not to make any clandestine treaties. He was, however, to have the plundering of the towns on condition of paying a fixed sum to the troops. Thus the English were to escape the odium of plundering, but were to have the fruits of it. Early in April, they took Ramanadporam, the capital of the greater Marawar, with its polygar, a boy of twelve years old, with his mother, and his treasury. When the English had conquered the whole of the polygars, in the course of which the polygar of the lesser Marawar was betrayed and killed, and the people most barbarously treated both by the English and the troops of the nabob, the whole was handed over to the nabob of the Carnatic.

Before this iniquitous business was completed, the nabob had informed the English that the rajah of Tanjore had broken his engagements by not paying a certain sum of money, and by endeavouring to engage Hyder and the Mahrattas to aid him. He offered the English another large sum, ten lacs of pagodas, and other advantages, the plunder being reserved to himself, and they accepted this disgraceful bargain, invaded Tanjore, seized the rajah and his family, and invested the whole of Tanjore in the name of the nabob of the Carnatic.

When these infamous doings were known in England, a feeling of horror and indignation ran through the country. Never had the English name been so trodden into the dust of villany. The French were ready to proclaim our venal barbarity to the whole world. The opposition in parliament made the walls of St. Stephen's ring with their outcries. The East India Company was compelled to send out lord Pigot to Madras to do what Clive had so vigorously done in Bengal—control and reverse the acts of the council. Pigot most honourably acquitted himself; liberated the outraged nabob of Tanjore and his family, and restored them. But Pigot had not the same overawing name as Clive. The

council of Madras seized him and imprisoned him, expelling every member of the council that had supported him. This most daring proceeding once more astonished and aroused the public feeling of England. An order was sent out to reinstate lord Pigot, but, before it arrived, his grief and mortification had killed him. Sir Thomas Rumbold, a most avaricious man, was appointed to succeed him, and arrived in Madras in February, 1778, major-general Hector Munro being commander-in-chief; and the army of Hyder, one hundred thousand in number, already again menacing the frontiers.

But we have far overshot the cotemporary history of Bengal. The presidency thought it had greatly benefited by the reforms of Clive; yet it had since been called upon to furnish large supplies of men and money to support the unprincipled transactions at Madras, which we have briefly detailed, and the India House, instead of paying the usual dividends, was compelled to reduce them. In 1769 India stock fell, within a few days, above sixty per cent. This state of things compelled parliament to turn its attention to the causes of this depression. Neither the reports of the embarrassments in India, nor of the unrighteous acts of the Madras presidency, prevented government granting to the East India Company, the same year, a guarantee of the revenues of the countries they had conquered, for five years, on condition of their paying to government four hundred thousand pounds per annum, and of exporting to India certain quantities of British manufactures. To examine into the state of their affairs at Calcutta, the board of directors appointed three commissioners to go out thither. There were Mr. Vansittart, who had so miserably governed Bengal before; Mr. Sraffton, a man of far superior knowledge and abilities; and colonel Forde, the conqueror of the Northern Circars, and of the Dutch at Bedarra. These gentlemen set sail for India, towards the close of that year, in the frigate *Aurora*; but, after leaving the Cape of Good Hope, they never were heard of again, the vessel, no doubt, having gone down at sea.

What these gentlemen might have effected at Calcutta, therefore, remains unknown; but there was need enough of such an inspection as they were empowered to make. Mr. Cartier was the head of the council in Bengal till Warren Hastings was appointed to that office in 1772. Matters were bad enough there, and they were not better in the India House at home. There Sullivan had again acquired the chief influence, being elected deputy chairman. Of course, everything that Clive had done it was his endeavour to undo, and the consequence was a condition of anarchy at the India House, at Calcutta, which produced the most disastrous consequences. Whilst Orme, the friend of Clive, who had just published his first part of his *History of our Transactions in India*, was blazoning abroad the glory of Clive, other writers were busy demonstrating that this wonderful new empire was in danger of being destroyed by the boundless rapacity of the company's servants employed there. They pointed justly to the monstrous anomaly of fifteen millions of people and so splendid an empire being governed by a trading company, managed by a little knot of directors and a few hundred shareholders. The conclusion was, that plunder, extortion, and misery could be

the only results to the unfortunate people of India, and ruin to the company at home; and, in truth, everything appeared to bear out these prognostics. The directors, early in 1772, were compelled to go again to government with fresh demands for a loan.

In order to remove the odium of mismanagement from the directors at home to the company's servants in India, Sullivan moved for leave to bring in a bill for the better regulation of the affairs of the company, and especially of its servants in India. In such a movement it was not likely that he would spare his old enemy, Clive. And in making such an attempt, he was sure to be zealously supported by a large body of the shareholders of the India House, who had been diligently taught that all the failure of revenue in India was the direct consequence of Clive's reforms when last in Bengal. There was now a very numerous body of men in England who had made enormous fortunes in India by every species of crime and oppression. These men, called nabobs, who had grown monstrously rich by Indian plunder, were all ready to unite in hunting down the man whom, after enriching himself, they charged with endeavouring to prevent all others, except a favoured few, doing the same at the expense of the natives. These employed newspapers, by large bribes, and even set on foot such papers, to blacken the man who, having served his own turn, had done his best to restrain the whole great flock of harpies which was continually flying eastward to the same great field of rapine and oppression. It was easy to engage the sympathies of the philanthropic and religious, by representing the evils which were devouring India as originating in Clive; whilst the object of the denouncers was really to prevent this same wondrous scene of aggrandisement being closed to their friends, and children who had to come after them. What those evils were which India suffered then, and so long as the company continued to rule, are described in full by a host of writers of the most unimpeachable authority. The letters of Sir Frederick Shore, a judge, are a record of them such as no other region could furnish. Mr. Vansittart himself, when president of the council in Bengal, wrote that the very members of the council were deriving vast emoluments from this state of things, and audaciously denied its existence. Under such sanction, every inferior plunderer set at defiance the orders of the president and the authority of his officers. When the native collectors of the revenue attempted, under the express sanction of the governor, to collect the usual duties from the English, they were not only repelled, but seized and punished as enemies of the company and violators of its privileges. The native judges and magistrates were resisted in the discharge of their duties, and their functions were even usurped. Everything was in confusion, and many of the zemindars and other collectors refused to be answerable for the revenues. Even the nabob's own officers were refused the liberty of making purchases on his account, and one of them, of high connection, for purchasing some saltpetre from the nabob, was seized, was sent in irons to Calcutta, where some of the council proposed to whip him publicly, and cut off his ears. Mr. Vansittart mentions an officer of the nabob whom he had ordered to send away any Europeans who were committing disorders in the province, but who sent him word

that they threatened the most horrible things to him if he dared to interfere. The officer then added, "Now, sir, I am to inform you what I have obstructed them in. This place, Backergunge, was formerly of great trade; it is now ruined, and in this manner:—A gentleman sends a gomastah here to buy or sell. He immediately looks upon himself as sufficient to force every inhabitant either to buy his goods, or to force them to sell him theirs. If they refuse, they are flogged and thrown into prison. They compel the people to buy or sell, just at what rate they please. These,

to us in any other light than that of the worst species of robbers." But, when speaking of the government of Warren Hastings, we shall have again to touch on this point.

The reader may now see why such a storm of vengeance was raised against Clive, because he had endeavoured to set some bounds to this unexampled system of robbery. Clive, though he had done things disgraceful enough, had also done magnificent things for the nation, and without him these cormorants would not have had an India to ravage. Clive had his virtues and his sense of honour; he had served



BANKS OF THE GANGES.

and many other oppressions, are daily practised. Before, justice was administered in the public cutcheree; but now every gomastah is become a judge; they even pass sentence on the zemindars themselves, and draw money from them on pretended injuries." Such continued to our own time the system by which all over India the natives, and even men of the highest stations were ground by our traders and collectors, and tortured in pretended courts of justice when they resisted. Sir Henry Strachey says, "The great men formerly were the Mussulman rulers and the Hindoo zemindars. These two classes are now ruined and destroyed. Exaction of revenue is now, I presume, and always was, the most prevailing crime throughout the country: and I know not how it is that extortioners appear

himself, but he was desirous to serve his country too. The great tribe, now up in arms against him, had done nothing but help themselves at the cost of the reputation of their country, without one pang of remorse or shame for the rapine and insult which they had heaped on the natives of Hindostan. Worst of all, Clive had dared to declare to the king and lord North, the prime minister, that the directors at home sanctioned all this, and that every reform was useless, unless it commenced with them. For this, they spared no means to blacken his character, and exasperate the country against him.

Sullivan, in moving for an inquiry, announced that the company had received heavy charges against Clive's administration in India. These papers were anonymous, and



THE TROOPS OF TIPPOO SAIB PILLAGING MADRAS

were clearly got up by the board of directors themselves; and Sullivan launched into the proceedings of Clive in India with all the inveteracy of an old enemy. Clive defended himself with a vigour and eloquence which astonished every one; and lord Chatham, sitting under the gallery of the house, declared it was "one of the most finished pieces of eloquence that he had ever heard." Sullivan obtained leave to bring in his bill, but it was not persevered with; but general Burgoyne, now active in the opposition, moved and carried, on the 13th of April, 1772, a resolution for the appointment of a select committee of thirteen members, for inquiring into Indian affairs; and Burgoyne, who was extremely hostile to Clive, was appointed chairman.

The committee went actively to work, and presented two reports during the session. After parliament met again in November, lord North, who had conversed with Clive during the recess, called for and carried a resolution for another and this time a secret committee. The directors, trembling at the idea of a real scrutiny into their conduct, again attempted to send out a new set of supervisors of their own, but the commons put a stop to this; and as the company was in still deeper difficulties, and came to lord North to borrow a million and a half, he lent them one million four hundred thousand pounds, on condition that they should keep their dividends down at six per cent., until this debt was repaid. He at the same time relieved them from the payment of the four hundred thousand pounds per annum for the same period. This was done in February, 1773, and in April he brought in a bill at the suggestion of Clive, who represented the court of proprietors at the India House as a regular bear-garden, on account of men of small capital and smaller intelligence being enabled to vote. By North's bill, it was provided that the court of directors should, in future, instead of being annually elected, remain in office four years; instead of five hundred pounds stock, qualifying for a vote in the court of proprietors, one thousand pounds should alone give a vote; three thousand pounds, two votes; and six thousand pounds, three votes. The mayor's court in Calcutta was restricted to petty cases of trade; and a supreme court was established, to consist of a chief justice and three puisne judges, appointed by the crown. The governor-general of Bengal was made governor-general of India. These nominations were to continue for five years, and then return to the directors, but subject to the approval of the crown.

Whilst the bill was in progress, the members of the new council were named. Warren Hastings was appointed the first governor-general; and in his council were Richard Barwell, who was already out there, general Clavering, the honourable colonel Monson, and Philip Francis. Another clause of lord North's bill remitted the drawback on the company's teas for export to America, an act little thought of at the time, but pregnant with the loss of the transatlantic colonies. By these "regulating acts," too, as they were called, the governor-general, members of council, and judges, were prohibited trading, and no person in the service of the king or company was to be allowed to receive any presents from the native princes, nabobs, or their ministers or agents. Violent and rude, even, was the opposition to these two bills raised by the India House and

all its partisans. They put all their energies in operation, and poured in petitions and remonstrances from all sides; and such were the pleas of invasion of the rights of the subject, the privileges of election, of constitutional liberty, &c., which were put forward, that you would have thought that, instead of endeavouring to protect the unfortunate natives of India from the pitiless rapacity of mere traders, who bought and sold kingdoms in 'Change Alley, government was annihilating every safeguard of popular freedom. The raising the qualification of the voters, the prolongation of the terms of office to the directors, were denounced as setting up an oligarchy.

The passing of these acts did not put an end to the attacks on lord Clive. Burgoyne brought up a strong report from his committee, and, on the 17th of May, moved a resolution charging Clive with having, when in command of the army in Bengal, received as presents two hundred and thirty-four thousand pounds. This was carried; but he then followed it by another, "That lord Clive did, in so doing, abuse the power with which he was entrusted, to the evil example of the servants of the public." As it was well understood that Burgoyne's resolutions altogether went to strip Clive of the whole of his property, a great stand was here made. Clive was not friendless. He had his vast wealth to win over to him some, as it inflamed the envy of others. He had bought the estate of Claremont from the duchess dowager of Newcastle, and was erecting a palace upon it. Yet so diligently, even in that neighbourhood, had his enemies blackened his character, that the peasantry of the neighbourhood fancied they could hear the sighings of murdered and plundered princes of India in the wind amongst his trees, and verily believed that some day the evil one would carry him off bodily. On the other hand, he had taken care to spend a large sum in purchasing small boroughs, and had six or seven of his friends and kinsmen sitting for these places in parliament. He had need of all his friends. Throughout the whole of this inquiry, the most continued and envenomed attacks were made upon him. The whole of the affairs of Omichund, of the forgery of admiral Watson's signature to the fraudulent agreement, the setting up and pulling down of Meer Jaffier, and everything of that kind, was again dragged to light, and more of it laid on Clive's shoulders than belonged to him. He was repeatedly questioned and cross-questioned, till he exclaimed, "I, your humble servant, the baron of Plassey, have been examined by the select committee more like a sheep-stealer than a member of parliament." He justly complained, that, had he done his splendid deeds for the country in the royal service, instead in that of a mercenary company, he should have been honoured and rewarded, instead of persecuted and pursued to his ruin. He had it in his power to speak strong things regarding the company, and he turned at bay, and did not spare it. At length, tired out, he exclaimed, "Take my fortune, but spare my honour!" and left the house.

Then, at last, the house thought he had suffered enough, for nothing was clearer that justice required the country, which was in possession of the splendid empire he had won, to acknowledge his services, whilst it noted the means of this acquisition. Burgoyne's second resolution was rejected, and another proposed by Wedderburn, the solicitor-general.

adopted, "That Robert, lord Clive, did, at the same time, render great and meritorious services to this country."

This terminated the attack on this great though faulty man. Clive, like most men who took the lead in the extraordinary circumstances of the early acquisition of India, committed serious faults; but he also displayed, at the same time, wonderful talents for conquest and government, and, what is more, great and eminent virtues. He was naturally frank, generous, and just. In private life, he was most kindly unassuming and benevolent. He made many wise regulations during his administration in India, and gave both the company and the government here wise advice. The circumstances which led to his sudden aggrandisement were enough to overcome the virtue of most men, and prompted him, on one occasion, when reviewing, in the select committee, the elevation of Meer Jaffier, the bankers offering enormous sums for his favour, the vaults of the vizier piled with heaps of gold, and crowned with diamonds and rubies, all of which he might have seized, to exclaim, "By God, Mr. Chairman, at this moment I stand astonished at my own moderation!"

His enemies made him pay the full penalty of his wealth. They had struck him to the heart with their poisoned javelins. From a boy he had been subject to fits of hypochondriacal depression; as a boy, he had attempted his own life in one of these paroxysms. They now came upon him with tenfold force, and in a few months he died by his own hand.

From Clive, events cause us to pass at once to one accused of much greater misdemeanours, and one whose administration terminated in a more formal and extraordinary trial than that of Clive; a trial made for ever famous by the great abilities and eloquence of Burke and Sheridan, and the awful mysteries of iniquity, as practised by our authorities in India, which were brought to the public knowledge by them on this great occasion. Warren Hastings was of an old, decayed family, a branch of that of the earls of Huntingdon. The ancient seat of his ancestors, Daylesford, in Worcestershire, was sold, and he received his education at Westminster school. There Cowper, the poet, and Elijah Impey, the latter destined to figure in his Indian concerns, were his schoolfellows. He went to India as a cadet at the age of seventeen. He attracted the notice of Clive, and was much employed by Vansittart. Steadily advancing, he was appointed chief of the council of Bengal in 1772, and, in the following year, the first governor-general of India.

It is singular that the tender-hearted Cowper, and, in fact, all who knew Hastings as a youth, were astonished at the accounts of his oppressions and cruelties charged against him on his trial, and many, spite of all the evidence, would never believe them. All who knew him when young regarded him as particularly humane and gentle. Clive, who saw him in India, and beheld only a man of spare form, shrunken features, of particularly gentle manners and mild voice, thought him in danger from a too easy disposition, which might lead him to be governed by others. No doubt, had Hastings had his future career suddenly displayed to him by an Indian prophet, as Jehu had his by a Hebrew one, he would have replied, in horror, "Is thy servant a dog, that he should do these things?" No man can be judged of,

perhaps no man can estimate himself, so as to predicate what he will do under wholly new and extraordinary circumstances. But under the mild and gentle outside of Warren Hastings lay a most dogged and determined will, and a disposition to rule, which, when called into action, and opposed by obstacles, converted him into the astonishing tyrant.

Hastings commenced his rule in Bengal under circumstances which demanded rather a man of pre-eminent humanity than of the character yet lying undeveloped in him. In 1770, under the management of Mr. Cartier, a famine broke out in Bengal, so terrible that it is said to have swept away one-third of the population of the state, and to have been attended by indescribable horrors. The most revolting circumstance was, that the English were charged with being the authors of it, by buying up all the rice in the country, and refusing to sell it, except at the most exorbitant prices. There have not been wanting zealous defenders of our countrymen from this awful charge, and we should have rejoiced if so dread an opprobrium could have been removed from our national character. It has been contended that famines are, or have been, of frequent occurrence in India; that the natives had no providence; and that to charge the English with the miserable consequences of this famine, is unreasonable, because it was what they could neither foresee nor prevent. Of the drought in the previous autumn, there is no doubt; but there is, unhappily, as little, that the regular rapacity of the English, as we have described it, had reduced the natives to that condition of poverty, apathy, and despair, in which the slightest derangement of season must superinduce famine; that they were grown callous to the sufferings of their victims, and were as alive to their gain by the rising price through the scarcity, as they were in all other cases. Their object was sudden wealth, and they cared not, in fact, whether the natives lived or died, so that that object was effected.

Amongst the foremost defenders of the English has been lord Macaulay, in the famous *Edinburgh Review* article already mentioned. He says, "These charges we believe to have been utterly unfounded. That servants of the company had ventured, since Clive's departure, to deal in rice, is probable. That, if they dealt in rice, they must have gained by the scarcity, is certain. But there is no reason for thinking that they either produced or aggravated the evil which physical causes sufficiently explain." But, unfortunately, there is every reason for thinking that they assisted these physical causes, and, if we take into consideration that since the experience of these horrors, though droughts have been frequent in India, famines have been rare, this conclusion acquires much force. Let us see what men, well acquainted with India at that time, have to say. The author of the "Short History of the English Transactions in the East Indies" thus boldly states the facts. Speaking of the monopoly just alluded to, of salt, betelnut, and tobacco, he says:—

"Money, in this current, came but by drops. It could not quench the thirst of those who waited in India to receive it. An expedient, such as it was, remained to quicken it. The natives could live with little salt, but could not want food. Some of the agents saw themselves well situated for

collecting the rice into stores. They did so. They knew that the Gentoos would rather die than violate the principles of their religion by eating flesh. The alternative would, therefore, be between *giving what they had, or dying!* The inhabitants sunk. They that cultivated the land and saw the harvest at the disposal of others, planted in doubt: scarcity ensued. Then the monopoly was easier managed; sickness ensued. In some districts, the living left the bodies of their numerous dead unburied."

Let us next see what says the celebrated Abbé Raynal, a foreign historian, and the light in which this event is regarded by foreigners:—"It was by a drought in 1769, at the season when the rains are expected, that there was a failure of the great harvest of 1769, and the less harvest of 1770. It is true that the rice on the higher grounds did not suffer greatly by this disturbance of the seasons, but there was far from a sufficient quantity for the nourishment of all the inhabitants of the country; add to which, the English, who were engaged beforehand to take proper care of their subsistence, as well as of the sepoys belonging to them, did not fail to keep locked up in their magazines a part of the grain, though the harvest was insufficient. . . . This scourge did not fail to make itself felt throughout Bengal. Rice, which is commonly sold for one sol (½d.) for three pounds, was gradually raised so high as four and even six sols (3d.) for one pound; neither, indeed, was there any to be found, except where the English had taken care to collect it for their own use.

"The unhappy Indians were perishing every day by thousands under this want of sustenance, without any means of help, and without any revenue. They were to be seen in their villages, along the public ways, in the midst of our European colonies, pale, meagre, emaciated, fainting, consumed by famine—some stretched on the ground in expectation of dying; others scarcely able to drag themselves on to seek any nourishment, and throwing themselves at the feet of the Europeans, entreating them to take them in as their slaves.

"To this description, which makes humanity shudder, let us add other objects, equally shocking. Let imagination enlarge upon them, if possible. Let us represent to ourselves infants deserted, some expiring on the breasts of their mothers; everywhere the dying and the dead mingled together; on all sides the groans and the tears of despair, and we shall then have some faint idea of the horrible spectacle which Bengal presented for the space of six weeks.

"During this whole time the Ganges was covered with carcases. The fields and highways were choked up with them: infectious vapours filled the air, and diseases multiplied; and, one evil succeeding another, it appeared not improbable that the plague would carry off the total population of the unfortunate kingdom. It appears, by calculations pretty generally acknowledged, that the famine carried off a fourth part, that is to say, *about three millions!* What is still more remarkable is, that such a multitude of human creatures, amidst this terrible distress, remained in absolute inactivity. All the Europeans, especially all the English, were possessed of magazines. These were not touched. Private houses were so, too. No revolt, no massacre, not

the least violence prevailed. The unhappy Indians, resigned to despair, confined themselves to the request of succours they did not obtain, and peacefully awaited the relief of death.

"Let us now represent to ourselves any part of Europe afflicted with such a calamity. What disorder! what fury! what atrocious acts! Europeans would have contended for food dagger in hand; some flying, some pursuing, and, without remorse, massacring one another! In the blindness of despair, they would trample under foot all authority.

"Had it been the fate of the English to have had the like events to dread, on the part of the people of Bengal, perhaps the famine would have been less general, and less destructive. For, if we set aside the charge of monopoly, will any one undertake to defend them against the reproach of negligence and insensibility? And in what a crisis have they merited this reproach? In the very instant of time in which the life or death of several millions of their fellow-creatures were in their power. One would think that, in such alternative, the very love of human kind, that innate sentiment in all hearts, might have inspired them with resources."

Besides succeeding to the government of a country, whose chief province was thus exhausted, the finances of the company were equally drained, both in Calcutta and at home, and the immediate demands on Hastings from the directors were for money, money, money! As one means of raising this money, they sent him a secret order to break one of their most solemn engagements with the native princes. When they bribed Meer Jaffier to depose his master, by offering to set him in his seat, and received in return the enormous sums mentioned for this elevation, they settled on Meer Jaffier and his descendants an annual income of thirty-two lacs of rupees, or three hundred and sixty thousand pounds. But Meer Jaffier was now dead, and his eldest son died during the famine. The second son was made nabob, a weak youth in a weak government, and as the company saw that he could not help himself, they ordered Hastings to reduce the income to one-half. This was easily done; but this was not enough, disgraceful as it was. Mohammed Reza Khan, who had been appointed by the company the nabob's naib dewan, or minister, on the ground that he was not only a very able but very honest man, they ordered to be arrested on pretended plea of maladministration. He and all his family and partisans must be secured, but not in an open and abrupt way, which might alarm the province; they were to be inveigled down from Moorshedabad to Calcutta, on pretence of affairs of government, and there detained. Nuncomar, the Hindoo, who had been displaced, in order to set up Mohammed, who was a Mussulman, and who had been removed on the ground of being one of the most consummate rogues in India, was to be employed as evidence against Mohammed. The company had pronounced Nuncomar as guilty of forgery and of treachery, in conveying information, injurious to the company, to the French at Pondicherry. They had stigmatised him, and justly, "as of that wicked and turbulent disposition, that no harmony can subsist in society, where he has the opportunity of interfering." Yet it was this Nuncomar, who had been incessantly plying the directors

with base suggestions against Mohammed, on which they were now determined to act. Knowing the utter villany of Nuncomar, and willing to profit by it, the directors instructed Hastings to avail themselves of all the information which the envy and malice of Nuncomar were sure to furnish, but to take care not to put him into any office as a reward. They knew that his object was to be made naib dewan, or minister, instead of Mohammed; but he was by no means to consent. He might be recompensed by a sum of money.

Such was the business Hastings was ordered to perform; such an one as the Inquisition might have employed its familiars in, and as secretly communicated. "Yet," says lord Mahon, "right or wrong, he was in no degree responsible for these acts. They arose from the peremptory and positive commands of the directors at home." And Knight's History says, "No choice was left to their paid servant, which Hastings was, but implicit obedience, or disgrace and dismissal." But is this the language of a Christian historian? Does the execution of wicked actions, under command, exempt the doer from all moral responsibility? And was there no alternative but the execution of them, or dismissal and disgrace, left to Hastings? Certainly there was a far more honourable—a glorious alternative, that of resigning rather than be the instrument of such baseness and injustice. But Hastings was not of that high moral stamp—such was not the spirit of the East India school. Hastings proceeded to obey, and from that moment became *particeps criminis*, and prepared to advance further in that dishonest course. Hastings fully carried out the orders of the secret committee of the India House. He had Mohammed seized in his bed, at midnight, by a battalion of sepoy; Shitab Roy, the naib of Bahar, who acted under Mohammed at Patna, was also secured; and these two great officers and their chief agents were sent down to Calcutta under guard, and there put into what Hastings called "an easy confinement." In this confinement they lay many months, all which time Nuncomar was in full activity preparing the charges against them. Shitab Roy, like Mohammed, stood high in the estimation of his countrymen of both faiths; he had fought on the English side with signal bravery, and appears to have been a man of high honour and feeling. But these things weighed for nothing with Hastings or his masters in Leadenhall-street. He hoped to draw large sums of money from these men; but he was disappointed. Though he himself arranged the court that tried them, and brought up upwards of a hundred witnesses against them, no malpractice whatever could be proved against them, and they were acquitted. They were therefore honourably restored, the reader will say. By no means. Such were not the intentions of the company or of Hastings.

Whilst Mohammed and Shitab Roy had been in prison, Hastings had been up at Moorshedabad, had abolished the office of naib in both Patna and Moorshedabad, removed all the government business to Calcutta, cut down the income of the young nabob, Muharek-al-Dowla, to one half, according to his instructions, and reduced the nabob himself to a mere puppet. His uncle, Ahteram-ul-Dowla, had solicited, as the existing eldest male relative, to be his minister and guardian, but Hastings set him aside, and appointed a lady

of the harem, called Munny or Minnee Begum, to those offices. The young nabob's own mother would have been the proper person, if a woman was to have the office; but independent of this, the giving the office to a woman at all in that country was a matter of astonishment. This Munny Begum had been a dancing-girl, and had nothing in her character to recommend her to the office, except that she was a determined enemy of Mohammed Rheza Khan.

Nuncomar was rewarded by his son Goordas, who "had no dangerous abilities," being appointed steward of the nabob's household; and Nuncomar was himself to be strictly watched that he did no mischief; for Hastings, having done all this, still wrote to the directors that he knew Nuncomar to be a traitor and a scoundrel, and had only used him because no one else could or would do the things he had done. "It is," said he, "on his abilities and on the activity of his ambition and hatred to Mohammed that I depend. And," he adds, "had I not been guided by the caution you have been pleased to enjoin me, yet my own knowledge of the character of Nuncomar would have restrained me from yielding him any trust or authority which could prove detrimental to the company's interests."

Thus had Hastings, fulfilling to the tittle the secret instructions of the secret committee of the India House, as completely swept away every engagement into which the company had entered with Meer Jaffier for the possession of Bengal as if they had never existed. He had transferred the whole government to Calcutta, with all the courts of justice, so that, writes Hastings, "the authority of the company is fixed in this country without any possibility of competition, and beyond the power of any but themselves to shake it." In all this wholesale injustice the only glimpse of a sense of it was shown in sending back Shitab Roy to Patna, clothed in a robe of state, and mounted on a richly-caparisoned elephant, to hold some nominal office there; but the high-minded man sunk and died soon after, as it was said, of a broken heart, of a feeling evidently of the injustice and ingratitude to which he had been subjected.

The manner in which Hastings had executed the orders of the directors in this business showed that he was prepared to go all lengths in maintaining their interests in India. He immediately proceeded to give an equally striking proof of this. We have seen that when the Mogul Shah Alum applied to the English to assist him in recovering his territories, they promised to conduct him in triumph to Delhi, and place him firmly on the grand musnud of all India; but when, in consequence of this engagement, he had made over to them by a public dewanee or grant, Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, they found it inconvenient to fulfil their contract, and made over to him Allahabad and Corah instead, with an annual payment of twenty-six lacs of rupees—two hundred and sixty thousand pounds. The payment of this large sum, too, was regarded by the company, now in the deepest debt, as unnecessary, and Hastings had orders to reduce it. It appears that the money was at no time duly paid, and had now been withheld altogether for more than two years. The mogul, thus disappointed in the promises of restoration by the English, and now again in the payment of this stipulated tribute, turned to the Mahrattas, and offered to make over the little provinces of Allahabad and

Corah, on condition that they restored him to the sovereignty of Delhi. The Mahrattas gladly caught at this offer, and by the end of the year 1771 they had borne the mogul in triumph into his ancient capital of Delhi.

This was precisely such a case as the directors were on the watch for. Their historian, Mill, says, in their letter to Bengal of the 11th of November, 1768, they had said: "If

This bargain was settled between the vizier and Hastings at Benares, in September, 1773.

But the nabob of Oude held out new temptations of gain to Hastings. The Rohillas, a tribe of Afghans, had, earlier in that century, descended from their mountains and conquered the territory lying between the Ganges and the mountains to the west of Oude. They had given it the



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the emperor flings himself into the hands of the Mahrattas, or any other power, we are disengaged from him, and it may open a fair opportunity of withholding the twenty-six lacs of rupees we now pay him." The opportunity had now come, and was immediately seized on by Hastings to rescind the payment of the money altogether, and he prepared to seize the two provinces of Allahabad and Corah. "Thus," adds Mill, "they had plundered the unhappy emperor of twenty-six lacs of rupees per annum, and the two provinces of Corah and Allahabad, which they sold to the vizier (the nabob of Oude) for fifty lacs of rupees, on the plea that he had forfeited them by his alliance with the Mahrattas; as though he were not free, if one party would not assist him to regain his rights, to seek that assistance from another."

name of Rohileund. These brave warriors would gladly have been allies of the English, and applied to Sujah Dowlah to bring about such an alliance. Dowlah made fair promises, but he had other views. He hoped, by the assistance of the English, to conquer Rohileund and add it to Oude. He had no hope that his rabble of the plains could stand against this brave mountain race, and he now artfully stated to Hastings that the Mahrattas were at war with the Rohillas. If they conquered them, they would next attack Oude, and, succeeding there, would descend the Ganges and spread over all Bahar and Bengal. He therefore proposed that the English should assist him to conquer Rohileund for himself, and add it to Oude. For this service he would pay all the expenses of the campaign, the English army would

obtain a rich booty, and at the end he would pay the English government besides the sum of forty lacs of rupees.

Hastings had no cause of quarrel with the Rohillas, but for the proffered reward he at once acceded to the proposal. In April, 1774, an English brigade, under colonel Champion, invaded Rohileund, and in a hard-fought field defeated the Rohillas. The old Rohilla chieftain, Hafiz, was seen

rush forward to the plunder. The English soldiers in great disgust said, "We have the honour of the day, and these bandits, these robbers, have all the profit." Hastings had made not a single stipulation with Sujah Dowlah for mercy towards the inhabitants, and the nabob and his troops committed such horrors in plundering and massacring not only the Rohillas, but the native and peaceful Hindoos, that the



WARREN HASTINGS. FROM AN AUTHENTIC PORTRAIT.

with his long white beard, seated on his charger, and vainly endeavouring to recall his flying troops. When he found that he could not he gave a great shout, and, galloping forward, was riddled by the balls of the enemy. The nabob of Oude demanded the body, that he might have it cut in pieces, and his head carried on a pike round the country, but colonel Champion had it wrapped in shawls, and sent honourably to his family.

In the whole of this campaign nothing could be more disgraceful every way than the conduct of the troops of Oude. They took care to keep behind during the fighting, but to

English officers and soldiers denounced the proceedings with horror. It was now, however, in vain that Hastings called on the nabob to restrain his soldiers, for, if he did not plunder, how was he to pay the stipulated forty lacs of rupees; and if he ruined and burnt out the natives, how were they, Hastings asked, to pay any taxes to him as his new subjects? All this was disgraceful enough, but this was not all. Shah Alum now appeared upon the scene, and produced a contract betwixt himself and the nabob, which had been made unknown to Hastings, by which the nabob of Oude stipulated that, on condition of the mogul advancing

against the Rohillas from the south of Delhi he should receive a large share of the conquered territory and the plunder. The nabob now refused to fulfil the agreement, on the plea that the mogul ought to have come and fought, and Hastings sanctioned that view of the case. One chief of the Rohillas alone stood out: Fyzoola Khan took up a strong position in the north of the province, and the nabob was glad to grant him a jaghire in Rohilcund, as the price of submission. The rest of the Rohillas returned to their own country, Sujah Dowlah remained in possession of it, and Hastings returned to Calcutta with his ill-gotten booty. This was one of the cases which excited so much indignation in England when Burke brought it against Hastings on his trial; and when some member of parliament endeavoured to excuse him on the plea that the Rohillas were not natives of Rohilcund, Mr. Wilberforce exclaimed, "Why, what are we but the Rohillas of Bengal?"

But Hastings had scarcely terminated these iniquitous proceedings, when the new members of council, appointed under the Regulations Act, arrived. On the 19th of October, 1774, landed the three councillors, Clavering, Monson, and Francis: Barwell had been some time in India. The presence of the three just arrived was eminently unwelcome to Hastings. He knew that they came with no friendly disposition towards him, and that Philip Francis, in particular, was most hostile. Francis was the one who possessed by far the most able mind and the most determined will. All circumstances have ever pointed to him as the author of the "Letters of Junius." From the moment that government gave him an appointment in the War Office, George III. announced to his friends that Junius would be heard of no more, and he never was. Assuming, therefore, that Francis was the author of Junius, you would imagine him not only a man of high ability, but of equal assumption of consequence and vindictive temperament. Such, indeed, Francis showed himself.

The letter of the court of directors recommended unanimity of councils, but nothing was further from the views of the new members from Europe. As they were three, and Hastings and Barwell only two, they constituted a majority, and from the first moment commenced to undo almost everything that he had done, and carried their object. They denounced, and with too much justice, the Rohilla war: they demanded that the whole correspondence of Middleton, the agent sent to the court of Oude by Hastings, should be laid before them. Hastings refused to produce much of it, as entirely of a private and personal nature; and they asserted that this was because these letters would not bear the light, and that the whole of Hastings' connection with Sujah Dowlah was the result of mercenary motives. In this they did the governor-general injustice, for, though he drew money sternly and by all means from the India chiefs and people, it was rather for the company than for himself. They ordered the recall of Middleton from Oude, deaf to the protests of Hastings, that this was stamping his conduct with public odium, and weakening the hands of government in the eyes of the natives. Still, Middleton was recalled, and Mr. Bristow sent in his place. Hastings wrote home in the utmost alarm both to the directors and to lord North, prognosticating the greatest

confusion and calamity from this state of anarchy; and Sujah Dowlah, regarding the proceedings of the new members of council as directed against himself, and seeing in astonishment the authority of Hastings apparently at an end, was so greatly terrified, that he sickened and died.

The council now recalled the English troops from Rohilcund; and Bristow demanded, in the name of the council, from Asoff-ul-Dowlah, the young nabob, a full payment of all arrears; and announced that, Sujah Dowlah being dead, the treaty with him was at an end. Under pressure of these demands, Bristow, by instructions from the new regnant members of the council, compelled the young nabob to enter into a fresh treaty with them; and in this treaty they introduced a clause to the full as infamous as anything which Hastings had done. In return for renewing the possession of the provinces of Corah and Allahabad, they compelled him to cede to them the territory of Cheyte Sing, the rajah of Benares, though this did not at all belong to the nabob of Oude, and was, moreover, guaranteed to Cheyte Sing by Hastings, in solemn treaty. The revenue of Cheyte Sing, thus lawlessly taken possession of, amounted to twenty-two million of rupees; and the nabob of Oude was also, on his own account, bound to discharge all his father's debts and engagements to the company, and to raise greatly the pay to the company's brigade. Hastings utterly refused to sanction these proceedings; but the directors at home, who cared not how or whence money came, warmly approved of the proceedings.

Nor did the new councillors confine their overbearing conduct to the presidency of Bengal. The new act gave them authority over the other presidencies, and they proceeded to exercise it without any regard to their own ignorance of the affairs of those other distant presidencies, or the real acquaintance with them of the respective councils. The council of Bombay was just then engaged in a transaction which, had the new members at Calcutta contemplated it justly, would have done them honour. The council of Bombay had long coveted the rich island of Salsette, lying near Bombay. A great confusion had arisen amongst the Mahrattas, in consequence of the assassination of Narrain Row, the peishwa, and the contending claims of different competitors for his throne, and the council of Bombay took advantage of the opportunity to send out a force, which seized the fort and island of Salsette. Once in possession of it, and desirous of obtaining other possessions in Surat, the council entered into treaty with Ragoba, the competitor whom, for the time, they chose to consider the rightful peishwa, who yielded Salsette, Bassein, and other places, on condition that the English should support him against the claimants. Accordingly, colonel Keating was sent with a force to assist Ragoba; and at this point the affair had arrived when the new councillors at Calcutta interfered. They first sharply reprimanded the council of Bombay, and then dispatched colonel Upton thither to decide the matter. Instead of ordering him, however, to see that justice was done, he was instructed to take part with the stronger of the Mahratta factions, and, finding that Salsette, Bassein, and the rest of the territory, had been obtained by treaty from Ragoba, he decided for Ragoba. Ragoba was to be supported by all the power of the English

in India; but, unfortunately for him, his opponents, seeing that the English would side with those whom they gained most by, consented to confirm the transfer of these territories, and colonel Upton immediately discovered that not Ragoba but his rivals were the legitimate parties, and a treaty was made with them; and Ragoba, trembling for his life in the Mahratta territory, prayed for an asylum in Bombay, but was refused by the council of Calcutta, lest it should give umbrage to their new allies, his opponents!

Whilst Hastings was contending against his trio of hostile colleagues, and they were making alliance with the Mahrattas in the west, another branch of that great and martial race were forming combinations to revenge themselves on the English, and divide amongst them the territories of the young nabob of Oude. The late nabob had indulged his ambition in grasping at the domains of his neighbours through English help. By that help, he had been able to draw away the mogul into Rohilcund, and then deceive him. But now the English had appeared disposed to oppress rather than support the nabob; and they were themselves torn by divisions at Calcutta. Encouraged by these circumstances, the Mahrattas poured down the valley of the Ganges, from Agra and Delhi, and invaded the northern parts of the young nabob's country. They proposed, moreover, a great coalition of Mahrattas, Rohillas, Sikhs, and other mountain tribes, to conquer the whole of Oude. The young nabob, in turn, appealed to the English for aid; but such was the condition of wrangling and anarchy at Calcutta, that Oude must have been overrun had it depended on them. Fortunately for the nabob, the proposed allies fell to quarrelling amongst themselves, and the mogul, who was the instigator of the enterprise, was utterly incapable of such an undertaking himself.

At Calcutta, Francis, Clavering, and Monson, were deeply engaged in what appeared to them a certain plan for the ruin of Hastings. The maharajah Nuncomar, who styled himself the head of the Brahmins, and was, as we have shown, the most intriguing and accomplished native rogue in India, was delighted to find Hastings, who had set him aside for Mohammed Rheza Khan in the management of Oude, now opposed, and, as it were, overborne by his colleagues. He came forward and laid before them papers containing the most awful charges against Hastings. These were, that Hastings had encouraged him, at the command of the secret committee, to produce charges against Mohammed Rheza Khan and Shitab Roy, when they were imprisoned, in order to extort money from them. Next, that Hastings had accepted a heavy bribe to allow Mohammed to escape without punishment. Further, he brought forward the complaint of the ranee, or princess of Burdwan, and her adopted son, that Hastings had extorted from her one million and a half of rupees: that his banyan, or native secretary, in Burdwan, had extorted a great deal more: in fact, altogether nine millions of rupees. This ranee had been troublesome to Hastings; but, instead of listening to her, and appeasing her, he banished her from Calcutta as an intriguing woman. The ranee was allowed to produce witnesses at the council, and, if they might be credited, they certainly proved many of the charges. This case was so acceptable to Francis and his two coadjutors, that they pro-

ceeded to vote honours and distinctions to the ranee. At this Hastings broke up the council, declaring that he would not sit to be judged by his own council. If they had charges to prefer against him, they might form themselves into a committee, and transmit such evidence as they received to the supreme court of justice at Calcutta, or to the directors at home. But the three declared themselves a majority, voted their own competence to sit and try their own chief, and preferred another huge charge introduced by Nuncomar—namely, that Hastings had appropriated to himself two-thirds of the salary of the phousdar, or governor of Hooghly, a post formerly held by Nuncomar himself. They determined to introduce Nuncomar to confront Hastings at his own council-board. Hastings declared the council not sitting; the three declared it sitting and valid, and called in Nuncomar, who proceeded to detail his charges, and ended by producing a letter from the Munny Begum, expressing the gratitude which she felt to the governor-general for her appointment as guardian of the nabob, and that in token of this gratitude she had presented him with two lacs of rupees. Immediately on hearing that, Hastings declared the letter a forgery, and that he would prove it so; and he was not long in procuring an absolute denial of the letter from the begum. This, however, brought down the vengeance of the trio on the begum, and they determined to deprive her of the guardianship of the young nabob, and to reduce or altogether withdraw the sixteen annual lacs of rupees for his support.

Things being driven to this pass, Hastings commenced an action against Nuncomar, Mr. Fowke, one of the most active agents of the trio, and others, as guilty of a conspiracy against him. This was supported by native witnesses, and the supreme court of justice, after a long and careful examination of the case, held Nuncomar and Fowke to bail, and bound the governor-general to prosecute. As Sir Elijah Impey—an old school-fellow and great friend of Hastings—was at the head of the court, it was immediately given out by Francis and his party that there was an attempt to crush Nuncomar, and Francis, Clavering, and Monson immediately paid a public visit to Nuncomar in state—a compliment which had never been paid to him either by Hastings or themselves before. The object was to give him character and importance, but any honest reputation it was impossible, by any act, to confer upon him.

But, on the 6th of May, a blow fell on Nuncomar from a quarter unexpected. He was arrested and thrown into prison at the suit of a merchant named Mohun Persaud. The charge was, that he had forged a bond five years before. He had been brought to trial for this before the mayor's court at Calcutta—the supreme court not then being in existence. On this occasion, being in favour with Hastings, he had procured his release; but now, either the merchant seeing that Hastings' favour was withdrawn, and that, therefore, he might have a better chance against him, or being moved to it privately by Hastings himself, as was believed, and was most probably the fact, the charge was renewed. Hastings, on the trial, solemnly declared before the supreme court that he neither directly nor indirectly promoted the prosecution, but the public remained unconvinced.

The three opposition members were highly incensed at

this proceeding. They, three days after Nuncomar's commitment, realised their threat of dismissing the Munny Begum, and they appointed Goordas, the son of Nuncomar, to her office. They sent encouraging messages to Nuncomar in his prison, and made the most violent protests to the judges against the prosecution. Their efforts were useless. The trial came on in due course. One of the judges, Sir Robert Chambers, had endeavoured to have Nuncomar tried on an earlier statute, which included no capital punishment, for forgery was no capital crime by the native laws. But Impey and the others replied that the new act compelled them to try him on the capital plea, and he had been, on this ground, refused bail. Nuncomar knew nothing of our estimate of forgery, and he could not comprehend how a man of his rank, and a Brahmin of high dignity, should be tried for his life on such a charge. But he was found guilty, and condemned to be hanged. Strong efforts were then made to have him respited till the judgment of the court of directors could be taken on the question, but Impey and the other judges declared that it could not be done unless they could assign some sufficient reasons, and they contended that there were no such reasons. Yet the new acts expressly gave them this power, and, what made it more desirable, was that no native of any rank had been tried by the supreme court and the English law, and only one native had ever been capitally convicted for forgery in any of our Indian courts. Moreover, the indignity of hanging a high-caste Brahmin was so outraging to the native feeling that it was deemed most impolitic to perpetrate such an act. All was pleaded in vain; on the 5th of August, 1775, Nuncomar was brought out and publicly hanged, amid the terrified shrieks and yells of the native population, who fled at the sight, and many of them rushed into the sacred Ganges to purify them from the pollution of even witnessing such a sight.

The whole of these proceedings have ever been regarded as casting the most ineffaceable odium upon Hastings. The coming in of the native merchant with the charge of forgery at the particular moment when Hastings had commenced his prosecution against him; the palpable motives for his enmity towards Nuncomar, and for getting him, the grand instrument of his inveterate enemies, out of the way; the chief judge being his particular friend, and the merciless haste, and the refusal of all respite or appeal to a higher court, are circumstances of the gravest weight against him, and which were dwelt on with distinctive force by Burke on his trial.

The death of Nuncomar put an end to all hope of procuring any further native evidence against Hastings. The natives were so terrified at this new kind of execution, that nothing could convince them but that, spite of the opposition of his colleagues, Hastings was all powerful. On the other hand, Francis and his two friends had failed to secure the good-will of the English in Bengal. Hastings, they knew, was willing to wink at their endeavours to aggrandise themselves; the new councillors, on the contrary, appeared rather disposed to call everybody and everything in question. Francis, in particular, was intolerable in his arrogance. His consciousness of being the author of "The Letters of Junius," before whose pen the highest personages in England had trembled, probably inflamed that arrogance.

His notorious profligacy also brought him into disgrace, and into fresh conflicts with Impey, the chief judge. He had been secured, as he descended a rope ladder, at night, from the chamber of Mrs. Grant, the wife of a barrister, and Impey had fined him in court, according to Indian usage, without the intervention of a jury, fifty thousand rupees as damages. Mrs. Grant became Francis's mistress, and, after some other "protections," finally the wife of prince Talleyrand. Francis and Impey became mortal enemies.

When the news of this distractedly hopeless condition of the council in Calcutta reached London, lord North called upon the court of directors to send up to the crown an address for the recall of Hastings, without which, according to the late Indian bills, he could not be removed till the end of his five years. The directors put the matter to the vote, and the address was negatived by a single vote. The minority then appealed to the court of proprietors at the general election, in the spring of 1776, but there it was negatived by ballot by a majority of one hundred, notwithstanding that all the court party and parliamentary ministerialists who had votes attended to overthrow him. This defeat so enraged lord North that he resolved to pass a special bill for the removal of the governor-general. This alarmed colonel Maclean, a friend of Hastings, to whom he had written, on the 27th of March, 1775, desiring him, in his disgust with the conduct of Francis, Clavering, and Monson, and the support of them by the directors, to tender his resignation. Thinking better of it, however, he had, on the 18th of the following May, written to him, recalling the proposal of resignation. But Maclean, to save his friend from a parliamentary dismissal, which he apprehended, now handed the letter containing the resignation to the directors. Delighted to be thus liberated from their embarrassment, the directors accepted the resignation at once, and elected Mr. Edward Wheler to the vacant place in the council.

But matters had greatly changed at Calcutta before this. Maclean did not present the letter of resignation till October, 1776; but, in September of that year, colonel Monson had died, and, the members in the council being now equal, the governor-general's casting vote restored to him his lost majority. Hastings was not the man to defer for a moment the exercise of his authority. He began instantly to overturn, spite of their most violent efforts, the measures of Francis and friends. He dismissed Goordas from the chief authority in Oude, and reinstated his dear friend, Nat Middleton, as he familiarly termed him. He revived his land-revenue system, and was planning new and powerful alliances with native princes, especially with the nabob of Oude and the nizam of the Deccan, not omitting to cast a glance at the power of the Seiks, whose dangerous ascendancy he already foresaw. In the midst of these and other grand plans for the augmentation of British power in India—plans afterwards carried out by others—he was suddenly astounded by the arrival of a packet in June, 1777, containing the news of his resignation, and of its acceptance by the directors. He at once protested that it was invalid, as he had countermanded the resignation before its presentation; but general Clavering, as next in succession, at once claimed the office of governor-general, and Francis, in council, administered the oath to him. Clavering imme-

diately demanded the keys of the fort and the treasury from Hastings; but that gentleman refused to admit his own resignation, much less Clavering's election to his post. Here, then, were two *soi-disant* governor-generals, as Europe had formerly seen two conflicting popes. To end the difficulty, Hastings proposed that the decision of the question should be referred to the supreme court. It is wonderful that Clavering and Francis should have consented to this, seeing that Impey, Hastings' friend, and the judge of Nuncomar, was at the head of that court; but it was done, and the court decided in Hastings' favour. No sooner was Hastings thus secured than he charged Clavering with having forfeited both his place in the council, and his post as commander-in-chief of the forces, by attempting to seize on the governor-generalship. Clavering and Francis were compelled to appeal once more to the supreme court, and this time, to his honour, Impey decided in favour of Clavering.

Hastings professed to feel no further enmity against Clavering, and strongly solicited his presence at his wedding, which took place soon after. The wedding of the governor-general was to a Marian Imhoff, the wife of a baron Imhoff, with whom Hastings had been living by consent of the baron. A divorce having now been obtained in the courts of Germany, her native country, the governor-general married her, the baron meantime having returned to that country with an equivalent in money, after, in plain terms, selling his wife to the rich English governor of India. Mrs. Hastings, on the return of Hastings to England, was well received by her countrywoman, queen Charlotte, to the great scandal of the public.

Clavering, who, notwithstanding his consenting to appear at Hastings' wedding-feast, had been deeply mortified by his defeat, died a few days after this occurred, in August, 1777. By this event the authority of Hastings in the government was sufficiently restored, notwithstanding that Wheeler generally sided with Francis, for him to carry his own aims.

It was at this crisis, when Hastings was just recovering his authority in the council, that the news arrived in India, and spread amongst the native chiefs, that in *Yenghi Dunia*, or the New World, the *Company Sahib*—for the East Indians could never separate the ideas of the East India Company and England itself—there had been a great revolution, and the English driven out. This, as might be expected, wonderfully elated the native chiefs, and especially those in the south. There the French of Pondicherry and Chandernagore boasted of the destruction of the English power, and that it was by their own hands. Hastings, who was as able and far-seeing as he was unprincipled in carrying out his plans for the maintenance of the British dominion in India, immediately set himself to counteract the mischievous effects of these diligently-disseminated rumours, and of the cabals which the French excited. These were most to be feared amongst the vast and martial family of the Mahrattas. The Mahrattas had risen on the ruins of the great Mogul empire. They now extended their tribes over a vast space of India from Mysore to the Ganges. The peishwa, as head of these nations, held his residence at Poonah. Besides him, there were the great houses of Holkar and Scindiah; the Guicowar, who ruled in Guzerat;

the Bonselah, or rajah of Berar, a descendant of Sivajee. These Mahratta chiefs were all Brahmins, as the nabob of Oude and the nizam of the Deccan were Mohammedans. The Mahrattas were, for the most part, a rude, warlike race, rapacious and ambitious, and living in the most primitive style. To destroy the confidence of these fierce warriors in the French, Hastings gave immediate orders, on receiving the news of the proclamation of war in Europe, for the seizure of the French settlements. This was on the 7th of July, 1778; on the 10th he had taken Chandernagore, and ordered Sir Henry Munro to invest Pondicherry. That was soon accomplished, and the only remaining possession of France, the small one of Mahé, on the coast of Malabar, was taken the next spring.

Hastings then mustered fresh regiments of sepoys; demanded and received three battalions from Cheyte Sing, the rajah of Benares; armed cruisers; laid up stores of ammunition and provisions for three months in Fort William; enrolled one thousand European militia at Calcutta, and stood ready for any French invasion from sea. He then dispatched colonel Leslie with a strong force into the very heart of the Mahratta country. Leslie appeared to have lost his energy, made four months' delay in the plains of Bundelcund, and the next news was that he was dead. Colonel Goddard was sent to take his command, and advanced into Berar; but there hearing that successive revolutions were taking place at Poonah, he waited the result of them. Meantime, the presidency of Bombay, desirous of anticipating the expeditions from Calcutta, now undertook to reinstate Ragoba, whom they had lately left to his fate, and taking him along with him, their commander, colonel Egerton, marched into the Mahratta country with four thousand men. The Bombay council, however, had adopted the Dutch plan of sending field deputies, which had proved so fatal in the case of colonel Smith, the Madras commander. The experiment was equally disastrous here. The army, when it had reached within sixteen miles of Poonah, was surrounded by hosts of Mahratta cavalry, and was compelled to surrender. The Mahrattas, as conditions—which the English were in no position to decline—insisted on the restoration of all the territory won from them by the English since 1756, and that they should give up to them Ragoba. These ignominious terms, and especially the surrender of Ragoba to his enemies, spread consternation and indignation throughout all India. Wargaum, where the disgraceful convention was signed, was named the Saratoga of the East. The nizam and Hyder Ali prepared to fall on the British provinces.

But Hastings refused for a moment to recognize this treaty. He ordered colonel Goddard to advance. The title of general was conferred on him, and he well justified the promotion. In that and the succeeding campaign he won victory on victory; stormed Ahmedabad; took the city of Basscin; gained a great victory over forty thousand of the combined forces of Holkar and Scindiah, and, in a great measure, retrieved all the losses, and restored the fame of the British arms. Ragoba managed to escape into Surat; and thus was the shameful convention of Wargaum almost wholly obliterated.

In another quarter the success against the Mahrattas was

equally decisive. The rana of Gohud, a hilly district lying south of Agra, who was an ally of the British, being attacked by the Mahrattas, applied to Hastings for help. He sent captain Popham thither with a small body of troops, who, with little assistance from the rana, soon cleared Gohud of the enemy, and pursued them into their own country; stormed and took the city of Lahore, and the great fortress of Gualior, which the Mahrattas deemed impregnable.

To assist the governor-general, the British government had sent out Sir Eyre Coote to the scene of his former fame, not only as commander of the forces in place of general

that he would no longer put faith in Mr. Francis's candour, convinced that he was incapable of straightforward conduct; that, judging him both by his public and private conduct, he found him devoid of truth and honour. These words were never forgotten, and continued to stimulate the vengeance of Francis after his return to Europe. Their immediate effect was a duel between him and Hastings, in which Hastings shot him in the side. This took place on the 17th of August, 1780; and Francis, on his recovery, resigned his office, and returned to England in December.

A still more painful contest now distracted the governor-



TAJE MAHAL, NEAR AGRA.

Clavering, but also as member of council. Coote generally supported Hastings in the council, but he greatly embarrassed him by the insatiable spirit of avarice which had grown upon him with years; and in making arrangements with the nabob of Oude and others to supply the means of accommodation to the old commander, Hastings greatly augmented the grounds of his future persecutions. He likewise relaxed in his resentment towards Francis, and showed a disposition to promote the interests of him and his adherents. He appointed Mr. Fowke, and others of them, to lucrative posts, and, calculating on the promises of Francis to desist from annoyance, he allowed Barwell, his staunch supporter, to return to Europe with his large fortune. But scarcely was he gone when the haughty spirit of Francis again broke out, and Hastings, in his indignation, declared

general. This was no other than with his old school-fellow and staunch friend of so many years, Sir Elijah Impey. Hastings considered that the supreme court unnecessarily violated the customs and wounded the feelings of the natives, by adhering too strictly to their ideas of English law. Disputes arose betwixt himself and the judges on this head, and grew to such a pitch of animosity, that in 1780 they burst into open flame. The supreme court had decided a law-suit against the rajah of Cossijurah, and issued a writ to sequester his lands. To enforce the writ they sent a serjeant of the court, attended by a troop of armed bailiffs. The rajah was absent, and these men not only burst into his house, but into the zenana, or chamber of the women, always held sacred by the people of the East. They were accused of having not only abused his servants, but plundered his



DEATH OF THE ROHILLA CHIEF.

palace, and even stripped his place of worship of its ornaments.

The rajah complained loudly to the council, and Hastings issued a circular to the landholders of Bengal, informing them, that except in certain specified cases, they owed no obedience to the mandates of the supreme court. This was denounced by the judges as a clear contempt of his majesty's laws and courts. They arrested and imprisoned the attorney of the council because he issued this proclamation, and they summoned every member of the council to appear at their bar and answer for their acts. To what issue this might have come is doubtful, but the suitor, it was supposed, under sufficient inducement from the governor, suddenly abandoned the action at law, and thus put an end to the immediate quarrel. To prevent a recurrence of it, Hastings determined to erect a court of appeal from the provincial courts, connected with the supreme council, which the acts of 1773 warranted him in doing, and, to put an end to the resentment of his old friend Impey, he appointed him judge of it, with the proposed salary of eight thousand pounds a-year. Impey accepted the office, but the council finally settled the salary at five thousand pounds, and not eight thousand pounds; and Impey declared that he would not even touch any of that till the lord chancellor in England had approved of it. In the end, Sir Elijah never received any of this salary. The office removed the immediate quarrel, but it was made one of the future charges both against Hastings and Impey.

The war with the Mahrattas and the announcement of the speedy arrival of a French armament on the coast of Coromandel, induced the company's old enemy, Hyder Ali, to think it a good opportunity to recover some of his territory from the company. Yet he did not do this without having, in his eyes, just cause. The fort and territory of Mahé, though inhabited by the French, were tributary to Hyder. He invaded these, the English attacked Hyder. In fact, the manner in which the territories of Hyder Ali were obtained, furnishes one of the most striking examples of the fate of those Indians who did not covet the fatal friendship of the English. Hyder, as we have seen, was a soldier of fortune. He had risen from a low estate by his own energies. The English considered him an ambitious, able, and, therefore, very dangerous person in India. He considered them the same. He was an adventurer; they, too, were adventurers. He had acquired a great dominion by means that would not bear the strictest scrutiny; so had they; but there was this difference between them: Hyder acted according to the custom and *maxims* in which he had been educated, and which were practised by the princes around him. He had neither the advantages of Christian knowledge and principle, nor pretended to them. The English in India, on the contrary, came there as merchants; they were continually instructed by their masters at home not to commit military aggressions. They were bound by the laws of their country not to do it. They professed to be in possession of a far higher system of religion and morals than Hyder and his people had. They pretended to be the disciples of the Prince of Peace. Their magnanimous creed they declared to be, "to do to others as they would wish to be done by." But neither Hyder nor any other Indian ever saw the least

evidence of any such superiority of morals or of faith in their conduct. They were as ambitious, and far more greedy of money, than the heathens that they pretended to despise for their heathenism. They ought to have set a better example, but they did not. There never was a people that grasped more convulsively at dominion, or were less scrupulous in the means of obtaining it. They declared Hyder to be cruel and perfidious; he knew them to be both. This was the ground on which they stood. There were reasons why the English in India should avoid interfering with Hyder; there were none why he should avoid encroaching on them, for he did not profess any such grand principles of action as they did. If they were what they pretended to be, they ought to preach peace and union amongst the Indian princes; but union was, of all things in the world, the very one which they most dreaded; for they *were not* what they pretended to be, but sought, in the divisions of natives, to establish their own power. Had Hyder attacked them in their own trading districts, there could have been no reason why they should not chastise him for it. But it does not appear that he ever did attack them at all, till they fell upon him, and that with the avowed intention to annihilate his power as dangerous.

No, say they, but he attacked the territories of our ally, the subahdar of the Deccan, which we were bound to defend. And here it is that we touch again upon that subtle policy by which it became impossible, when they had once got a footing in the country, that, having the will and the power, they should not eventually have the dominion. While professing to avoid conquest, as we have seen, they went on continually making conquests. But it was always on the plea of aiding their allies. They entered knowingly into alliances on condition of defending with arms their allies, and thus, when they committed aggressions, it was for these allies. In the end, the allies were themselves swallowed up, with all the additional territories thus gained. It was a system of fattening allies as we fatten oxen, till they were more worthy of being devoured. They cast their subtle threads of policy, like the radiating filaments of the spider's web, till the remotest extremity of India could not be touched without startling them from their concealed centre into open day, ready to run upon the unlucky offender. It was utterly impossible, on such a system, but that offences must come and woe to them by whom they did come!

The English were unquestionably the aggressors in the hostilities with Hyder. They entered into a treaty with Nizam Ali, the subahdar of the Deccan, offensive and defensive; and the very first deed which he called on them to do was to seize the fort of Bangalore, which belonged to Hyder. They had, as we have shown, actually marched in 1767 into his territories, when Hyder found means to draw the Nizam from his alliance, and, in conjunction with him, fell upon them, and compelled them to fly to Trincomalee. By this unprovoked and voluntary act they found themselves at once involved in a war with a fierce and active enemy, who pursued them to the very walls of Madras, scourged their country with their cavalry, and compelled them to a dishonourable peace in 1769, by which they bound themselves to assist him, too, in his defensive wars!

To enter voluntarily into such conditions with such a

man, betrayed no great delicacy of moral feeling as to what wars they engaged in, or no great honesty in their intentions as regarded the treaty itself. They must soon either fight with some of Hyder's numerous enemies, or break faith with him. Accordingly, the very next year the Mahrattas invaded his territories. He called earnestly on his English allies for aid, and aid they did not give. Hyder had now the justest reason for calling them perfidious, and for holding them in distrust. Yet, though deeply exasperated by this treachery, he would, in 1778, most willingly have renewed his alliance with them; and the presidency of Madras acknowledged their belief that, had not the treaty of 1769 been evaded, Hyder would never have sought other alliance than themselves (Mill, ii. 480). There were the strongest reasons why they should have cultivated an amicable relation with him, both to withdraw him from the French, and on account of his own great power and resources. But they totally neglected him, or insulted him with words of mere courtesy; and now their attack on his tributary fort and territory of Mahé made Hyder declare them "the most faithless and usurping of mankind."

Hyder saw that the present opportunity was most favourable for taking a signal vengeance on the English. They were embarrassed by their war with the Mahrattas. He, on his part, had intelligence of a French squadron to support his views. For years he had concerted with the French a grand plan for the destruction of the British power; and even whilst he had remained apparently quiet, he was preparing with all his energies for its accomplishment. He had squeezed his treasurers and collectors to the utmost for the accumulation of money, and mustered an army of nearly ninety thousand men, including twenty-eight thousand cavalry and two thousand artillery and rocket-men, besides four hundred engineers, chiefly French. He had a complete staff of Frenchmen, who directed the operations on the most military principles, and he had above one hundred pieces of cannon of different calibre. After having given orders that the mysterious religious rite called *Jebbum* should be performed in all the temples—for both he and the Tippoo, though Mussulmans, always favoured the Hindoo form of worship, as influencing their soldiers—Hyder suddenly poured down from his hills with this host into the plains of Madras. To the last moment the authorities there appear to have been wholly unconscious of their danger. Sir Thomas Rumbold, who had spent three years as governor of Madras in scraping together money, and oppressing the allies in the Carnatic, the Deccan, and the Northern Circars, was recalled; He had done his best to irritate Hyder, whilst he had managed for himself to remit home in three years three times the full amount of his salary. His place was now occupied by Mr. Whitehill, a man utterly incapable of governing or defending the province. Besides this, the whole army in the presidency did not exceed six thousand men, and these were principally sepoys. This force, too, was spread over a vast region; part at Pondicherry, part at Arcot, part in Madras, but everywhere scattered into cantonments widely distant from each other, and in forts capable of very little defence. As for the forces of their ally, the nabob of Arcot, they ran, at the first issue of Hyder's army through the ghauts. On came the

army of Hyder like a wild hurricane. Porto Novo on the coast, and Conjeveram near Trichinopolis, were taken; and Hyder advanced, laying all waste with fire and sword, till he could be seen—a dreadful apparition—with his host from Mount St. Thomas, his progress marked by the flames and smoke of burning villages.

The inhabitants, men, women, and children, fled in terror from their splendid villas, around the city, into the fort of St. George. A fast-sailing vessel was dispatched to Calcutta, to implore the governor-general to send them speedy aid of men and money. The forces were called together from different quarters, and Sir Hector Munro at the head of one body, and colonel Baillie at the head of another, were ordered to combine, and intercept Hyder. First one place of rendezvous, and then another was named, and, before the junction could take place, Baillie had managed to allow himself to be surrounded, near Conjeveram, by the whole host of Hyder, and, after a brave defence, was compelled to surrender, one half of his troops being cut to pieces. The insults and cruelties of the troops of Hyder to their captives were something demoniac.

Munro had sent to demand troops from the nabob of Arcot, for whom the English were always fighting, and received a message of compliments, but no soldiers. On the defeat of Baillie, he made a hasty retreat to Mount St. Thomas. Meantime, the call for aid had reached Calcutta, and Hastings instantly responded to it with all his indomitable energy. Had Hastings been a tolerably honest man, he would have been one of the greatest men who ever ruled the destinies of India. He thought no labour, anxiety, or sacrifice too great, for the maintenance of the British ascendancy there; and he was as little restrained by conscience as by fear in his endeavours to that end. He called together the council, and demanded that peace should be made at once with the Mahrattas; that every soldier should be shipped off at once to Madras; that fifteen lacs of rupees should be sent without a moment's delay to the council there; that the incompetent governor, Whitehill, should be removed; and Sir Eyre Coote sent to perform this necessary office, and take the command of the troops. Francis, who had not yet embarked, raised, as usual, his voice in opposition. He contended against sending any of the troops, and only half the money. So bravely can men write against others, so ruinously for their country would they manage themselves. If "Junius," for such we believe Francis to have been, could have ruled now, Madras had been lost. But Hastings' proposals were all carried. The troops, under Sir Eyre Coote, were hurried off, and messengers dispatched in flying haste to raise money at Moorshedabad, Patna, Benares, Lucknow—everywhere, where the authority of Hastings could extort it. At the same time, other officers were sent to negotiate with the Mahrattas for peace.

Coote landed at Madras at the beginning of November. A council was immediately called, Whitehill was removed from the government of the presidency, and the member of council next in seniority appointed. Hyder, by this time, had reduced Arcot, Wandewash, Chingleput, and Vellore, and would soon have annihilated our whole dominion in the Carnatic and the Northern Circars. Coote had brought

with him only five hundred British troops and six hundred Lascars. The whole force with which he could encounter Hyder amounted only to one thousand seven hundred Europeans and five thousand native troops: but he was promised a considerable reinforcement of native infantry, and a few native cavalry, who, under major Pearse, were marching over land from Calcutta, a distance of one thousand one hundred miles. Coote, whose name as the conqueror of the French at Wandewash and Pondicherry struck terror into Hyder, soon resumed his triumphs on his old ground; drove the enemy from Wandewash, and compelled them to raise a number of these sieges. Hearing then of the arrival of the French armament off Pondicherry, he marched thither, and posted himself on the Red Hills. The French fleet, consisting of seven ships of the line and four frigates, were anchored off the place. The French inhabitants had seized the British resident, thrown him into prison, and occupied the town in arms. Coote disarmed them, released the resident, and then marched against Hyder. But the French squadron having sailed away for the Isle of France, from apprehension of the approach of a British fleet, Hyder rapidly retreated, and, entering the territory of Tanjore, laid it waste, while his son, Tippoo, laid siege again to Wandewash. Coote failing to take the fortified pagoda of Chillambram, Hyder was again encouraged to advance, and on the 6th of July Coote managed to bring him to action near Porto Novo, and completely routed him and his huge host, though he had himself only about eight thousand men. Hyder, who watched the battle from a hill, seated cross-legged on a stool, saw the route with inconceivable astonishment. He raved, tore his clothes, cursed his attendants when they approached him, and refused to move from the spot, till a privileged servant thrust his slippers forcibly upon his feet, exclaiming, "We will beat them to-morrow; in the meantime, mount your horse!" Hyder gave way, but bitterly rued following the advice of the French, exclaiming, "The defeat of many Baillies will not destroy these English. I can ruin their forces by land, but I cannot dry up the sea!" He retired quite crestfallen to Arcot, and ordered Tippoo to raise the siege of Wandewash.

Notwithstanding that Hyder had established his camp soon after in a strong position near the village of Pollilore, he was attacked on the 27th of August by Eyre Coote. On this occasion Sir Hector Munro warned Coote of the disadvantages of ground under which he was going to engage, and the inevitable sacrifice of life. Coote replied angrily, "You talk to me, sir, when you should be doing your duty!" a speech which wounded Munro so deeply as to lead eventually to his quitting India. His warning, however, was just. Coote did not succeed in driving Hyder from his post without severe loss. But again, on the 27th of September, another battle was fought between them in the pass of Sholinghur, near Bellore, in which Coote defeated Hyder with terrible loss. This battle relieved the English garrison in Bellore, and after taking Chittore, Palipete, and other places, the rainy season put an end to operations, but the Carnatic was saved.

On the 22nd of June, 1781, lord Macartney arrived at Madras to take the place of Whitehill as governor. He brought the news of the war having broke out betwixt the

English and the Dutch, and he determined to take advantage of it to seize the Dutch settlements on the coast of Coromandel and in Ceylon. But Sir Eyre Coote had lately had a stroke of palsy; his faculties were failing, and his temper growing morose. Finding he could obtain no assistance from the commander-in-chief, Macartney called out the militia of Madras, and at their head reduced the Dutch settlements of Sadras and Pulicat. Finding Sir Hector Munro waiting at Madras for a passage to England, in consequence of the insulting conduct of Sir Eyre Coote, he induced him to take the command of an expedition against Negapatam. Admiral Hughes landed the troops near Negapatam on the 21st of October, they then united with a force under colonel Braithwaite, and on the 12th of November Negapatam was taken, with large quantities of arms and military stores. Leaving Braithwaite to make an expedition into Tanjore, where, in February of the coming year, he was surrounded by Tippoo and Lally, the French general, and taken prisoner, admiral Hughes sailed across to Ceylon, a most desirable conquest, because of its secure harbour of Trincomalee, as well as the richness and beauty of the island, and on account of its position, lying only two days' sail from Madras. On the 11th of January, 1782, Trincomalee was won.

But in February the long-expected armament from France arrived on the Coromandel coast. It was this armament that admiral Johnstone had been ordered to intercept, but had failed to do so, and only captured some Dutch merchantmen in Saldanha Bay. Suffrein, the admiral, was one of the ablest sea-commanders of France. On his way he had secured the Cape of Good Hope against the English, and he now landed at Porto Novo two thousand French soldiers to join the army of Hyder Ali. Tippoo, flushed with the recent capture of colonel Braithwaite, invited the French to join him in an attack on Cuddalore, an important town betwixt Porto Novo and Pondicherry. This was done, and Cuddalore was wrested from the English in April.

Whilst these events were taking place on land, repeated engagements took place betwixt the English fleets on the coasts. That of admiral Hughes was reinforced by fresh ships from England, and betwixt February, 1782, and June, 1783, the English and French fleets fought five pitched battles with various success. In none of these was any man-of-war captured by either side, nor any great amount of men lost; but, eventually, Suffrein succeeded in retaking Trincomalee, in Ceylon, from the English.

From Cuddalore, Tippoo and Bussy, the French general, turned their forces against Wandewash; but they were met by Coote, though he was now sinking and failing fast. Still he advanced against them, with something of that spirit which had made him victor over Lally and Bussy, on the same spot, two-and-twenty years before. They retreated, and he attempted to make himself master of the strong fort of Arnee, where much of the booty of Hyder was deposited; but Hyder made show of fighting him whilst Tippoo carried off all the property. Tippoo was obliged to march thence towards Calicut, where the Hindoo chiefs, his tributaries, were rising and joining the English under colonel Mackenzie. Hyder, at this moment, was confounded by the news of the peace made by Hastings with the Mahrattas, and expected that

those marauders would speedily fall on Mysore. His health was fast declining, and yet he dared not introduce his allies, the French, into his own territory, lest he should not so readily get them out again. Besides his suspicions of the French, he had constant fears of assassination. One of his attendants, hearing him speaking in his sleep, ventured to ask him when he awoke what had troubled his dreams. "My friend," he said, "the condition of beggars is more enviable than mine; they see no conspirators when awake, and dream of no assassins when asleep." Hyder died in December, 1782, whilst Tippoo, his heir, was absent on the expedition to Calicut, and Sir Eyre Coote, who, on the retreat of Tippoo and Hyder from Arnee, had contemplated an attack on Cuddalore, had found his health fail him so greatly that he gave up the command to colonel Stuart, and sailed for Calcutta. No sooner, however, did he hear of Hyder's death, than he fancied he had strength enough to try another turn with Tippoo, and once more sailed for Madras, but only landed there to expire in April, 1783.

At the time that Tippoo heard of the death of his father, he was, assisted by the French, eagerly pressing on the most inferior force of colonel Humberstone Mackenzie, who had been laying siege to Palagathery, not very distant from Seringapatam. Mackenzie being obliged to retire, was suddenly set upon, before daylight, near Paniany, about thirty-five miles from Calicut, by the whole force; but he repulsed them with great slaughter. Tippoo then fell back and made the best of his way to his capital to secure his throne and the treasures of Hyder Ali. He found himself at the age of thirty master of the throne, of an army of nearly one hundred thousand men, and of immense wealth. With these advantages, and the alliance of the French, Tippoo did not doubt of being able to drive the English out of all the south of India. Yet, with his vast army, accompanied by nine hundred French, two thousand sepoys, and nearly three hundred Caffirs, Tippoo retreated, or appeared to be retreating, before general Stuart, with a force of only fourteen thousand men, of whom three thousand alone were British. He was, in fact, however, hastening to defend the north-west districts of Mysore from another English force on the coast of Canara. This force was that of colonel Mackenzie, joined by another from Bombay, under general Matthews, who took the chief command in that quarter.

So long as Matthews had the able co-operation of Mackenzie, colonel Macleod, and other brave officers, all went prosperously. Bednore, the rich capital of the district, and the forts of Ananpore and Mangalore, fell one after another. But Matthews was so immeasurably rapacious, that he not only seized on everything possible from the natives, but refused to allow any share to the other officers in the army. They refused to submit to this, and Mackenzie, Macleod, and major Shaw repaired to Bombay to lay their complaints before the council. The case was so flagrant that the council at once removed Matthews, and appointed colonel Macleod to supersede him. Unfortunately, these officers, on their return, were attacked in a small boat, as they went along the coast, by a squadron of Mahratta pirates: Mackenzie and Shaw were murdered, and Macleod made prisoner. Matthews soon lost all that the army there had conquered; surrendered Bednore to

Tippoo on promise of being allowed to march away to the coast, but was immediately seized and flung into prison with the troops. Tippoo defended this conduct on the plea that Matthews had purloined the public treasure, which he had engaged to leave in the fort. The charge was probable enough, for the cupidity of Matthews appears to have been insatiable, his own troops accusing him of scraping together from plunder eight hundred thousand pounds besides jewels. Matthews was murdered in prison, with several of his officers.

A fragment of his army had secured themselves in the strong fort of Mangalore, which was bravely defended by colonel Campbell against Tippoo and the French. Meantime, general Stuart was actively besieging Cuddalore, in which Bussy lay with a strong French and Mysorean force. During the siege, a young French officer, in a sally, was wounded and taken prisoner, who afterwards became marshal Bernadotte, and eventually king of Sweden. He remembered on his northern throne the kindness of Stuart and of the Hanoverian colonel Wangenheim, serving in the English army. News now arrived of peace concluded betwixt England and France. The French, to whom their possessions, Pondicherry, &c., were restored, at once ceased hostilities and went to occupy their reacquired settlements. But Tippoo continued the war, bent on taking Mangalore. Nothing could now have prevented the English from completely conquering but the stupidity of the council of Madras. They sent commissioners to treat with Tippoo, who, once getting them into his camp, made them really prisoners, kept all information from them, and induced them to issue orders to the English officers to cease hostilities. By these orders a junction was prevented betwixt Stuart and colonel Fullarton, and the immediate investment and seizure of Seringapatam, Tippoo's capital. Fullarton had overrun a great portion of the southern districts of Mysore, and had entered into close alliance with the samorin of Calicut, the rajah of Travancore, and other rajahs, tributary to Tippoo all the way from Cochin to Goa. With full supplies of provisions and other aids from these chiefs, Fullarton was in full march to join Stuart, and laid siege to Seringapatam, when he received peremptory orders to give up the enterprise, as they were about concluding terms with Tippoo. Exceedingly disconcerted by these commands, which thus frustrated the results of this wonderful campaign, Fullarton, however, had no alternative but to obey, and Tippoo thus held on till he had starved out Campbell, and gained the fort of Mangalore. Then he concluded peace on condition of mutual restitution of all conquests since the war.

This peace was signed on the 11th of March, 1784. It was infinitely short of what it might have been to the English, had the diplomatic ability of the council at Madras been equal to the valour of the troops and the genius of the military officers. It postponed to another day the entire annexation of those great territories; but this campaign had saved the presidency of Madras and the Carnatic. These must have been lost, but for the almost unexampled exertions of Warren Hastings in furnishing troops and funds, and the admirable conduct and bravery of the English officers and their men. Unfortunately, the Hindoo chiefs of the Malabar coast, who had risen to join the

English, were left to the fierce vengeance of Tippoo. The English who had been his prisoners gave such accounts of his treatment of them as excited an intense indignation throughout British India; and the horrors which he inflicted in the disaffected districts can only be paralleled by other recitals of Eastern tyranny. He visited Calicut and the neighbouring states of Malabar, perpetrated, it is said, the most vindictive atrocities on the people, men, women, and children, destroyed their pagodas, and compelled some thousands to submit to circumcision and eat flesh, the most dreadful of impieties in a Hindoo.

Such are the accounts, derived, however, be it observed, from his enemies; and it is only due to this prince, who was

sufferings, however intense, were only the sufferings of a very rigorous imprisonment, of which, considering the manner in which it is lavished upon them by their own laws, the English ought not to be very forward to complain. At that very time, in the dungeons of Madras or Calcutta, it is probable that unhappy sufferers were enduring calamities for debts of one hundred pounds, not less atrocious than those which Tippoo, a prince, born and educated in a barbarous country, and ruling over a barbarous people, inflicted upon imprisoned enemies, part of a nation, who, by the evils they had brought upon him, exasperated him almost to frenzy, and whom he regarded as the enemies of both God and man. Besides, there is among the papers relating to



ENGAGEMENT BETWEEN FRENCH AND ENGLISH CRUISERS OFF CEYLON.

eventually borne down by the English, and his kingdom divided amongst themselves and their allies, to quote the opinion of Mill, the historian of the India House itself. "That the accounts which we have received from our countrymen, who hated and feared him," he says, "are marked with exaggeration, is proved by this circumstance, that his servants adhered to him with a fidelity which those of few princes in any age or country have displayed. Of his cruelty we have heard the more, because our countrymen were amongst the victims of it. But it is to be observed that, unless in certain instances, the proof of which cannot be regarded as better than doubtful, their

the intercourse of Tippoo with the French a remarkable proof of his humanity, which, when these papers are ransacked for matters to criminate him, ought not to be suppressed. In a draught of conditions, on which he desired to form a treaty with them, these are the words of a distinct article:—"I demand that male and female prisoners, as well English as Portuguese, who shall be taken by the French troops, or by mine, shall be treated with humanity; and, with regard to their persons, that they shall (their property becoming the right of the allies) be transported, at our joint expense, out of India, to places far distant from the territory of the allies."



DEFEAT OF HYDER ALI BY SIR EYRE COOTE.

Another feature in the character of Tippee was his religion, with a sense of which his mind was deeply impressed. He spent a considerable part of every day in prayer. He gave to his kingdom a particular religious title, *CUDADAK*, or God-given, and he lived under a peculiarly strong and operative conviction of the superintendence of a divine Providence. To one of his French advisers, who urged him zealously to obtain the support of the Mahrattas, he replied, "I rely solely on Providence, expecting that I shall be alone and unsupported; but God and my courage will accomplish everything."

"He had the discernment to perceive, what is so generally hid from the eyes of rulers in a more enlightened state of society, that it is the prosperity of those who labour with their hands which constitutes the principle and cause of the prosperity of states. He therefore made it his business to protect them against the intermediate orders of the community by whom it is so difficult to prevent their being oppressed. His country was, accordingly, at least during the first and better part of his reign, the best cultivated, and his population the most flourishing in India; while under the English and their pageants, the population of the Carnatic and Oude, degenerating into the state of deserts, was the most wretched upon the face of the earth; and even Bengal itself, under the operation of laws ill adapted to their circumstances, was suffering almost all the evils which the worst of governments could inflict. For an Eastern prince, he was full of knowledge. His mind was active, acute, and ingenious. But in the value which he set upon objects, whether as means or as an end, he was almost perpetually deceived. Besides, a conviction appears to have been rooted in his mind, that the English had formed a resolution to deprive him of his kingdom, and that it was useless to negotiate, because no submission to which he could reconcile his mind would restrain them in the gratification of their ambitious designs."

Tippee was right. The great design of the English, from their first secure footing in India, was to establish their control over the whole peninsula, and we shall soon see that, in prosecuting that object, no cruelties of Tippee could exceed theirs.

Warren Hastings had saved Madras and the Carnatic, but only at a cost of crime and extortion, which have scarcely any parallel in the history of the earth. To obtain the necessary money, he began a system of robbery and coercion on the different princes of Bengal and Oude, who were in the power of the British government, which was truly astonishing. The first experiment was made on Cheyte Sing, the rajah of Benares, who had been allowed to remain as a tributary prince, when that province was made over to the British by the nabob of Oude. The tribute had been paid with a regularity unexampled in the history of India; but when the war broke out with France, Hastings suddenly demanded an extraordinary addition of fifty thousand pounds a-year, and as it was not immediately paid, the rajah was heavily fined into the bargain. This was rendered still more stringent in 1780, when the difficulties in Madras began. Cheyte Sing sent a confidential agent to Calcutta, to assure Hastings that it was not in his power to pay so heavy a sum, and he sent him two

lacs of rupees, twenty thousand pounds, as a private present to conciliate him. Hastings accepted the money; but no doubt feeling the absolute need of large sums for the public treasury, he, after awhile, paid this into the treasury, and then said to Cheyte Sing that he must pay the contribution all the same. In fact, Hastings could not afford to be bribed; he must have every possible farthing that he could force from the rajahs for the public needs. He compelled the rajah to pay the annual sum of fifty thousand pounds, and ten thousand pounds more as a fine, and then demanded two thousand cavalry. After some bargaining and protesting, Cheyte Sing sent five hundred horsemen and five hundred foot. Hastings made no acknowledgment of these, but began to muster troops, threatening to take vengeance on the rajah. In terror, Cheyte Sing then sent, in one round sum, twenty lacs of rupees, two hundred thousand pounds, for the service of the state; but the only answer he obtained for the munificent offering was, that he must send thirty lacs more, that is, altogether, half a million.

Following his words by acts, he set off himself, attended only by a few score sepoy, for Benares. He appeared so confident of his safety, that he took Mrs. Hastings with him as far as Monghir. Cheyte Sing came out as far as *Buxar* to meet the offended governor, and paid him the utmost homage. Hastings received it with the stern silence of an incensed master. The rajah expressed his sorrow at Hastings' displeasure, declared the whole seminary at his command, and, as a sign of the most decided submission, laid his turban on the governor's knee. Nothing moved the man who wanted the last farthing that the rajah had, and was determined to come at it. He continued his journey with the rajah in his train, and entered the rajah's capital, the great *Meca* of India, the famed city of Benares, on the 14th of August, 1781. He then made more enormous demands than before; and the compliance of the rajah not being immediate, he ordered Mr. Markham, his own-appointed resident at Benares, to arrest the rajah in his palace. Cheyte Sing was a timid man, yet the act of arresting him in the midst of his own subjects, and in a place so sacred, and crowded with pilgrims from every part of the East, was a most daring deed. The effect was instantaneous. The people rose in fury, and pouring headlong to the palace with arms in their hands, they cut to pieces Markham and his sepoy. Two other companies were dispatched to their aid, but these were cut to pieces in the streets. Had Cheyte Sing had the spirit of his people in him, Hastings and his little party would have been butchered in half an hour. Hastings says this himself, that he and the thirty English gentlemen with him must have perished at once.

But Cheyte Sing only thought of his own safety. He got across the Ganges, and whole troops of his subjects flocked after him. Thence he sent protestations of his innocence of the *emete*, and of his readiness to make any conditions. Hastings, though surrounded and besieged in his quarters by a furious mob, deigned no answer to the suppliant rajah, but busied himself in collecting all the sepoy in the place. Before night, he had assembled four hundred, and had sent messengers to Mirzapore, on the other side of the Ganges, to another small knot of sepoy, to

march to the palace of Ramnagur, opposite to Benares, whither Cheyte Sing had betaken himself, and secure him. Natives as these men were, and many of them subjects of Cheyte Sing, they duly obeyed orders; and Hastings then dispatched a message to his wife at Monghir, assuring her that he was safe. He wrote to other quarters, ordered troops to march to his aid, and, as if to show his perfect coolness, addressed a dispatch to the officer who was negotiating with the Mahrattas, giving him some instructions. The means by which he sent his messages through the furious crowd which besieged his house, were ingenious. The hircarrabs, or couriers of India, when they travel, lay aside their enormous ear-rings, and put a quill or bit of paper, rolled like a quill, into the orifice, to prevent it growing up. These rolls, on this occasion, were the besieged governor's dispatches. Some of them were detected, but more passed safely.

But the situation of Hastings was at every turn becoming more critical. The sepoyas, sent to seize Cheyte Sing in the palace of Ramnagur, were repulsed, and many of them, with their commander, killed. The multitude were now more excited than ever, and that night would probably have seen the last of Warren Hastings, but he contrived to make his escape from Benares, and to reach the strong fortress of Chunar, situated on a rock several hundred feet above the Ganges, and about seventeen miles below Benares. Cheyte Sing, for a moment, encouraged by the flight of Hastings, put himself at the head of the enraged people, and, appealing to the neighbouring princes on his treatment, declared he would drive the English out of the country. But troops and money were speedily sent to Hastings from Lucknow, others marched to Chunar from their cantonments, and he found himself safe amid a sufficient force commanded by the brave major Popham, the conqueror of Gwalior, to defy the thirty thousand undisciplined followers of Cheyte Sing. From the 29th of August to the 20th of September, there were different engagements betwixt the English and the forces of Cheyte Sing; but on every occasion, though the Indians fought bravely, they were worsted, and on the last-named day, utterly routed at Pateeta. Cheyte Sing and his family fled to the fortress of Bidjegur, about fifty miles from Benares. Thither Hastings sent Popham to besiege him, having in his letters intimated to that officer that the treasures of the rajah would serve to pay the troops, who had long been in arrears of their pay.

Cheyte Sing did not wait for the arrival of the English troops: he fled into Bundelcund, and never returned again to Benares. He was supposed to have carried the greater part of his wealth with him in jewels, but in the fortress he left his wife—a woman of amiable character—his mother, all the other women of his family, and the survivors of the family of his father, Bulwant Sing. The ladies capitulated on condition of safety to the men, and safety and freedom from search for the women. Three hundred women, besides children, then came out of the castle; but no sooner were they without the gates, than the capitulation was violated. The ladies were plundered of everything valuable, and their persons otherwise rudely and disgracefully treated by the soldiers and followers of the camp. Major Popham exerted himself to defend the unhappy women from the insulting

outrage, but Hastings had himself sanctioned it in a note, suggesting that, without examination, the women might contrive to carry off the treasure. The sum of two hundred and fifty thousand pounds, which the ranees, the mother of Cheyte Sing, claimed as her own, was seized, and which she in vain demanded to be restored, as her own private property, guaranteed by the terms of the capitulation. She implored in vain, Popham and the officers divided the whole amongst themselves and the army. Hastings was confounded! He had run all these dangers, and created all these troubles, in the hope of securing this booty, but the army had taken him at his word, and paid themselves with the whole. It is the only consolation in this detestable affair, that he missed the plunder of the rajah, and received the severe censure of the court of directors, and afterwards of parliament, for this monstrous conduct. Hastings afterwards endeavoured to compel Popham and the officers to disgorge the treasure by law, but in vain.

Deeply chagrined, he now returned to Benares at the head of his victorious force, where he soon restored order, and set up another puppet rajah, a nephew of Cheyte Sing, but raised the annual tribute to forty lacs of rupees, or four hundred thousand pounds a-year, and taking the mint and the entire jurisdiction of the province into the hands of his own officers.

Having failed in his attempt to screw sufficient money from Cheyte Sing, and undeterred by the perils he had run, he next determined to experiment on the nabob of Oude. This nabob, Asoff-ul-Dowlah, was an infamously dissipated prince, spending his own money in licentious pleasures, and extorting what he could from the begums, his mother and grandmother. The old ladies lived at the palace of Fyzabad, or the "Beautiful Residence," situated in a charming district, amid hills and streams, about eighty miles from Lucknow. The nabob's father had left them large sums of money and extensive jaghires, so that they kept a handsome court, and yet had the reputation of having accumulated about three million pounds sterling. The nabob had compelled them, by coercive means, to let him have, at different times, about six hundred thousand pounds, and he thirsted exceedingly for more. To defend themselves from his rapacity, the begums appealed earnestly to the English governor-general, who, in conjunction with the council, Francis, Barwell, and Wheeler, in 1778, compelled the nabob to enter into a solemn engagement not to violate any further the rights of these ladies, either in their money or their jaghires. The council expressed their lively sense of the disgraceful conduct of the nabob in thus extorting their property from these ladies, and talked much of the honour and reputation of the company being implicated by it.

But there is no doubt that the existence of this wealth being thus brought to the knowledge of Hastings, had determined him, spite of his moral vows to the nabob, to seize it for the purposes of conducting the war in Madras. There was nothing so easy as to frame reasons why he should have this money, notwithstanding his own affected sense of indignation at the idea of the son and grandson getting it by pressure. The nabob had requested the service of a brigade of British troops to secure him against his own people, whose disaffection he had excited by his oppressions. Hastings had

most readily granted it, seeing at once that it would be the means of putting him completely in his power. The nabob, in addition to the heavy tribute under which he lay, was to pay a heavy price for the brigade, besides maintaining it. By these means, by the time that Hastings had resolved to seize the money of the begums, he had swelled up an account of arrears against Asoff-ul-Dowlah of nearly a million and a half sterling. This enormous amount Hastings himself admitted to the nabob, when he afterwards wanted his co-operation in coming at the money of the begums, was run up by extravagant charges of all kinds; and that he had, moreover, been unmercifully squeezed by the British officers in Oude. In fact, the nabob had for years been earnestly imploring that the brigade should be recalled, as he was quite unable to pay for it, or that the charge for it should be dropped. But Hastings had taken no notice of his demand, but had gone on, keeping the brigade at Lucknow, still running up the account.

It was one part of his original plan, on going to Benares, to go on to Oude, and to employ his claims on the nabob as a lever to wrench the money bags from the begum. The failure of his cash anticipations at Benares had made Hastings all the more desperate. He sent for the nabob of Oude while he was still in the fortress of Chunar, and there reminding him of his debts, proposed to him coolly the robbery of his mother and grandmother. He was ready to give up the million and a half on condition that he got the three millions of the begums. He therefore offered to take the jaghires from these ladies—lands, let it be understood, as fully and completely left to them by the late Soujah Dowlah, as the sovereignty of Oude had been left by him to the nabob, and on which neither the nabob nor Hastings had any claim whatever, for it is not pretended that the princesses were in any debt or arrears to the nabob, or to the British government. But as India, according to Hastings, can and must be saved, there must be money for it; the begums had money, and he was resolved to have it. He agreed, therefore, to give up to the nabob the jaghires of his mother and grandmother, as though they had been his own, and the nabob was to take the odium of forcing the money from the ladies and handing it to Hastings!

The proposal was so barefaced, that, when Hastings came to propose it to the nabob, he felt that he really required some pretended reason for thus arbitrarily laying hands on the property of these innocent women, and therefore unblushingly asserted that they had been concerned in stirring up the insurrection at Benares—a matter, besides that it was so notoriously the result of Hastings' own daring arrest of Cheyte Sing, the begums had neither motive for meddling in nor time for doing it. They till now regarded the British as their own only protectors. They were living quietly at Fyzabad, one hundred and fifteen miles from Benares, when the insurrection broke out from very obvious causes. This infamous bargain being concluded at Chunar, Hastings relying on his agent at Lucknow, Mr. Middleton, compelling the nabob to carry it out, retreated to Benares, and thence to Calcutta. The nabob returned to Lucknow to enforce the diabolical scheme; but he found his mother and grandmother determined to resist the iniquitous order, and so shameful was it, that even the needy and debauched nabob

felt compunctions in proceeding with it. He left it to Middleton to execute, but Middleton, in his turn, recoiled from the odious business. Not so Hastings; cold and resolute, he wrote to Middleton, that if he could not rely upon his firmness he would free him from his charge, and himself proceed to Lucknow and enforce his own orders. To induce Middleton to abandon his scruples of conscience and honour, the ever-ready friend of Hastings, the chief-justice of Bengal, Sir Elijah Impey, it appears, wrote to Middleton, and inculcated the necessity of obedience. Middleton and the nabob, therefore, seized on the jaghires of the begums, and suddenly surrounded Fyzabad and the palace with troops, and made themselves masters of both. But the old ladies had not been so inattentive to the approaches of the storm as to neglect the secretion of their treasures; they could not be found. The nabob, who was familiar with all the modes of hiding and finding such possessions, assisted Middleton and his officers, but the money could not be traced. The whole palace was filled with terror by the soldiers hunting through every room, even the very apartments of the alarmed and shrieking women.

Thus cruelly disappointed of the expected hoard, and the begums remaining firm in their refusal to produce any part of it, Middleton seized on their two chief ministers, the eunuchs, Jewar Ali Khan and Behar Ali Khan. These two old men had been the most confidential servants of Sujah Dowlah, and had, since his death, stood in the same relation to his widow, the Bhow begum. They were now thrown into prison, put in irons, and orders were given to starve and torture them till they revealed the secret of the concealment of the treasure of their mistresses. At the same time, the two ladies were placed in very rigorous confinement themselves. These proceedings, at length, produced some effect: a large sum was given up; but by no means such a sum as the English were bent upon having. Instead, therefore, of any mitigation of the dureme of the eunuchs or the ladies, this was rendered only the more severe. Middleton himself signed an order to the officer commanding the troops, that the eunuchs should be kept without food, &c., their irons should be increased in weight, and torture be menaced, till the expected sum should be extorted. To aid in the coercion and the torture, officers of the nabob, well acquainted with these devilish atrocities, were admitted to the unhappy old men in their prison.

Let it be remembered that we are not relating mere inventions of romance, but facts proved on the most unquestionable evidence; nor the dark deeds of Italian or Spanish inquisitors, whose names have filled the world with horror, but the acts of English gentlemen, high in the service of their country in the eighteenth century, and who have found many defenders of their deeds, on the simple plea that India must be saved, and that the begums had the money that could save it. If this plea be admitted, then there is nothing to be said against the most infamous transactions in history. In perpetrating these deeds Hastings was arbitrarily throwing down every solemn engagement which the British government in India had set up, and to permit the violation of which they had shortly before pronounced to the nabob to be most dishonourable, and destructive of our national character. He now took away the jaghires, and

gave them to the nabob, and made him assist in robbing and torturing his own mother and grandmother. By the continuance of such means, he at length forced from the begums the sum of five hundred thousand pounds; but this was but a sixth of the riches he was hoping for; and the same system of violence was continued through the greater part of 1782. It was reported by the officer of the sepoy guard, that the health of the two old eunuchs had suffered severely, and that they implored that their irons might be taken off, and themselves be permitted to walk a little for a few days in the palace gardens, the officer asserting that there was not the slightest danger of their escape. But the request was not only refused, but orders were issued to treat them more severely. They were informed, that if they did not give information where the money was, they should undergo still more exquisite torture. They were then removed to Lucknow, and confined in the English prison there; but the English assistant resident wrote an order to the British officer in command of the sepoy guard:—"Sir,—The nabob being determined to inflict corporal punishment upon the prisoners under your guard, this is to desire that his officers, when they shall come, may have free access to the prisoners, and be permitted to do with them as they shall see proper."

It was hoped that the nabob's people being thus employed in this horrible business the cruelties would appear to be his, and not those of the English; and this system was continued till they had forced upwards of a million sterling from the begums, and found that they might kill both them and their aged ministers, but could get no more. When the begums and two old men were liberated, they were told by the resident—not now Middleton, but Bristow—that they owed this favour to the governor-general, who had determined to have them "restored to their dignity and honour." It is impossible to decide whether in this history the atrocity or the hypocrisy is the most astounding. During the conferences at Chunar, Hastings, in open defiance of the law against receiving presents from the Indian princes, accepted a present of one hundred thousand pounds from his accomplice, the nabob of Oude. This was probably to obtain his desire, that the jaghire of Fyzoola Khan, the Rohilla chief, which had been secured to him in the north of Rohilkund, should be seized by the nabob. Hastings readily agreed to the seizure, and it was duly made a clause of the treaty at Chunar. But Hastings, with that ready duplicity for which he was so famous, at the same time wrote to the council to say he never intended to carry it into execution; that the independence of Fyzoola Khan was more to the interests of the British than his suppression. The nabob, therefore, notwithstanding his earnest demands to be put in possession of the jaghire, never was gratified. Hastings, however, sent to the khan, to inform him that, by the payment of fifteen lacs of rupees, he could engage to guarantee his retention of the jaghire. Fyzoola replied that he did not possess any such sum of money, and that he relied on his treaty with the English government for the possession of his jaghire; and, singular enough, he was allowed to retain it during his life.

There was another name connected with these events, and with almost equal disadvantage, that of Sir Elijah Impey, the chief-justice. We have seen how this old schoolfellow

of Hastings had supported him against the opposition of Francis and his party; how he had condemned and hanged Nuncomar, the mortal enemy of the governor-general; and how, though, for a time, he, with the other justices, were in hostility to Hastings regarding their own authority; all this was forgiven, and Impey was rewarded with a new judgeship, with a salary of five thousand pounds a-year, in addition to his old one of eight thousand pounds a-year. Impey, who had no jurisdiction in Oude, was found, however, up there in the midst of these transactions, volunteering his assistance in getting up charges against the begums. These charges were supported by a host of venal witnesses, such as were brought forward to swear away the life of Nuncomar, and affidavits of their evidence were made out, and sent down to Calcutta, to justify the dark doings of Hastings.

But the violent proceedings of Hastings and his council, partly against each other, and still more against the natives, did not escape the authorities at home. Two committees were appointed in the house of commons in 1781, to inquire into these matters. One of them was headed by general Richard Smith, and the other by Dundas, the lord-advocate of Scotland. In both of these the conduct of Hastings, especially at that time in the war against the Rohillas, was severely condemned, and the appointment of Impey to the new judicial office was greatly disapproved. In May, 1782, general Smith moved an address praying his majesty to recall Sir Elijah Impey, which was carried unanimously, and he was recalled accordingly. Dundas also moved and carried a resolution declaring it to be the duty of the court of directors to recall Warren Hastings, on the charge of his "having, in sundry instances, acted in a manner repugnant to the honour and policy of the nation." The court of directors complied with this suggestion; but lord Rockingham dying, his ministry being dissolved, and Burke, the great opponent of Indian oppressions, being out of office, in October the court of directors, through the active exertions of the friends of Hastings, rescinded his recall. The succeeding changes of administration, and their weakness, first that of the Shelburne, and then that of the coalition ministry, enabled Hastings to keep his post in India, and finish the war in Madras. It was the India bill of Pitt in 1784, which, by creating the board of control, and enabling the government to take immediate cognisance of the proceedings of the governor-generals, and other chief officers in India, which broke the power of Hastings, and which led him to resign, without, however, enabling him to escape the just scrutiny which his administration needed. In the India bill of Pitt there was a clause calling on the court of directors to inquire into the state of the debts of the nabob of Arcot. Of these debts, the most extraordinary accounts were in circulation; the most wonderful stories of the peculations and inventions of Englishmen, by which they had arrived at their monstrous dimensions. As the fate of the nabob of Arcot—that great friend of the English—was the fate of so many of the English allies—the nabobs of Oude, Tanjore, Benares, Surat, and others—we will give a rapid sketch of his history, from first to last, though we have incidentally noticed one or two of the events in the details of proceedings against Hyder Ali.

The nabob of Arcot, or properly of the Carnatic, was one of the earliest of the allies of the English. The English, in the first place, obtained a grant of land from him surrounding Madras, in 1750. They were then too happy to assist the nabob against the French. For these aids, in which Clive distinguished himself, the English took care to stipulate for their usually monstrous payments. Mahomet Ali,

practised on his subjects. The whole revenues of his kingdom, however, proved totally inadequate to the perpetually accumulating demands upon them. He borrowed money where he could, and at whatever interest, of the English themselves. Where this interest could not be paid, he made over to them, under the name of *tuncans*, the revenues of some portion of his dominions. These assignments



BUNDELCUND.

the nabob, soon found that he was unable to satisfy the demands of his allies. They urged upon him the maintenance of large bodies of troops for the defence of his territory against the French and other enemies. This threw him more inextricably into debt, and therefore more inextricably into their power. He became an unresisting tool in their hands. In his name the most savage exactions were

directly decreasing his resources, only raised the demands of his other creditors more violently, and the fleeing of his subjects became more and more dreadful. In this situation, he began to cast his eyes on the neighbouring states, and to incite his allies, by the assertion of various claims upon them, which would give him an opportunity of paying them. This exactly suited their views. It gave them a prospect of



CHEYTE SING RENDERING HOMAGE TO WARREN HASTINGS.

money, and of conquest, too, under the plausible colour of assisting their ally in urging his just claims. They first joined him in falling on the rajah of Tanjore, whom the nabob claimed as a tributary, indebted to him in a large amount of revenue. The rajah was soon reduced to submission, and agreed to pay thirty lacs and fifty thousand rupees, and to aid the nabob in all his wars. Scarcely, however, was this treaty signed, than they repented of it; thought they had not got enough; hoped the rajah would not be exact to a day in his payments, in which case they would fall on him again for breach of treaty. It so happened; and, as we have seen, they rushed out of their camp, seized on parts of Vellum, and the districts of Coiladdy and Elangad, and retained them.

This affair being so fortunately adjusted, the nabob of Arcot called on his willing allies to attack the Marawars, as we have related. They too, he said, owed him money, and money was what the English were always in want of. They readily assented, though they declared that they believed the nabob had no real claims on the Marawars whatever. But then, they said, the nabob has made them his enemies, and it is necessary for his security that they should be reduced. They did not pretend that it was just; but then, it was politic. The particulars of this war are barbarous and disgraceful to the English. The nabob thirsted for the destruction of these states; he and his Christian allies soon reduced Ramnadaporam, the capital of the great Marawar, seized the polygar, a minor of twelve years old, his mother, and the dewan; they came suddenly upon the polygar of the lesser Marawar, while he was trusting to a treaty just made, and killed him; and pursued the inhabitants of the country with severities, which only can be represented by the language of one of the English officers, addressed to the council. Speaking of the animosity of the people against them, and their attacking the baggage, he says:—"I can only determine it by reprisals, which will oblige me to plunder and burn the villages, kill every man in them, and take prisoners the women and children. These are actions which the nature of this war will require." ("Tanjore Papers;" "Mill's History.")

And this was done in a war which they themselves admitted had no just foundation. Such were the unholy deeds into which the nabob and the great scheme of acquisition of territory had led our countrymen in 1773, but this was only the beginning of these affairs. The bloody campaign ended, and large sums of money levied, the nabob proposed another war on the rajah of Tanjore. There was not the remotest plea of injury from the rajah, or breach of treaty. He had paid the enormous sum demanded of him before, by active levies on his subjects, and by mortgaging lands and jewels; but the nabob had now made him a very dangerous enemy—he might ally himself with Hyder Ali, or the French, or some force or other—therefore it was better that he should be utterly destroyed, and his country put into the power of the nabob! "Never," exclaims Mr. Mill, "I suppose, was the resolution taken to make war upon a lawful sovereign, with the view of reducing him entirely, that is, stripping him of his dominions, and either putting him and his family to death, or making them prisoners for life, upon a more accommodating reason. We have

done the rajah great injury—we have no intention of doing him right; this is a sufficient reason for going on to his destruction."

But it was not only thought so, but done; and this was the bargain: the nabob was to advance money and all due necessities for the war, and to pay ten thousand instead of seven thousand sepoy. The unhappy rajah was speedily defeated, and taken prisoner with all his family; and his country put into the hands of his mortal enemy. There were men of honour and virtue enough among the directors at home, however, to feel a proper disgust, or, at least, regard for public opinion at these unprincipled proceedings; and the rajah, through the means of lord Pigott, was restored, not, however, without having a certain quantity of troops quartered upon him, a yearly payment of four lacs of pagodas imposed, and being bound not to make any treaty, or assist any power, without the consent of the English. He was, in fact, put into the first stage of that process of subjection which would, in due time, remove from him even the shadow of independence.

Such were the measures by which the nabob of Arcot endeavoured to relieve himself of his embarrassments with the English; but they would not avail. Their demands grew faster than he could find means to satisfy them. Their system of action was too well devised to fail them; their victims rarely escaped from their toils. He might help them to ruin his neighbours, but his own ruin was equally sure. During his life the nabob was surrounded by a host of cormorant creditors, of whom we shall immediately have some notice; his country harassed by perpetual exactions, rapidly declined; and the death of his son and successor, Omdut ul Omrah, in 1801, produced one of the strangest scenes in this strange history. The marquis Wellesley was then governor-general, and was pursuing that sweeping course which stripped away the hypocritical mask from British power in India, threw down so many puppet princes, and displayed the English dominion in Hindostan in its gigantic nakedness. The revenues of the Carnatic had been before taken into the hands of the English; but lord Wellesley resolved to depose the prince, and the manner in which this deposition was effected was singularly despotic and unfeeling. They had come to the resolution to depose the nabob, and only looked about for some plausible pretence. This they professed to have found in a correspondence between Tippoo and some officers of the nabob. They alleged that this correspondence contained injurious and even treasonable language towards the English. When, therefore, the nabob lay on his death-bed, they surrounded his house with troops, and immediately that the breath had departed from him, they demanded to see his will. This rude and unfeeling behaviour, so repugnant to the ideas of every people, however savage and brutal, at a moment so solemn and sacred to domestic sorrow, was respectfully protested against; but in vain. The will they insisted upon seeing, and it was accordingly put into their hands by the son of the nabob. Finding that the son was nominated as his heir and successor by the nabob, the commissioners immediately announced to him the charge of treason against his father, and that the throne was thereby forfeited by the family. This charge, of course, was a matter of surprise to the family, especially

when the papers said to contain the treason were produced, and they could find in them nothing but terms of fidelity and respect towards the English government.

But the English had resolved that the charge should be a sufficient charge; and the young prince manfully resisting it, they then declared him to be of illegitimate birth—a very favourite and convenient plea with them. On this they set him aside, and made a treaty with another prince, in which, for a certain provision, the Carnatic was made over to them for ever. The young nabob, Ali Hussim, did not long survive this scene of indignity, his death occurring in the spring of the following year.

Such was the treatment by the English of their friend, the nabob of Arcot!—the nabob of Arcot, whose name was, for years, continually heard in England as the powerful ally of the British, as their coadjutor against the French, against the ambitious Hyder Ali, as their zealous and accommodating friend on all occasions. It was in vain that either the old nabob or the young one, whom they so summarily deposed, pleaded the faith of treaties, their own hereditary right, or ancient friendship. Arcot had served its turn; it had been the stalking-horse to all the aggressions on other states that they needed from it—they had exacted all that could be exacted in the name of the nabob from his subjects—they had squeezed the sponge dry; and, moreover, the time was now come that they could with impunity throw off the stealthy, crouching attitude of the tiger, the smiling, meek mask of alliance, and boldly seize upon undisguised sovereign powers in India. That is the history of one amid a number of Indian princes that were so treated.

We have now to see the view which Burke took of these things as far as they had then gone, in 1785.

As just stated, the nabob of Arcot had not only, by the means now detailed, been fast falling into debt to the company, but, to enable him to pay the company's demands of annual revenue and interest, he had borrowed money of private individuals. These individuals, leeches of the most insatiate species, had contrived, by arts in which they were most accomplished adepts, to swell their comparatively small advances into monstrous sums. As the nabob could not pay them, they went on multiplying their amount by a system of book-keeping legerdemain till they amounted to millions. Conspicuous above them all stood one Paul Benfield, who, from a most obscure individual, had contrived to make it appear that the nabob owed him upwards of half a million of money. How a man, who had commenced as an humble clerk in the company's service, with a few hundreds a-year, and had lived in a manner so ostentatious as to more than absorb the legitimate proceeds of his office, and having no original property of his own, could have accumulated such a sum, no one pretended to explain. The company, however, who had large claims on the nabob, by no means relishing the enormous demands upon him by these private creditors, instituted a commission of inquiry to ascertain the nature and justice of these debts, which so ominously competed with their own.

But they had in Mr. Paul Benfield a rival of no mean character. This man went to Europe, and put himself in communication with Pitt and Dundas, and made himself so useful to them in bribing borough constituencies, that the

government, through the board of control, put a stop to the company's inquiries; and Dundas, as speaker for the board of control, declared that the debts of the nabob were *boni-fide* and just debts, and must be discharged by twelve lacs of rupees being set aside annually for the purpose. This astonishing resolution was strongly opposed by the court of directors, and especially their chairman, in the house of commons. Sir Thomas Rumbold, too, who had been recalled by ministers from his three years' governorship of Madras, and an order given for his impeachment, declared that nearly the whole of the debt of the nabob was a scandalously spurious one. Sir Thomas might be supposed to know something of these Indian mysteries, for, in three years, with a salary as governor of twenty thousand pounds a-year, besides living as governor at Madras, he had remitted home one hundred and sixty-four thousand pounds!

Dundas had brought this matter before parliament; but, when all the world expected proceedings against Rumbold, the charge was suffered quietly to drop. It, no doubt, was found best, with such a man as Paul Benfield in their employment, not to inquire too closely into Indian corruption. Sir Thomas now boldly opposed ministers in his turn, and cast the most entire suspicion on the bulk of the nabob's debts.

It was in this position of things that Burke, on the 28th of February, 1785, brought forward his famous motion for a parliamentary inquiry into these debts. In one of the most extraordinary and startling speeches ever made in the house of commons, he declared the nabob's debts "a gigantic sham." He declared that any man but Pitt "would have exorcised that shapeless, nameless form, and by everything sacred would have adjured it to tell by what means a small number of eight individuals, of no consequence or situation, possessed of no lucrative offices, without the command of armies, or the known administration of resources, without profession of any kind, without any sort of trade sufficient to employ a pedlar, could have, in a few years, or, as was the case with some, even in a few months, amassed treasures equal to the revenues of a respectable kingdom? Was it not enough to put these gentlemen, in the novitiate of their administration, on their guard, and to call on them for a strict inquiry, that, when all England, Scotland, and Ireland, had for years been witness to the immense sums laid out by the servants of the company in stocks of all denominations, in the purchase of lands, in the buying and building of houses, in the securing quiet seats in parliament, or in the tumultuous riot of contested elections, in every imaginable species of prodigality, that, after all, *India was still four millions in their debt!*" Burke called on Pitt and Dundas to notice a letter to the court of directors written by the nabob of Arcot, stating to them how their servants were robbing them and him at the same time. "Your servants," he said, "have no trade in this country, neither do you pay them high wages, yet in a few years they return to England with many lacs of pagodas. How can you or I account for such immense fortunes acquired in so short a time without any visible means of getting them?"

The recent committees of the house of commons could have given a fearful answer to that question. They reported of Paul Benfield, and their report was cor-

robored by that of the select committee of St. George, that he was guilty of almost every possible rascality in his transactions in the Carnatic, and with the nabob in particular; that to secure the permanency of his own power and profit, he had kept the nabob an absolute stranger to the state of his affairs; that he had kept the accounts and correspondence in the English language, which neither the nabob nor his son could read; that he had surrounded the nabob on every side, keeping him totally at his mercy, and making him believe what was not true, and subscribe to what he did not understand. The details of his extortions, and of his treatment of the natives in Tanjore, by the most credible witnesses, stamped him as a villain of the deepest dye. Yet he was the man who was the active agent of Pitt in borough-mongering. Burke declared that, in the last parliament, this man had manufactured eight members; and, to secure this man and others of like stamp, Burke's motion was thrown out by the ministerial majority of one hundred and sixty-four against sixty-nine. The debts of the nabob of Arcot continued for more than twenty years to occupy both parliament and government. There was a commission sitting constantly to fathom the mystery of these debts, and to point out the means of liquidating such as were pronounced real. The commission appointed in 1805 by act of parliament, for this purpose, after employing themselves in this almost fathomless gulf of corruption till 1815, reported, that of the thirty million three hundred and ninety thousand five hundred and seventy pounds, only one million three hundred and forty-six thousand seven hundred and nine-six pounds were *bonâ-fide* debts; the rest—namely, nineteen million forty-three thousand seven hundred and seventy-four pounds, were false and gross impositions, and were accordingly rejected!

As for Warren Hastings, after he had terminated the war of Mysore, and, by his exactions, reduced Oude, Benares, and great part of Bengal to a frightful condition, he found it necessary to make a journey to Lucknow and Benares, to keep all quiet. Major Palm, who commanded the troops in Oude, the nabob, and his ministers, all implored him to see the condition of things with his own eyes. On the 17th of February, 1784, he commenced his journey. Years before, the nabob had drawn a very melancholy picture of the state of Oude: that the nabob was involved in debts, and harassed by his father's creditors; that not a foot of the country could be appropriated for their payment; that the revenue was deficient a million and a half sterling; that in the country cultivation was abandoned; that the company's troops were not only useless, but caused great loss of revenue and confusion in the country. But enormous exactions had still been going on; and now we have his own description of the horrible state of the people in his letter to the council, dated from Lucknow, April, 1784:—"From the confines of Buxar to Benares, I was followed and fatigued by the clamour of the discontented inhabitants. The distresses which were produced by the long-continued drought unavoidably tended to heighten the general discontent; yet I have reason to fear that the cause principally existed in a defective, if not a corrupt and oppressive, administration. From Buxar to the opposite boundary I have seen nothing but traces of complete devastation of every village." And

what were the causes of these devastations? The wars and the determined resolve introduced by Hastings himself, to have the very uttermost amount that could be wrung from the people. Hastings tells us himself that the very sight of his sepoy was enough. "The petty towns and serais were deserted at our approach, and the shops shut up, from the apprehension of the same treatment from us."

What were the horrors which made the poor natives thus fly, were made very clear afterwards on his trial; and, without a little insight into these particulars, we should leave the reader without an adequate conception of the Indian administration of this man, whom Macaulay and others have endeavoured to persuade us was a humane man, averring that the portraiture of him by Burke was overcharged. On the trial it was shown how he farmed out the revenues to such men as Kellaram, Govind Sing, and Deby Sing. We have already seen what was Hastings' treatment of the princes: the evidence regarding these men show how his agents treated the people at large. Let us take Deby Sing as a specimen of the class of the diabolical harpies to whom they were subjected. This man was declared to have been appointed, though Hastings knew that his character was most infamous; and Hastings himself admitted it on his trial. But although the governor-general had this knowledge of the man, Deby offered a very convenient sum of money, four lacs of rupees—upwards of forty thousand pounds—and was made ruler of the district of Dinagepore. Complaints of his cruelties were not long in arriving at Calcutta. Mr. Patterson, a gentleman in the company's service, was sent as a commissioner to inquire into the charges against him, and the account of them, as given by Mr. Patterson, is thus quoted by Mill, from "The History of the Trial of Warren Hastings, Esq."

"The poor ryots, or husbandmen, were treated in a manner that would never gain belief, if it were not attested by the records of the company; and Mr. Burke thought it necessary to apologise to their lordships for the horrid relation with which he would be obliged to harrow their feelings. The worthy commissioner Patterson, who had authenticated the particulars of this relation, had wished that, for the credit of human nature, he might have drawn a veil over them; but, as he had been sent to inquire into them, he must, in the discharge of his duty, state these particulars, however shocking they were to his feelings. The cattle and corn of the husbandmen were sold for a third of their value, and their huts reduced to ashes! The unfortunate owners were obliged to borrow from usurers, that they might discharge their bonds, which had unjustly and illegally been extorted from them while they were in confinement; and such was the determination of the infernal fiend, Deby, or Devi Sing, to have these bonds discharged, that the wretched husbandmen were obliged to borrow money, not at twenty, or thirty, or forty, but at SIX HUNDRED per cent., to satisfy him! Those who could not raise the money, were most cruelly tortured. Cords were drawn tight round their fingers, till the flesh of the four on each hand was actually incorporated, and became one solid mass. The fingers were then separated again by wedges of iron and wood driven in between them! Others were tied, two and two, by the feet, and thrown across a wooden bar, upon which they hung with their feet upper-

most. They were then beat on the soles of their feet till their toe-nails dropped off! They were afterwards flogged upon the naked body with bamboo canes and prickly bushes, and, above all, with some poisonous weeds, which were of a caustic nature, and burnt at every touch. The cruelty of the minister who had ordered all this, had contrived how to tear the mind as well as the body. He frequently had a father and son tied naked to one another by the feet and arms, and then flogged till the skin was torn from the flesh; and he had the devilish satisfaction to know that every blow must hurt; for if one escaped the son, his sensibility was wounded by the knowledge that the blow had fallen upon his father. The same torture was felt by the father, when he knew that every blow that missed him had fallen upon the son.

"The treatment of the females could not be described. Dragged from the inmost recesses of their houses, which the religion of their country had made so many sanctuaries, they were exposed naked to public view! The virgins were carried to the court of justice, where they might naturally have looked for protection, but they now looked for it in vain; for in the face of the ministers of justice, in the face of the spectators, in the face of the sun, those tender and modest virgins were brutally violated. The only difference between their treatment and that of their mothers was, that the former were dishonoured in the face of day, and the latter in the gloomy recesses of their dungeon. Other females had the nipples of their breasts put into a cleft bamboo, and torn off!"

What follows is too shocking and indecent to transcribe. It is almost impossible, in the perusal of these frightful and savage enormities, to believe that we are reading the history of a country under a British government, and that these deeds were perpetrated by British agents, and for the purpose of extorting the British revenue. But these innocent and unhappy people were thus treated because Warren Hastings wanted money, and had sold them to a wretch, whom he knew to be a wretch, for a bribe; they were thus treated because Devi Sing had paid him four lacs of rupees, and must wring them again out of the miserable ryots, though it were with their very life's blood, and with fire and tortures, before unheard of, even in the long, black catalogue of human crimes. And it should never be forgotten, that though Mr. Burke pledged himself, if permitted, under the most awful imprecations, to prove every word of this barbarous recital, such permission was stoutly refused; and that, moreover, the evidence of commissioner Patterson stands on the company's own records. In fact, this, terrible as it is, is but a small portion of the iniquity of the treatment of the natives of India then, and, indeed, so long as the company continued to hold the destinies of India in their hands. The reader cannot help wondering, as he reads, at the non-interference of an indignant Providence; but the Nemesis has come in our own time. There has been, indeed, an active endeavour to represent the revolt and terrible vengeance of the sepoy as having nothing to do with the feelings of the people at large. But those who think so have only to read what was said by Sir John Malcolm in a debate at the India-house in 1824, himself a governor and laudator of our system, that "even the instructed class of natives have a hostile feeling towards

us, which was not likely to decrease from the necessity they were under of concealing it. My attention," he said, "has been, during the last five-and-twenty years, particularly directed to the dangerous species of secret war carried on against our authority, which is *always carried on* by numerous, though unseen hands. The spirit is kept up by letters, by exaggerated reports, by pretended prophecies. When the time appears favourable, from the occurrence of misfortune to our arms, from rebellion in our provinces, or from mutiny in our troops, circular letters and proclamations are dispersed over the country with a celerity that is incredible. *Such documents are read with acidity.* Their contents are, in most cases, the same. The English are depicted as usurpers of low caste, and as tyrants, who have sought India only to degrade the natives, to rob them of their wealth, and subvert their usages and religion. The native soldiers are always appealed to, and the advice to them is, in all instances that I have met with, the same,—'Your European tyrants are few in number—murder them!'"

The attempt has at length been made on a mighty scale; nor is this the only retribution of our deeds in India. The cholera, which has repeatedly swept Europe with its death-wing, has been traced to Bengal as its source, where it has been, in the opinion of scientific men, created by the privation of salt, so necessary to the natives with their vegetable food, that salt being placed, for the most part, beyond their reach by an imposition of two hundred per cent.

Hastings, one of the earliest and most inexorable of the tyrants who have ultimately produced such awful fruits—Hastings, the patron of Devi Sing, and numbers like him—was now traversing the countries cursed by his rule. He arrived on the 27th of March at Lucknow, and remained there five months, busily engaged in vain endeavours to remedy the evils which had their hopeless roots in the huge drain of the English government at Calcutta. In fact, one of the main objects of his suit was to obtain more money from the nabob; and he did obtain it, but he agreed to relieve him of part of the company's troops, which the nabob had so long prayed to be rid of, and for which he paid enormously. Another matter was to do some little justice to the begum. This was strictly enjoined him by the board of directors. That board, spite of the gilded statements of Hastings regarding his proceedings at Benares, had not been able to shut their eyes to the monstrous conduct of their governor-general. They had written him, that it nowhere appeared, from the papers laid before them, that the begums had anything to do with the insurrection, and they therefore ordered that the jaghires should be returned to them. If they were innocent, as undoubtedly they were, the money ought to have been returned too; but that would have been inconvenient. Hastings ordered the nabob to go to Fyzabad and surrender the jaghires to his mother and grandmother, but the nabob only returned part of them, protesting that the Begums had made a *voluntary* gift of the rest to him.

Whilst Hastings was at Lucknow, the eldest son of poor old Shah Alum, the great mogul, paid him a visit to persuade him to intercede with the Mahrattas, who kept the shah still a prisoner at Delhi. Hastings was not likely to risk a war with the Mahrattas on account of the mogul,

but he persuaded Scindia, the greatest of the Mahratta princes, to endeavour to take the Shah out of the hands in which he then was. This was, in fact, throwing a firebrand amongst the Mahrattas, without any real benefit to the mogul himself; and having, as he hoped, prevented any outbreak in Oude and Benares—substantial benefit was out of his power without a thorough change of system—he returned to Calcutta, which he reached in the beginning of November.

graciously received by king George and queen Charlotte. Charlotte was not in the habit of passing over blandly such antecedents as those of Marian Imhoff Hastings, but then Mrs. Hastings brought her rich presents of diamonds, and an exquisite ivory bedstead, and was, moreover, a German. All these recommendations had insured her the most flattering reception at St. James's, and now her husband received the same distinctions. He had been accompanied to his ship, on leaving Calcutta, by all the authorities, and by all people



BRAHMIN ENGAGED IN RELIGIOUS WORSHIP.

He had for some time been requesting the directors to name his successor, but, as they had not done it, he now resolved to leave, and he announced the fact to the court of directors, and that he had appointed Mr. Macpherson, the senior member of council, to supply his place till they sent out a new governor-general. He embarked on the 8th of February, 1785, and arrived in England in June, 1786. He had sent home before him his wife, whose health had begun to suffer from the climate of India, and she had been most

of distinction; he had received the most enthusiastic addresses of regret and of admiration as the saviour of India, for he had saved it, for the benefit of the English, though at the cost of the natives. In London, not only at court, but in Leadenhall-street, he met with the same satisfactory honour. He spent the autumn at Cheltenham with his wife, where he was courted and fêted in a manner too warrant his writing to a friend, "I find myself everywhere and universally treated with evidences, apparent even to my own obser-



THE ATTEMPTED ASSASSINATION OF GEORGE III. BY MARGARET NICHOLSON.

vation, that I possess the good opinion of my country." His country had not yet been fully enlightened on his doings in India—doings, however, which do not seem to have in any degree troubled his own conscience, for he had one of those accommodating ones which have in all ages induced some of the greatest tyrants to regard themselves as the peculiar benefactors of their race. He was busy trying to purchase Daylesford, the old family estate, and anticipating a peerage.

But this was only the lull before the storm. Burke and Sheridan were living, and the thunderbolts were already forged which were to shatter his pleasing dream of approval. His agreeable delusion was, indeed, quickly at an end. On the 24th of January parliament met, and an officious friend of Hastings, unfortunately for the ex-governor-general, relying on the manifestation of approbation of Hastings by the court and the fashionable circles, for the people regarded him in a very different light, got up and asked where now was that menace of impeachment which Mr. Burke had so long and often held out? Burke thus challenged, on the 17th of February rose and made a call for papers and correspondence deposited in the India-house, relative to the proceedings of Hastings in India. He also reminded Pitt and Dundas of the motion of the latter on the 29th of May, 1782, in censure of the conduct of Hastings on the occasions in question. This was nailing the ministers to the question; but Dundas, now at the head of the board of control, repeated that he still condemned the conduct of Hastings, but taken with the services which he had rendered to the country in India, he did not conceive that this conduct demanded more than censure, certainly not impeachment. Fox supported Burke, and Pitt defended Hastings, and attacked Fox without mercy. There was a feeling abroad that the king was determined to support Hastings, and the proceedings of Pitt, who extenuated now what he had so often condemned, in the cases of the Rohilla war, Cheyte Sing, the begums, &c., confirmed this. Burke's demand for papers was refused, but this did not deter Burke. On the 4th of April he rose again and presented nine articles of impeachment against Hastings, and in the course of the week twelve more articles. To these a twenty-second article was afterwards added. These articles included all those extraordinary transactions which we have already detailed—the Rohilla war; the affair of Benares; of the great mogul; the treaties with and coercions in Oude: the outrages on the begums and their ministers; the hanging of Nuncomar, the attempts upon Fyzoola Khan, the Rohilla chief, &c.

The affair was now becoming serious, and Hastings demanded to be heard at the bar, where he appeared on the 1st of May, and read a long defence, which did not go to a denial of the charges, but a justification of them, from the need of money to save India, and from the approbation awarded to these actions both in India and at the India-house. But this was no answer to Burke's accusations, which did not relate to the benefits he might have conferred on the English in India, or on the company, but to the crimes and atrocities perpetrated on the natives. Nobody doubted the satisfaction of the company, which had pouched forty lacs of rupees, or of the English in India, who were there to get all the money they could from the natives.

On the 1st of June Burke brought forward his first charge—the Rohilla war. The debate was not finished till seven o'clock on the morning of the 3rd. In it Fox, Wyndham, Wilbraham, and many others supported the charge. Dundas, Pitt, lord Mornington, the pious Wilberforce, &c., opposed it. It was the first appearance of lord Mornington, afterwards marquis of Wellesley, and destined to figure greatly himself in India. The motion was rejected by one hundred and nineteen against sixty-seven, and it was fondly hoped that the proceedings against Hastings were altogether crushed. Lord Thurlow advised the king to carry out his intention to make Hastings baron Daylesford, and the great talk in the clubs and west-end assemblies was the triumph of Hastings. But the rejoicing was premature. On the 13th of June Fox took up the second charge—the treatment of Cheyte Sing, and Francis, with all the bitterness of his character and of his hatred of Hastings, supported it. So black were the facts now produced that Pitt was compelled to give way. He defended the governor-general for calling on Cheyte Sing to contribute men and money for the war against Mysore; he lauded the firmness, decision, and great ability of Hastings, but he was forced to admit that he had been excessive in his demands on the zemindars of Benares, and must support the charge!

This was a thunderstroke to Hastings and his friends. Fifty of Pitt's followers immediately wheeled round with him; Dundas voted with Pitt, and the motion was carried by an exact inversion of the numbers which had negatived the former article on the Rohilla war, one hundred and nineteen against sixty-seven. The very next day Hastings presented a magnificent diamond, sent by the nabob of Oude in a purse containing also a letter to his majesty. The presentation of this diamond the day after the defeat, at a public levee, created universal remark. Caricatures, songs, and epigrams, were issued in abundance. The king was represented on his knees, and Hastings putting the diamond into his mouth; in another caricature Hastings was wheeling George away in a wheelbarrow, with his crown and sceptre, and a label from Hastings' mouth, "What a man buys he may sell!" Sheridan passed some very severe witticisms on the circumstance in the house of commons. On the other hand, it was stated that the diamond had only reached Hastings on the 2nd of June, but this did not remove the significance of its presentation precisely the day after this adverse vote; and the session closed on the 11th of July with the rest of the charges hanging over the ex-governor's head in ominous gloom.

With this continuous narrative of Indian affairs we close this chapter, having now brought them to the present date of general history.

CHAPTER XI.

REIGN OF GEORGE III. (Continued.)

The King attacked by a Mad Woman—Disappointments of the Prince of Wales—Offers of Money to him from France—Arrangements for the Younger Princes—Death of Frederick of Prussia—Impending Troubles betwixt Prussia and Holland—Proposed Commercial Treaty with France—Question regarding Scotch Peers—Beaufoy's Motion for the Repeal of the Test and Corporation Act rejected—Prince of Wales' Debts and Marriage with Mrs. Fitzherbert—Transportation to New South Wales—Abuses at the Post Office—Lord Elcho unseated as the Eldest Son of a Scotch Peer—Burke proceeds with his Impeachment of Hastings—Various Charges

admitted—A Committee appointed to conduct the Impeachment—Hastings impeached at the Bar of the Lords—Hastings taken into Custody—Admitted by the Lords to Bail—Parliament adjourned—Troubles in Holland—Insurrection in Belgium—Lord Rawdon on Naval Promotion—Pitt's Declaratory Indian Bill—Impeachment of Sir Elijah Impey—Trial of Hastings in Westminster Hall—Parliament prorogued—Insanity of the King—Debates on a Regency—Irish Address—Klug's sudden Recovery—Congratulations, &c.—Report on the Slave Trade—Pitt's Schemes of Finance—Hastings' Trial resumed—Differences betwixt the King and Prince of Wales—Death of Charles Edward, the Pretender—War betwixt Russia and Turkey—Ditto, betwixt Russia and Sweden—Ditto, betwixt Austria and Turkey—Affairs of Sweden—Austrian Troubles in Hungary and the Netherlands—Death of Joseph II. of Austria.

On the 2nd of August, 1786, as the king descended from his carriage at the door of the garden leading from St. James's Park into the palace, a woman struck him on the chest with a knife, which fortunately was so much weakened by frequent grinding that it doubled, and did not penetrate. The woman made a second thrust, but her arm was arrested by one of the king's footmen, and the knife wrenched from her grasp. The king humanely cried out, "I am not hurt! take care of the poor woman! don't hurt her!" Being conveyed before the privy council, she was discovered to be a very mad woman, of the name of Margaret Nicholson, from Stockton-on-Tees. She was a needle-woman, who had the insane fancy that the throne belonged rightfully to her, and that unless she asserted her right, it would lead to a deluge of bloodshed in England for a thousand generations. She was then examined by the royal physicians, and her insanity being by them confirmed, she was consigned to Bedlam, where she lived forty years without recovering in any degree her soundness of mind.

The king on this occasion displayed equal courage and humanity. He had come up from Windsor to hold a levee, and he appeared there in the best spirits. The opposition displayed a spirit quite the reverse. They treated the whole affair as ridiculous, though, had the knife been stronger, the king would in all probability have been a dead man. When deputations came up from different towns with addresses of congratulation, and the king knighted some of the mayors, they styled them as "knights of St. Margaret." George, with much better sense and feeling, only laughed at their spiteful jests. But not so lightly to be passed over was their determined encouragement of the heir-apparent in his wild course of disregard both of parental authority and common decency.

The two great friends of the prince of Wales were Fox and Sheridan. If the intellectual qualities of these two remarkable men had been equalled by their moral ones, no fitter companions for a young prince could have been found. But, unfortunately, they were as distinguished for their drinking and dissipation, and Fox for his reckless gambling, as for their talents. Pitt and they were in violent opposition, and as Pitt, with his cold, unimpulsive nature, stood firmly by the king, Fox and Sheridan were, as matters of party, as warmly the advocates of the prince. Hence the king and his son, sufficiently at strife on the ground of the prince's extravagance and debauchery, were rendered doubly so by the faction fire of their respective adherents. Pitt, who might have softened greatly the hostile feeling betwixt the royal father and son, by recommending less parsimony on the part of the king, and kindly endeavouring to induce the

prince to maintain more respect for his father, never displayed the slightest disposition to act so generous and truly politic a part. On this account the prince hated him, and piqued himself on talking of him in the strongest terms. On the other hand, the king had always had an unconquerable aversion to Fox since he carried so high a hand towards his majesty when in office, and Fox and Sheridan, as well as their followers, returning the feeling, incited the prince to more open defiance of the parental counsels. This was precisely the position which the king of England and his successor had occupied ever since the Hanoverian family came to the throne; and every good subject must have regarded it with pain.

But Fox and Sheridan were far from the worst companions of the prince of Wales. The duke of Chartres, now become, by the death of his father, duke of Orleans, and who was afterwards too notorious as Philip Egalité, had made a very familiar acquaintance with the prince. He had come over in 1784, and now he returned again in 1786, and the prince and he ran a wild career of gambling, betting, and every species of debauchery. At Epsom, Newmarket, and the prince's favourite abode, Brighton, they ran into a perfect abyss of debt and riot. The artful Frenchman then proposed to the prince that the best way to get rid of his embarrassments was to receive a loan, and a pension from France, which he undertook to manage for him. This was what Charles II. and James II. had, and for a time they had rendered themselves independent of parliament by it. The prince appears to have jumped at the tempting bait, which would leave him free to pursue his wild career in spite of parliament, of Pitt, and of his pious and penurious father. He did not seem to have troubled himself to reflect what was the end of the Stuart kings who had made themselves pensioners of France. But, fortunately for the honour of both England and the prince, the thing got wind. The duke of Portland heard of it, and immediately mentioned it to Sheridan. Not contented with this, the duke wrote to Sheridan, impressing the necessity of avoiding this fatal snare. He assured him that he had received confirmation of the truth of the report. "The particulars," he wrote, "varied in no respect from those I related to you, except in the addition of a pension, which is to take place immediately on the event which entitles the creditors to payment, and is to be granted for life to a nominee of the D— of O—s. The loan was mentioned in a mixed company by two of the Frenchwomen and a Frenchman, none of whose names I know, in Calonne's presence, who interrupted them by asking how they came to know anything of the matter: then set them right in two or three particulars which they had misstated, and afterwards begged them for God's sake not to talk of it, because it might be their complete ruin." Portland adds, "I am going to Bulstrode, but will return at a moment's notice, if I can be of the least use in getting rid of this odious engagement, or preventing its being entered into, if it should not yet be completed." The matter being thus necessarily crushed, great pains were taken by the prince's friends to make it appear that he rejected the offer the moment it was made, and there were many exclamations on their part of "how great!" "how noble!"

Thus, at the very moment that Sheridan was in parlia-

ment more than hinting that the king was capable of being bribed by Warren Hastings' diamond, he was the confidant of the king's son in an attempt at far more fatal bribery. It does not appear that even this danger relaxed the king's purse-strings, and, in truth, such relaxation, with the prince's habits, could only have been an additional curse to him. But it seems to have hastened arrangements for getting the rest of the royal sons out of the Circean corruptions of London. The duke of York and the duke of Kent were sent to Germany, and put under officers there to study the Prussian military system; and the dukes of Cambridge, Sussex, and Cumberland were sent to Germany too, as students at the university of Göttingen. William, duke of Clarence, was sent to sea as midshipman. The last was the only popular arrangement. All the German ones were regarded as the dictations of the queen, and calculated to inspire the princes with despotic and anti-English notions.

Sheridan, and some others of the whig party, once more mentioned the prince's debts, and urged the propriety of something being done to save the honour of the heir apparent; but Pitt turned a deaf ear, and the king informed the prince that he could not sanction the payment of his debts by parliament, nor was he disposed to increase his allowance from the civil list. On this, the prince determined to break up his household, which had been appointed by the king, and cost the prince twenty thousand pounds, to sell his horses and carriages, and to live in a few rooms like a private gentleman. This he did; his fine horses were paraded through the streets on their way to Tattersall's to be sold, and he stopped the building of Carlton House. All this would have been admirable, had it proceeded from a real desire to economise on the part of the prince, in order to satisfy his clamorous creditors, and to commence a real reform of his habits; but the whole was only a mode of mortifying the king and court party by thus exhibiting the heir-apparent as compelled, by the refusal of a proper allowance, to abandon the style befitting his rank, and sink himself into that of a mere lodger of scanty means. If this grand manœuvre did not accomplish its object at court, it, however, told on his own party, who resolved in the next session to make a grand effort for the liquidation of his debts.

Public attention, during the recess, was much occupied with the affairs of Holland. Frederick of Prussia, misnamed The Great, died on the 17th of August of this year. He had attained his seventy-fifth year, but was said to have shortened his days by his habitual gluttony, and was grown as carping and cynical as Diogenes. His successor was his nephew, Frederick William, who determined to restore the expelled stadtholder, the prince of Orange, who had married his sister. Holland, as we have seen, had long been rent by two factions—the aristocratic one, which favoured the house of Orange, and the far more numerous democratic one, which was courted by France. France, indeed, now fast rushing into the vortex of revolution, seemed to have a fatal propensity to foster democracy. It had secured its triumph in America, it was seeking the same object in Holland.

Frederick William of Prussia proposed that the king of England should become arbitrator betwixt the prince of Orange and the democratic party; but this was refused on

the ground that George III. was partial to the house of Orange. They managed to have the king of France appointed, and M. de Rayneval, the French minister, met baron von Goertz, the Prussian minister, at the Hague. But so far from settling anything, these ministers only quarrelled violently and parted. Before the end of the year, the French keeping up their agitation amongst the people, the prince of Orange took up arms, and posting himself in Guelderland with his spirited princess, held that province and the adjoining one of Utrecht. The towns of Hattem and Elburg made a show of resistance, but were soon reduced by the prince; and, at the end of the year, he was master of five provinces, and of forces equal or superior to those states opposed to him; and it was clear that he could soon master the whole of Holland without Prussian aid, if France were out of the question; and no power but England could prevent her. Serious complications, therefore, showed themselves a-head from this quarter when the British parliament met on the 23rd of January, 1789.

No mention of the disturbances in the Netherlands, however, appeared in the royal speech; but the chief topic was a treaty of commerce and navigation which had been concluded with France, and for which the parliamentary sanction was anticipated. The debates on this subject occupied the two houses of parliament till the 8th of March. In these debates all the advantages of the cheap introduction of French wines and French manufactures were duly set forth by Pitt and the government party, and the mischiefs of French alliance were equally advanced by Fox and the opposition. It is curious to observe how completely reversed were the positions and arguments of these two leaders to what they became afterwards; Pitt developing into the most determined opponent of everything French, and Fox into the ardent advocate of French alliance. Pitt here stood forth as the champion of reduced duties, and Fox of the highest manufacturing interests; Lancashire, and Yorkshire, and Norwich pouring in mountains of petitions against the treaty. Fox contended that this treaty was a direct breach of the Methuen treaty with Portugal, and claimed that the duties on Portuguese wines should be lowered one-third. This was refused. Philip Francis, who was now a prominent opposition member, declared that the treaty was meant, by encouraging the French cause, to degrade and enslave England. Mr. Grey, afterwards lord Grey of Howick, contended that as France had plucked America from us, and established a treaty of commerce with the United States, she was only seeking by this treaty to obtain our goods, and supply America with them, thus engrossing the carrying trade of the world. The folly of many of these arguments is too palpable to need a notice here, and some of the manufacturers of Manchester had the sense to see that the advantage would be on their side, and they petitioned for the treaty. The question was carried by ministers.

Amongst other measures carried were, the decision that Scotch peers, becoming English ones, ceased to sit as Scotch elective peers, or to have votes for electing the Scotch peers to parliament; that the eldest sons of Scotch peers could not sit in the English commons; and Pitt's bill for the consolidation of various duties on articles in

the customs and excise, and reducing them to one single duty on each article: again the real author of the scheme being Dr. Price. Mr. Beaufoy, on the other hand, moved for the repeal of the test and corporation act, without success.

The great question of the prince of Wales's debts was brought on by alderman Newnham, who had been selected by the prince's party for that purpose, to give it more an air of independence. Newnham, on the 20th April, demanded to know of the chancellor of the exchequer whether his majesty's ministers proposed to make any arrangement for this purpose. He praised the prince for his generous conduct in breaking up his establishment to facilitate the payment of his debts; but declared it disgraceful to the nation that he should remain in that condition. Not receiving any satisfactory answer, the alderman gave notice of a motion on the subject for the 4th of May. Pitt then endeavoured to deter the alderman from bringing in the motion, by a menace of revealing certain private circumstances, which must be very painful to the royal family. This, however, which was felt to relate to the rumoured private marriage of the prince with Mrs. Fitzherbert, a catholic, did not deter the opposition, and Newnham, on the 27th of April, stated the nature of his motion, which would be for an address to his majesty, praying him to recommend to the house the grant of a sufficient sum for the discharge of the prince's debts. Mr. Rolle, afterwards lord Rolle, member for Devonshire, then attempted to deter the alderman from bringing forward his motion, by declaring that there were matters connected with that question which, in such a case, must come out, and which affected the constitution in both church and state. This, again, was clearly an insinuation of the prince's marriage to a catholic, by which, according to the bill of right and the bill of settlement, the prince had forfeited the crown, if the fact were proved. But the friends of the prince knew very well that, though such a marriage had taken place, it was utterly invalid through the provisions of the royal marriage act, and therefore both the prince and they were determined to brave the inquiry.

Accordingly, Sheridan declared boldly, that he had his royal highness's authority to say, that he shrank from no inquiry into any part of his conduct. This produced a wonderful change in the manner of Pitt. He procured an interview with the prince at Carlton House, and obtaining a schedule of his debts, and a statement of his demands, submitted them to the king. Though trying to make harder conditions than the prince would concede, George was compelled, on the very day before alderman Newnham's motion was to come on, to consent to the prince's terms. On the 4th of May, therefore, the alderman announced that he was happy to say that there was no occasion for the motion. There was an evident disappointment on the part of a large party, who hoped for curious disclosures; but the prince's friends expressed great satisfaction at the result. Accordingly, on the 23rd of May, Pitt laid before the house a schedule of the prince's debts, amounting to one hundred and ninety-four thousand three hundred and forty-eight pounds, and the house, without looking at the particulars, voted that sum, and also twenty thousand pounds towards completing Carlton House.

The prince then resumed his establishment, continued to live as before with Mrs. Fitzherbert, and it was well understood that it would not be long before he came again with fresh demands. The lady was mortally offended with Fox, who had asserted most positively that there had been no marriage of any kind, though he knew very well that there had, and that the lady would not consent to live with the prince without this ceremony, totally worthless as it was, except as serving as a salvo for her own conscience. Mrs. Fitzherbert, whose private character was most respectable, had been married twice previously, and was a strict catholic.

On the 24th of April, Fox moved for the repeal of the house-tax, but without effect. On the 26th, Pitt brought in a bill to enable the commissioners to augment the duties on post-horses, which he carried; and great discussion took place on the laws regarding debtors, in consequence of a petition from the debtors in Newgate. It was stated that no less than three thousand persons lay in prisons, of the most loathsome description, for debt, with no hope of liberation but from particular acts passed occasionally for their relief. The prisoners in Newgate prayed to be removed to New South Wales, which had, by an order in council of the 7th of December, 1786, been made the convict settlement, since America, our old convict ground, was now lost to us. Such was the origin of the colonisation of Australia, now already become so great and populous. The prayer of the prisoners in Newgate was conceded by the commons, but thrown out in the lords, through the exertions of lord chancellor Thurlow. Lord Rawdon, who had distinguished himself in the American war, on the contrary, urged ably and humanely the amelioration of the laws of debtor and creditor, and the benefit of sending our convicts out to useful labour, from the dens of vice and filth, where their detention, so far from a use, was a burthensome nuisance. We may here remark, that the coalition ministry had abolished the practice of drawing condemned felons two miles through the most crowded thoroughfares of London, from Newgate to Tyburn. They were now executed in the front of Newgate, and Tyburn, as a hanging-place, ceased to exist.

On the 28th of May lord Grey unveiled a strange career of abuses in the post-office. His relative, lord Tankerville, had been joint postmaster-general with lord Carteret. On discovering and pointing out these abuses to the minister, Pitt had dismissed him instead of lord Carteret, and took the opportunity of putting lord Hawkesbury (Jenkinson), afterwards lord Liverpool, in his place. Grey called for a committee of inquiry, which was granted, and the committee brought to light extraordinary transactions. Places had been sold, with the knowledge of lord Carteret, to men who never took any part in the business of the post-office. Pitt was severely handled by Fox, Sheridan, and Grey for his vaunted promises of reform, and the continuance of corruptions like these; and he was very abusive in return. The abuses were boldly defended by lord Maitland, whose father-in-law, Anthony Todd, was chief manager of the post-office, and redress was refused. The effect out of doors was very damaging to Pitt and his party.

On the 1st of February Burke renewed the inquiry into

the crimes of Warren Hastings. The examination of Nathaniel Middleton, the resident at Lucknow at the time of Hastings' strange proceedings there, and of Sir Elijah Impey, took place first. The third charge of the impeachment, the treatment of the begums, was undertaken by Sheridan, as the first was by Burke, and the second by Fox. We have stated the atrocious facts of that great oppression, and they were brought out in a most powerful and dramatic light by Sheridan in a speech of five hours. Sheridan had little knowledge of India; but he was well supplied with the facts from the records of the India House and the promptings of Francis, who was familiar with the country and the events. The effect of Sheridan's charge far exceeded all that had gone before it. When he sat down almost the whole house burst forth in a storm of clappings and hurrahs. It has been endeavoured to weaken the reputation of that speech by asserting that Sheridan paid more regard to effect than to accuracy of facts; but we have given the facts, and it is impossible to exaggerate them. Fox declared it the most astounding speech that he had ever heard. The wit and pathos of it were equally amazing. In reply to the old argument, that we are not to judge of Hastings by the mode in which he procured the money, but by the end for which it was procured, Sheridan most forcibly observed, "To estimate the solidity of such a defence, it will be sufficient merely to consider in what true greatness of mind consists. Is it not solely to be traced in *great actions directed to great ends*? In them, and them alone, we are to search for true estimable magnanimity; to them only can we justly affix the splendid title and honour of real greatness."

Not less true were his remarks on the nature and origin of the company, and its necessary results. "He remembered to have heard an honourable and learned gentleman (Dundas) remark that there was something in the first frame and constitution of the company which extended the sordid principles of their origin over all their successive operations, connecting with their civil policy, and even with their boldest achievements, the meanness of a pedlar and the profligacy of pirates. Alike in the political and the military line could be observed auctioneering ambassadors and trading generals; and thus we saw a revolution brought about by affidavits; an army employed in executing an arrest; a town besieged on a note of hand; a prince dethroned for the balance of an account. Thus it was they exhibited a government which united the mock majesty of a bloody sceptre and the little traffic of a merchant's counting-house—wielding a truncheon with one hand, and picking a pocket with the other."

The debate was adjourned to the next day, for the house could not be brought to listen to any other person after this most intoxicating speech. On the morrow Pitt and major Scott were the chief speakers; but their arguments were only a reiteration of that which Sheridan had so completely exploded, namely, that Hastings had done the deeds of an arch-fiend—to save India. The motion was carried by one hundred and seventy-five votes against sixty-eight.

On the 19th of February Burke recommended going at once to the vote for impeachment. He thought sufficient

charges had now been verified to warrant them in proceeding to trial; and he pointed out the necessity of taking sufficient guarantees for preventing the party impeached quitting the kingdom, removing his property, alienating sums of money, or taking any steps to evade the ends of justice. He said that he had learned that another gentleman from India, against whom serious charges might be brought, had already sold out of the funds fifty thousand pounds. This was Sir Elijah Impey, and Impey was immediately called for, and informed that a criminal charge would probably be brought against him, and underwent a long examination regarding the affairs of the nabob of Furruckabad. On the 2nd of March Mr. T. Pelham preferred the fourth charge, for Pitt resisted the immediate procedure to trial. This charge turned on the conduct of Hastings towards the nabob of Furruckabad. The charge and replies in this case were very tedious, and the most interest was excited by the venerable admiral, lord Hood. He was not accustomed to address parliament, but he urged the house to consider how much severe inquiries of this kind might discourage commanders in difficult and distant situations. He appealed to his own experience in the West Indies in the late war. But Pitt replied to him on the true ground. He said he was perfectly convinced of the justice of the admiral's remarks to a certain extent, but he must ever prefer what was right to what was expedient. God forbid that if a servant of the public—civil or military—should carry his exactions beyond the line of strict right, and even of necessity, that he or any man should deny his due merit, or say that the abundance of his zeal ought not to be allowed as an atonement for the irregularity of his actions and the error of his judgment. But he asked whether that part of the conduct of Mr. Hastings now before the house corresponded to any such principle? He contended that it was not enough to *say* certain steps were necessary, that must be *proved*, and, in his opinion, it was not so done in this instance. The noble lord, besides the topic of necessity, had dwelt upon the general merits of Mr. Hastings, with their importance to the country. This was a ground which he expected and hoped would have been abandoned. The motion was carried by one hundred and twelve against fifty.

The next charge was in regard to selfish purposes in contracts and salaries. This was preferred by Sir James Erskine, on the 15th of March. Pitt moved to leave out all the charges but those which related to contracts for bullocks in 1779, opium contracts in 1781, and to the enormous emoluments allowed to Sir Eyre Coote, and laid on Cheyte Sing. But Burke objected to these omissions, and the motion was carried. On the 22nd of March, Mr. Wyndham preferred the sixth charge, respecting Hastings' conduct to Fyzoola Khan, the Rohilla chief, whom Hastings had endeavoured to deprive of his territory. Wyndham made a very eloquent, but, in some respects, inaccurate speech; and major Scott, in reply, declared that the natives had erected temples in honour of Hastings, to which Burke wittily answered, "Then it must be to him as a malignant divinity, whom they wished to deprecate." That motion was also carried; and so also the 7th charge, which Sheridan again made. This was relating to the receipt of

bribes and presents, which was carried by one hundred and sixty-five against fifty-four.

Immediately after this decision, the report of the committee of inquiry was brought up, and then a paper from Hastings was read by major Scott, praying that, if the commons decided that there was cause for impeachment, the trial should be transferred to the house of peers. Major Scott also stated that much had been said about Mr. Hastings' merits as set-

did most energetically and perseveringly oppose his policy; but that his opposition was most necessary was, he thought, fully demonstrated by the present proceedings, and by the facts brought to the day. The charge which Francis presented was concerning the management of the revenues by Hastings, with which he was intimately familiar; and it was carried in an exceedingly thin house, by ninety-six to forty-four. Mr. Barwell, who had always supported



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offs to Mr. Hastings' offences; but he begged to state, from Mr. Hastings himself, that he would not admit any such plea. He declared his innocence of the charges, and desired nothing but an impartial hearing. The report was then consigned to another committee, which was to select the main points of accusation from the charges, and prepare the impeachment. The committee consisted principally of those who had taken the lead in the prosecution; but when the name of Francis was mentioned, there arose a loud clamour of disapprobation, the implacable enmity of Francis being so notorious. He was, notwithstanding, included; and rising, on the 19th of April, to prefer the eighth charge, Francis endeavoured to excuse himself for his bitter hostility to Hastings. He declared that it was by no means personal, but on public grounds; that it was true that in India he

Hastings in India, in reply, asked why they did not impeach him too, for he fully approved all that had been done. Burke replied jestingly, that if the honourable gentleman particularly desired an impeachment, he might possibly be indulged, for he believed there were quite sufficient materials for it.

On the 25th of April, when Burke brought up the articles of impeachment, there was a long debate, in which Wilkes, who had completely changed his politics, and had cultivated a friendship with Warren Hastings and his wife, made a very effective speech in his defence. He endeavoured to shift the blame from Hastings to the company. He declared that Hastings had obtained for the company nine millions and a half sterling, and that, if Mr. Hastings was to be punished for this, not a day ought to be lost in compelling

the company to make restitution; that to punish him for this as an enormous crime, and to leave the company in possession of the fruits of this crime, would cover parliament and this country with eternal infamy. Islay Campbell, the lord-advocate, declared that these remarks of Wilkes embodied the substantial truth, and he added, that Epaminondas, the Theban general, when his conquests were charged against him as crimes, said, "Let me have the merit of the deeds, and you may put me to death, if you please." That on such a defence Epaminondas was at once acquitted, and on the same plea Warren Hastings should be acquitted. Courtenay, the member for Tamworth, created much laughter, by his broad jokes on Wilkes, lord Hood, and other defenders of Hastings. He expressed his great admiration of the valour of Hood, who *chanced* to see Rodney's victory over De Grasse. He thought that Wilkes had looked *obliquely* at the case of the begums, in allusion to Wilkes's extreme squint; and said that, at one time of his life, no one had diffused a greater spirit of liberty than he had, except it might be Jack Cade or Wat Tyler.

Pitt restored the seriousness of the house by again pointing out the fact that honourable members had not been showing the innocence of Hastings, but raising all manner of *set-offs* for his crimes—a course which he had before said he had hoped would have been abandoned; that for his part, without going to the length of all the charges brought forward, he saw sufficient grounds for an impeachment. He could conceive a state compelled by sudden invasion and an unprovided army, to lay violent hands on the property of its subjects, but then such a state must be infamous if it did not, on the first opportunity, make ample satisfaction. But was this the principle on which Mr. Hastings had acted? No; he neither avowed the necessity nor the exaction. He made criminal charges, and, under colour of them, levied immoderate penalties, which, if he had a right to take them at all, he would be highly criminal in taking in such a shape; but which, having no right to take, the mode of taking rendered it much more heinous and culpable.

This was the true view of the conduct of Hastings. The report was agreed to, the remainder of the charges were rapidly passed, the impeachment was voted, and Burke, attended by the majority of the house, on the 10th of May, carried it up to the lords. On the motion of Burke, Warren Hastings was then taken into custody, and delivered over to the lords, who bound him to appear to take his trial, when called upon, in a bond of twenty thousand pounds himself, and Messrs. Sullivan and Sumner as his sureties in ten thousand pounds each. Hastings named as his counsel Messrs. Plomer, Law, and Dallas, and Messrs. Wallis and Inward were engaged to act as solicitors for the impeachment. The charge against Impey was postponed till the next session, and parliament was prorogued on the 30th of May.

The king's speech at the prorogation alluded to the dissensions in Holland. These dissensions had been brought to a crisis by a gross insult offered by the democratic party to the Princess of Orange, the sister of the king of Prussia. The princess, who far exceeded her husband in spirit, was on her way to the Hague in order to promote the interests of her husband with the States General. At Schoonhoven, on the borders of Holland, her carriage was surrounded by a party

of the democratic force, and, after being very rudely treated, she was compelled to turn back. The princess sent a most indignant account of the transaction to her brother, the king of Prussia, who addressed a letter demanding the most complete satisfaction, or menacing invasion. The States of Holland replied in an insolent tone, but the States General, to which the king had also appealed, sent a very different answer, but regretting that they had no power to compel the States of Holland to do what was right, and must leave them to their punishment. The king of Prussia forthwith marched thirty thousand eight hundred men under the duke of Brunswick into Guelderland. The democratic party fled at the approach of the Prussians. They had relied on assistance from the French, but they were disappointed, for the French, already in the throes of the revolution, had enough to do at home. On the other hand, the king of England had expressed the warmest interest in the cause of the prince of Orange, and his resolve to resent any interference on the part of the French.

On the 17th of September the duke of Brunswick stormed and took Gorcum, and the army advanced, burning villages and plundering the country, in revenge of the insult offered to their princess. The democrats attempted to break the dykes and lay the country under water, but they were interrupted by the Prussians. The inundation failed, and Brunswick took, in rapid succession, Nieuport, Schoonhoven, Dort, Leyden, Haarlem, and the people of the Hague threw open their gates to him. Amsterdam attempted to make conditions—namely, that the people should be allowed to elect the magistrates; should not be disarmed; should receive no garrison; that no magistrate should be displaced on account of their opposition to the Orange party; and that no Orange ribbons should be worn in the city. The duke of Brunswick rejected these lofty terms as totally inadmissible, and, by the assistance of an English army, was enabled to make such an attack on the city, that it was very glad to surrender, even for lower ones. The Prussians kept possession of the Leyden gate, and of the suburbs of Overtoom, but the prince of Orange's brave guards and a Swiss regiment maintained order in the city. The magistrates who had been dismissed for their adhesion to the house of Orange were restored, and a list of persons, named by the princess of Orange, were, in satisfaction for the insult offered to her, rendered incapable of again holding office. At the head of these was Van Berkel, the minister who had been so active against the stadtholder, and who had been equally so in promoting the war against us. The power of the stadtholder was fully restored, and France, on the strong declaration of England, that she would oppose any attempt to restore the democratic party in Holland, protested that there was no such intention on her part.

The neighbouring country—the Netherlands—had been equally agitated. The emperor Joseph II., with that impetuosity of reform which ruined most of his designs, of advancement amongst his subjects, had ordered the removal of many of the old catholic customs and institutions, to which the Flemish were deeply attached. It was enough for Joseph himself to perceive the mischief or inutility of certain things; he did not wait to convince the public of the advantage of removing them, but ordered it to be done. But

the very tenacity with which the Flemings clung to ideas and practices which other nations had long abandoned, might have convinced Joseph, *a priori*, that they would not yield them up without a struggle. He commenced with suppressing a number of what he deemed useless monasteries, and turning out the monks. This not only alarmed the rest of the clergy, who feared their turn next, but created great discontent amongst the people at large. Perhaps, at this day, no people of the same numbers maintain so many priests. But, at that time, Joseph was in very ill odour with the Flemings, on account of his attempts upon the navigation of the Scheldt. The popular feeling next received a rude shock by his striking a great number of feasts and holidays off the calendar, and amongst them the favourite one of the Keremesse, which was the great annual festival of the people, when they gave themselves up to dancing, jollity, and getting married. Whilst the whole was in a state of indignant defiance on this head, the emperor, on the 1st of January, 1787, published several sweeping edicts, annihilating the most ancient municipal privileges, remodelling the courts of justice, and introducing a totally new system of judicature, in direct violation of a celebrated compact made by Charles V., called "The Joyous Entry." To complete the resentment of every class, he commenced a reform of the great university of Louvain. There was, in truth, much need of this reform, for no university of Europe lagged more behind the times. It still continued to teach the dogmas, and adhere to the forms of the middle ages. He commenced with the schools of theology, dismissed their monkish professors, and sent thither German ones far more enlightened, but, for that very reason, unwelcome to a community unprepared for them. Such reforms cannot be promulgated by imperial decree: they must be the result of continued and gradual enlightenment.

By this combination of innovations, the whole country was in a state of the highest indignation. The new university remained empty. It was in vain that the heads of the different religious orders were commanded to send their students there. An example was therefore made of the reverend father Godfrey Alost, the minister of the Capuchins of Brussels. As he disobeyed the command, he was ordered to quit both the city and the country. He at once became a martyr, and a most dangerous sympathy was excited on his behalf. Whilst this was at its height, a M. Hondt—an eminent citizen of Brussels, charged with not duly fulfilling some government contracts—was sent, under a military escort, to Vienna, to take his trial there, though the suit against him was already in progress in Brussels. This put the climax to the public ferment. There appeared a resolve, on the part of the emperor, to sweep away every trace of ancient right and privilege. The people flew to arms: volunteers assembled all over the country, and drilled diligently. The public voice pronounced a determination to stand or fall with the ancient institutions. Joseph was at Cherson, on the Black Sea, concerting with Catherine of Russia an invasion of Turkey; and count Belgioiso, the governor, alarmed, issued a proclamation, declaring that the edict contrary to "The Joyous Entry" should be revoked, with all the other innovations. He recalled Alost, the Capuchin, and promised to exert himself for the return of

M. Hondt from Vienna. These assurances calmed the people, and the arms of the volunteers were laid aside; but when Joseph returned to Vienna, in July, he expressed his surprise and anger at the concessions of the governor. He summoned Belgioiso to Vienna to explain his conduct, and ordered that deputies should be sent to give an account of their proceedings. Joseph, who did not yet see how impossible it was to enforce his reforms, or how completely he was sinking his own authority, received the deputation sternly, and informed them that everything which he had ordered should be carried out. Troops at the same time were ordered to march into the Netherlands, and the Flemings, on receiving this intelligence, again resumed their arms and their hostile attitude. The populace and the imperial troops in Brussels actually came into collision; blood was shed, and the inhabitants of the country, arming themselves, were flocking from all quarters into the city. The consequences must have been dreadful, but for the prudence of count Murray, a gentleman of Scotch descent, who was acting as deputy-governor in the absence of Belgioiso, who calmed down the popular fury by assurances that all should be made right.

This had taken place towards the end of September. The emperor's army of one hundred thousand men was now in full march for the Danube, to join Russia in her designs on Turkey, and therefore, for the present, his rash plans were suffered to slumber, and tranquillity for a time was restored.

Parliament met, after the recess, on the 27th of November. The topics during the remainder of the year were of little importance. There was some dissatisfaction expressed at the treaty which had been made with Hesse Cassel to furnish a certain number of troops during the expectation of the interference of France in the affairs of Holland. That danger was now over; yet it appeared that the treaty had not been made contingent, but, to a certain extent, permanent, and we were under engagements to pay thirty-six thousand pounds a-year to the landgrave of Hesse for troops, for which we had no real occasion. There was also considerable murmuring at the promotions which had been made in the navy. It appeared that lord Howe, as head of the admiralty, had passed over a certain number of post captains, and placed them on the superannuated list, in making promotions to the rank of admiral. He had made sixteen new admirals during the year, and forty post captains complained that they had been unfairly passed over.

Soon after the meeting of parliament, after the Christmas recess, the business of the year 1788 was opened by lord Rawdon reverting to this subject. He complained that many valuable officers had been passed over, and, indeed, the friends of these disappointed officers endeavoured to make it appear that every one of these forty captains was just as brave and able as any of the sixteen promoted. Lord Howe replied that he had acted according to the best of his judgment; that he left it to the house to consider whether it was for the service of the country that every man should be taken in such a promotion according to his seniority; whether the qualifications for effective command were not to be the first requisite. Many captains, he said, were brave men, amply capable of commanding a single vessel, but by no means capable of commanding a fleet. That such

as were not made admirals, according to their seniority, were placed on the half-pay of rear-admirals. He assured the house that he should be most thankful to be exempt from the unpopularity of his position, for that the promotion of one captain out of every twenty was certain to wound and offend the nineteen, and not so certain of pleasing the twentieth.

Lord Sandwich, who had held for a long time the same post, supported lord Howe, and suggested the idea, in railery, of the patronage being vested in the house of lords. If the house of lords, he said, were to take upon themselves the promotion of admirals, one noble lord would rise in his place and say, "Pray don't pass over my brother; make him an admiral!" another would intercede for another relation. The lords, when at home, would be besieged to use their influence, and the house knew the fascination of the ladies; they would catch hold of a peer's hand, clasp it with ardour, and say, "My dear lord, you must get my cousin made an admiral!" As for the house of commons, he saw nearly equal inconveniences, were the patronage shifted there. They had their relations too, and constituents to please into the bargain. In short, the delicate function must be placed somewhere, and it seemed to him that an officer of the well-known naval knowledge and distinction, both for moral and professional character, of lord Howe, was the best to discharge it. The motion was rejected in the lords, but immediately taken up in the commons by Mr. Bastard. He declared that the so-called yellow, or superannuated list, was not intended for such officers as were capable of active service, yet such names as he mentioned were to be found there, while men more really superannuated, but who had friends in the right quarter, were put over their heads. He was supported by Fox, who, though he did not suppose any man passed over was capable of doing more service, was of opinion that some of the promotions had been most scandalously unjust. Several officers of the navy, amongst them Sir Peter Parker and Sir George Osborne, took the same side. But both this motion and a second by the same individual were rejected. Lord Howe, disgusted with his treatment, soon after resigned his office; and he complained amongst his friends that he did not find Pitt himself so importunate for the promotion of his supporters, but that Dundas never could be satisfied with obtaining places for any number of his Scotch relations and connections, and was continually carrying his murmurs of disappointment at the conscientious resistance of Howe to his demands. Pitt's elder brother, the earl of Chatham, a most unfit person, was, however, put into the place of lord Howe, a proof that Pitt himself, though probably much more disinterested than Dundas, looked also to the interests of his kin.

The business of India was resumed in the commons. The ministers had proposed to send four additional regiments to India, when there appeared a probability of hostility with France, and the court of directors were quite agreeable to the measure; but that danger being over, the India House declared it unnecessary to send the troops, for which they were expected to pay. But Pitt was desirous of establishing a royal army in India, as a control over the company, and yet that the company should pay this force. On this the court of directors and ministers came to issue, and Pitt, on

the 25th of February, asked leave to bring in a bill declaratory of the meaning of that of 1784, which he contended really gave such a discretion to the government. This measure was strongly resisted by all the influence of the India House, both in the lords and commons, but was carried through both houses. This was, in fact, conferring on the government the very powers which Pitt and his party had so strongly objected to in Fox's proposed bill in 1783.

In this session the first step was won in one of the greatest achievements of humanity which adorn the name of England. It was the grand preliminary towards annihilating the accursed trade in man. The kidnapping and trade in Africans had been originally introduced on the plea of humanity. Having destroyed whole nations of aborigines by their oppressions in America and the West Indies, the European natives had been taught by the preaching of Las Casas that it would be a measure of mercy to import negroes from Africa—men of a stronger constitution, and well calculated to toil under a tropical sun, to spare the failing energies of the Caribbean races. Under this false plea of substituting a distant people for one destroyed by cruelty and overtoil, a trade monstrous beyond all former conception or experience had sprung up. The natives of Africa were hunted down in their native woods by man-stealers, and were excited even to kidnap and betray one another, by bribes, and were then carried over to the warmer regions of America and the West Indies, and there sold into perpetual slavery to so-called Christian masters. Amongst the first to denounce and renounce this diabolical violation of human rights were the members of the Society of Friends in America, and the names of John Woolman and Anthony Benet stand earliest and most prominent amongst these genuine followers of Christ, who could tolerate no sale of their brethren, of whatever colour, under any pleas which selfishness could invent. The perception of the unchristian character of this traffic soon pervaded the whole society in America. The liberation of all slaves by its members was strongly recommended by the yearly meetings there, and adopted to a man. The Friends of America not only liberated their own slaves, but called upon their country to do the same. They were not contented that the trade only should cease, but that the possession of slaves should cease, as utterly inhuman and unchristian. The spirit was communicated to their brethren in England, and the duty of assisting to put down this great evil and scandal of the Christian world became one of their most zealous and fixed doctrines from the year 1754.

The spirit of revolt against this odious trade had been gaining rapidly from other sources in the English mind. One of the earliest stabs given to it was by the pathetic story of Inle and Yarico, in the "History of Barbadoes," by Lygon, which was taken up and amplified in the "Spectator," and afterwards elaborated into an effective drama by Colman. The versatile but essentially philanthropic mind of Defoe, Dr. Johnson, Warburton, in his "Divine Legation of Moses," and in his sermons so early as 1766, Voltaire, and other writers, had diffused a strong and sound feeling on the subject. It had been early attempted to establish the legal maxim, that a slave cannot breathe in England; but in 1729 this had been positively pronounced against by Talbot and Yorke, then the highest legal autho-

rities. But a more successful essay was made by Granville Sharpe in 1772, in the case of James Somerset, and the principle was established, that the moment a slave set his foot on English ground he became free. In 1782 the Friends presented a petition to parliament for the abolition of the slave trade. In 1785 Thomas Clarkson, then a student at the University of Cambridge, competed for and won the first prize for an essay on "The Slavery and Commerce in the Human Species," and this, which was undertaken as an academical exercise, led him to devote himself to the great work of the utter extinction of this evil. Mr. Ramsay, a clergyman of Kent, who had lived in St. Kitts, published a pamphlet on the same subject. The friends of Ramsay, lady Middleton and Mrs. Bouverie, became zealous advocates of the cause, and finally Wilberforce resolved to make it the great object of his life.

A society was now established in London, consisting only originally of twelve individuals, including the benevolent Mr. Thornton, and having Granville Sharpe for its chairman. The members, however, were opulent merchants and bankers, and they raised funds and set agents to work to collect sound information on the subject. The feeling rapidly spread: committees were formed in Manchester and other provincial towns for co-operation. They adopted a seal, having for its impress a negro kneeling and fettered, with the motto, "Am I not a man and a brother?"

It was resolved to make the first attack only on the trade in slaves, not on the whole gigantic subject, with all its widely ramified interests. Nay, it was deemed prudent by the committees, seeing well that the abolition of the monstrous practice of slave-holding must be a work of many years, in the first place to limit their exertions to the ameliorating of the sufferings of the negroes, in their passage from Africa to the scenes of their servitude. Numerous petitions had now reached the houses of parliament on the subject of the trade in and the sufferings of slaves, and a committee of the privy council was procured to hear evidence on the subject. This commenced its sittings on the 11th of February of the present year (1789). Before this committee were first heard the statements of the slave merchants of Liverpool. According to these gentlemen, all the horrors attributed to the slave trade were so many fables; so far from instigating African sovereigns to make war upon their neighbours and sell them for slaves, the oppressions of these despots were so horrible that it was a real blessing to bring away their unfortunate victims. But very different facts were advanced on the other side. On the part of the Liverpool merchants was the most palpable self-interest to colour their statements; on the other, was disinterested humanity. Amongst the gentlemen brought forward to unfold the real nature of the African traffic was Dr. Andrew Sparrman, professor of natural philosophy at Stockholm, who had, with Mr. Wadstrom, been engaged in botanical researches in Africa. This information put to flight the pleasant myths of the Liverpool traders, and produced a profound impression.

It was resolved to bring the matter before parliament. Wilberforce gave notice of motion on the subject, but falling ill at Bath, Clarkson applied to Pitt and Mr. Granville, and was strongly supported by Granville Sharp and the London committee. Pitt had not considered the subject till it was

forced on his attention by the evidence before the privy council; but he had come to the conclusion that the trade was not only inhuman, but really injurious to the interests of the nation. He consented to introduce the question, and, on the 9th of May, gave notice that early in the next session parliament would take into consideration the allegations against the slave trade, made in upwards of a hundred petitions presented to it. He recommended this short delay in order that the inquiries before the privy council might be fully matured. But both Fox and Burke—the latter of whom had been thinking for eight years of taking up the question—declared that the delay would be as cruel as it was useless; that it did not become the house of commons to wait to receive instructions from the privy council, as if it were dependant upon it, but originate such inquiries itself. Sir William Dolben warmly supported this view of immediate action, contending that at least a bill should be brought in to restrain the cruelties of the sea-passage, which would otherwise sacrifice ten thousand lives, as hundreds of thousands had been sacrificed before. This was acceded to. Pitt's resolution was carried by a considerable majority; and Sir William Dolben, on the 21st of May, moved to bring in a bill to regulate the transport of slaves. Sir William stated that there was no law to restrain the avarice and cruelty of the slave dealers, and that the mortality from the crowding of the slaves on board was most frightful.

The slave merchants of Liverpool and London immediately demanded to be heard against even this degree of interference. On the 2nd of June counsel was heard on their behalf at the bar of the house of commons. These gentlemen endeavoured to prove that the interest of the merchants was the best guarantee of the good treatment of the slaves; that the statements to the contrary were malicious falsehoods; and they called witnesses to prove that nothing could be more delightful and salubrious than the condition of slaves on the voyage; that they had plenty of room; that there were very few deaths indeed; and that the negroes passed their time most charmingly in dancing and singing on the deck. But, on cross-examination, these very witnesses were compelled to disclose one of the most revolting pictures of inhuman atrocity ever brought to the light of day. It was found that no slave, whatever his size, had more room during the whole voyage than five feet six inches in length, and sixteen inches in breadth; that the floor of every deck was thus densely packed with human beings; between the floor and the deck above were other platforms or broad shelves packed in the same manner! The height from the floor to the ceiling seldom exceeded five feet eight inches, and in some cases not four feet. The men were chained together two and two by their hands and feet, and were fastened by ringbolts to the deck or floor. In this position they were kept all the time they remained on the coast—often from six weeks to six months. Their allowance was a pint of water daily and two meals of yams and horse-beans. After eating they were ordered to jump in their irons to preserve their health, and were flogged if they refused; and this was the dancing! When the weather was wet they were often kept below for several days together. And this was the condition in which human

beings were kept on these hot and smothering voyages, and the horrors of what was called the middle passage were terrible and fatal beyond description. It was calculated that up to that time the Europeans had consumed ten millions of slaves, and that the English alone were then carrying over forty-two thousand of Africans annually.

Besides the truths drawn by cross-examination from the witnesses for the slave-dealing merchants, who contended that even Sir William Dolben's bill would nearly ruin

stand in its own light generally! The bill met with some opposition in the lords, and the admirals Rodney and Heathfield, both naturally humane men, were amongst the strongest opponents. The measure, however, passed, and received the royal assent on the 11th of July. Some well-meaning people thought that by legalising the freightage of slaves, England had acknowledged the lawfulness of the trade; but the advocates of the abolition made no secret of their determination to persevere, and this victory only



TIPPOO SAIB. FROM AN AUTHENTIC PORTRAIT.

Liverpool, Captain Parry, who had been sent by Pitt to Liverpool to examine some of the slave ships, brought the directest proofs that the representations of these witnesses were most false, and the accommodation for the slaves most inhuman; Sir William Dolben himself had examined a slave-ship then fitting out in the Thames, and gave details which horrified the house. This bill went to prohibit any ship carrying more than one slave to a ton of its register; the only matter in which the house gave way was that none should carry more than five slaves to every three tons, and a very few years proved that this restriction had been the greatest boon to the dealers as well as the slaves in the preservation of the living cargoes. So much does selfishness

quicken their exertions, and the numbers who thought with them daily and rapidly increased.

During this session a piece of justice was done to lord Newburgh, the grandson of Charles Radcliffe, who was beheaded in 1746 for his concern in the rebellion of 1715, in which his brother, James Radcliffe, the third earl of Derwentwater, was also engaged, and who suffered in 1716. As the estates of the Scotch rebels had been restored, it was now agreed to grant lord Newburgh two thousand five hundred pounds a-year out of the estates of his grandfather and great uncle. The estates themselves had been conferred on Greenwich Hospital, or they would undoubtedly have been wholly restored.



TRIAL OF WARREN HASTINGS IN WESTMINSTER HALL.

On the 12th of December, 1787, Sir Gilbert Elliot had presented six charges of serious import against Sir Elijah Impey. The chief of these charges, however, related to the trial and execution of Nuncomar: to his acceptance of the judgeship of the new court which Hastings had established, which was declared to be illegal; and to his conduct in Oude and Benares, where he had certainly assisted in the oppressions of Hastings. Sir Gilbert produced these charges in writing, and made a full and able statement of them; they were ordered to be printed; and on the 1st of February, 1788, Impey made his defence. This defence was a very able and energetic one. He answered in a bold and masterly manner the charge that he had brought Nuncomar under the jurisdiction of his court; he endeavoured to show that Nuncomar was a settled inhabitant of Calcutta, and therefore, though a native, subject to his jurisdiction. He alluded to the statements which had been made, that lord Mansfield had condemned his conduct in the matter of Nuncomar, and produced letters of approbation from Blackstone, lord Walsingham, lord Ashburton, and Mr. Wallace, the attorney-general. He took shelter from the charge of having acted unduly in condemning Nuncomar, as the enemy and accuser of his great friend Hastings, by professing that this fact was only known to him by rumour, whilst nothing could be more notorious than that he had long been intimately acquainted with this fact. He also sheltered himself under the circumstances that, though the head of the supreme court, which condemned Nuncomar, the other judges had joined in the decision. Yet it was well known that Sir Robert Chambers had greatly dissuaded, though he acquiesced in the sentence at last. A question which must present itself to every reader, though it did not seem to have claimed attention in the impeachment, is, how far the three other judges were friends and partisans of Hastings? Certainly, after reading carefully the most ingenious defence of Impey, there remains on our minds the unpleasant impression of these facts: that Impey was the great friend of Hastings; that he received his chief advancement from him; that he was made by Hastings the sole judge of a new and most important tribunal, which Hastings himself created, and which Hastings intended should produce Impey an income of eight thousand pounds a-year, in addition to a similar sum for his chief justiceship; that afterwards, in Oude and Benares, where his jurisdiction did not extend, he was active in assisting Hastings' terrible oppressions; that, in addition to these general circumstances, the particular ones, that Nuncomar had just come forward to give evidence against Hastings to the other members of the council, and that, though not arrested at the direct suit of Hastings, it was most palpably to his benefit, and occurred precisely at the time when it could be most useful; that though it was strongly urged upon the judges, that the natives did not attach any such idea to the charge of forgery, as that it deserved death, and though only one native had been condemned under this new law from England, and he had been respited, yet Impey and his associate judges would insist, in disregard of strong entreaties on the part of the natives, in hanging the Maharajah Nuncomar; that though Impey alleged that Nuncomar's crime had been

committed six years before, and therefore there had been no undue haste shown, yet it was also proved that they had seized the very first moment when it was in their power to try and condemn him; that though it had been strongly urged that the case, being a new one as regarded a native, and suspicious, as that native was a dangerous enemy of the governor-general, therefore the judges should suspend the sentence until it could receive the consideration of the authorities in England, yet Impey would hear of no such reference, but hurried and completed the sentence, as it was shown by the evidence of the sheriff of Calcutta, who superintended the execution, to the intense horror of the natives. When all these circumstances are taken into account, we confess that, setting aside legal technicalities, the impression on every unsophisticated mind must be, that though Impey might have kept within the precincts of the law, he was by no means free from suspicions of having, in this first charge regarding Nuncomar, the only one then tried, exceeded the limits of justice and impartiality. The charge, however, was defeated by a majority of eighteen in favour of Impey, and the rest of the charges being postponed for three months, were never taken up again. The far greater question of the crimes of Warren Hastings seemed to swallow up these, and though there lay still very grievous implications on his character and conduct as regarded the oppression of the begums and other matters, Sir Elijah took no means of clearing these up by the open and effective medium of the press. It has been well observed that "the accusations were specified, and were spread in all directions—in books, in pamphlets, in parliamentary reports and parliamentary histories, in annual registers, in newspapers and magazines—and it might have been expected that a man, anxious for his fair fame, and being both an able lawyer and an accomplished writer, would, at some moment, have taken up the pen to undo the evil impressions which were made, and which have lasted more than half a century." He never did, and the fair inference is, that he thought these matters better let alone—an inference strongly corroborated by the facts already stated on these subjects.

The impeachment of Impey had not interrupted that of Hastings. That gentleman had delivered in answers to the articles of impeachment shortly before the Christmas holidays, and the lords sent down a copy of them to the commons. On the motion of Burke they were referred to a committee on the 5th of December. On Burke naming this committee there was a strong opposition to Mr. Francis being a member, in consequence of his determined enmity to Hastings, and his name was accordingly excluded; the committee having, through Burke, two days afterwards, formally voted their averment that the charges were true, this answer was by him carried up to the lords, who appointed the 13th of February for the trial to take place in Westminster Hall. A new committee of managers was then named, at the suggestion of Burke: they were the same who had been appointed to consider Hastings' answers. On this occasion Fox again moved for the insertion of the name of Francis, on the ground that though an objection might lie against him as a judge, none could lie against him as an accuser, in which character he would now appear. But the house showed the same repugnance, and though Francis declared that all his enmity

against Hastings was on public and not on private grounds, the house voted against his appearing as one of the managers. We perfectly agree with lord Brougham, in his "Historical Sketches of Statesmen," that this was a proper exclusion; that it was due to the prosecution of this conspicuous delinquent by the nation, that it should appear wholly on public and not on personal grounds.

On the day appointed there was a wonderful crowding into the great hall at Westminster. The walls had been in preparation hung with scarlet, and galleries raised all round for the accommodation of spectators. The seats for the members of the house of commons were covered with green cloth, those for the lords and all the others with red. Galleries were set apart for distinguished persons, and for the members of the foreign embassies. When the lords, nearly one hundred and seventy in number, entered in procession, the vast hall presented a striking scene, being crowded, with the exception of the space in the centre for the peers, with all who were noted in the land, from the throne downwards. The lords were all in their robes of gold and ermine, marshalled by the king-at-arms and the heralds. First entered lord Heathfield, the brave old Elliott of Gibraltar, as the junior baron, and the splendid procession was closed by the earl marshal of England, the duke of Norfolk, and by the brothers and sons of the king, the prince of Wales last of all. The twelve judges attended to give their advice on difficult points of law, and the managers were attended also by their counsel, Drs. Scott and Lawrence, and Messrs. Mansfield, Pigot, Burke, and Douglas. The galleries blazed with the rich array of ladies and foreign costumes. There were seen the queen with her daughters, and the princesses Elizabeth, Augusta, and Mary, the duchess of Gloucester, Mrs. Fitzherbert, looking even more a queen than Charlotte, the beautiful duchess of Devonshire, with a bevy of brilliant women, Sheridan's handsome wife, and the great actress, Mrs. Siddons; Gibbon the historian was observed, Dr. Parr, James, afterwards Sir James Mackintosh, and numbers of distinguished artists, amongst them Sir Joshua Reynolds and Gainsborough, who, already in indifferent health, took cold there and soon afterwards died.

Warren Hastings was summoned to the bar, and there kneeling, the lord chancellor, Thurlow, intimated the charge against him, and assured him that, as a British subject, he would receive full justice from the highest British court. Hastings replied, in a clear and firm voice, that he had the highest confidence in the justice and integrity of that august court. The clerks of the court then commenced reading the charges against him, and the answers to them, and this reading occupied the whole of that day and the following one; and on the third, Burke rose to deliver his opening speech. This occupied the whole of four days, beginning on the 15th, and terminating on the 19th of February. The effect of that speech, notwithstanding its enormous length, was such as had scarcely ever been witnessed in a court of justice before. As he detailed the horrors practised by Hastings on the princes and people of India, especially those relating to the begums and their aged ministers, but still more those of the monster, Debi Sing, which we have briefly narrated, both the orator and his audience were convulsed with terror and agitation. Ladies fainted away in

the galleries; Mrs. Sheridan, amongst others, had to be carried out insensible: the faces of the strongest men, as well as of the more sensitive women, were flushed with emotion, or bathed in tears. In his peroration Burke far exceeded even himself. He appeared raised, enlarged into something ethereal by his subject, and his voice seemed to shake the very walls and roof of that ancient court. Finally, he exclaimed:—

"I impeach Warren Hastings, esquire, of high crimes and misdemeanors. I impeach him in the name of all the commons of Great Britain in parliament assembled, whose parliamentary trust he has betrayed. I impeach him in the name of the people of India, whose laws, rights, and liberties, he has subverted, whose properties he has destroyed, whose country he has laid waste and desolate. I impeach him in the name, and by virtue of those eternal laws of justice which he has violated. I impeach him in the name of human nature itself, which he has cruelly outraged, injured, and oppressed, in both sexes, in every age, rank, situation, and condition of life. And I conjure this high and sacred court to let not these proceedings be heard in vain."

Such was the effect of this wonderful torrent of eloquence that Hastings himself said, "For half an hour I looked up at the orator in a reverie of wonder; and during that space I actually felt myself the most culpable man on earth; but I recurred to my own bosom, and there found a consciousness that consoled me under all I heard and all I suffered."

When the intense agitation had in some degree subsided, Fox rose and proposed the mode in which the trial should be conducted, which was that the evidence on both sides should be gone through on each separate charge, and that charge immediately decided, whilst all the facts were fresh in the minds of the lords, who were the judges. But this was violently and pertinaciously opposed by the counsel of Hastings, who knew well the advantage of leaving the decision till the vivid impression of the events was worn off; till the long course of the trial, for it must necessarily be long, had dulled the memory of the enormities of the accused; till the judges and spectators were all weary of the business, and much more ready to listen to arguments founded on the national interests than to those based purely on justice and humanity. They succeeded in carrying their object, and the result we shall find when the trial terminated, nine years afterwards, was according to their hopes. The managers, well aware of the immense disadvantage of this mode to the ends of justice, complained loudly, but there was no remedy. Fox, therefore, proceeded to open the Benares case, which occupied five hours. Grey took it up, and completed it the next day. Several succeeding days were employed in reading papers and hearing witnesses, and then Anstruther summed up and commented on the charge, treating it as established; but let us only imagine that the lords were not called upon to decide on this charge till nine years afterwards, when many of them would be deceased, and that their sons, who had probably never heard the details of the case, were called on to decide upon it, and we must perceive what a triumph the lawyers of Hastings had obtained over the managers; how little likely it could be that the case should be decided on its proper merits.

The court then adjourned to the 15th of April. The case

of the begums was opened by Mr. Adams, and concluded the next day by Mr. Pelham. Those sixteen days were occupied by the evidence, and on the 3rd of June Sheridan began to sum up the evidence, and, in a speech which lasted three days, he kept the court in the highest state of excitement. The place was crowded to suffocation during the whole time, and as much as fifty guineas are said to have been paid for a single seat. Greatly as this speech of Sheridan's was admired, it was felt to be too ornate and dramatic: there was not the deep and genuine feeling of Burke in it, and the effect was so evidently studied, that, on concluding, Sheridan fell back into the arms of Burke, as if overcome by his own sensations.

The prorogation of parliament was now at hand, and only two out of the twenty charges had been gone through: neither of them had yet been replied to, and yet other causes of engrossing interest arising, the trial was entirely suspended till the 20th of April of the following year! Then it was but languidly and at uncertain intervals taken up; and it was very clear that the lawyers of Hastings had, by their mode of deferring the judgment on any part of the case till the end, completely destroyed any reliance on its ultimate decision.

Before the prorogation, however, a brisk inquiry arose in the house of commons on the expenses of this trial. Mr. Burgess moved that an account of the money issued by the exchequer for the discharge of the expenses incurred in the impeachment should be laid before the house. The motion, though opposed by the managers, was carried, and it was found that, at this early stage, besides the cost of the erections in Westminster Hall, no less than four thousand three hundred pounds had been expended. Burgess then moved that the solicitors should lay before the house a specific account of these disbursements. The managers again vehemently opposed this, on the ground that a *secret* committee having been appointed to manage the prosecution, this publication of accounts was in direct violation of its privileges, and calculated to cripple its efficiency. But it was palpably the object of these inquiries to cripple and render the managers of the impeachment unpopular. Both Fox and Sheridan were notoriously poor, and not very particular in money matters, and the movement was clearly a plan of Hastings' lawyers to damage them and to restrict their resources for procuring and bringing up evidence. Burgess declared his opinion that the managers had no authority to employ counsel, and such counsel were wholly unnecessary, as there were several able lawyers on their committee. There is no doubt that this motion tended greatly to keep down the expenses, for there are always plenty of people hanging about such a prosecution by government ready to make capital jobs for themselves; at the same time, it is equally probable that, as it was intended, it materially limited the powers of the managers for convicting the delinquent.

But the public attention was now freely withdrawn from Warren Hastings to crush more exalted personages. On the 11th of July the king in person prorogued parliament. He then appeared in his usual health, but very soon after it was whispered about he was far from well, and had gone to Cheltenham by the advice of his physicians. When he returned in the autumn, the opinion of his derangement had gained

ground, and, to remove this, a drawing-room was held at St. James's on the 24th of October. Every means had been taken to secure the impression of his majesty's sauciness, but they failed, and the contrary impression was confirmed. Still, the king returned to Windsor, and the endeavours were strenuously maintained by the queen to conceal the melancholy fact from the public; but this was too positive to be long suppressed. On the 5th of November he met his son, the duke of York, after he had been riding about Windsor Forest for five hours in a state of frenzy, and, bursting into tears, wished that he was dead, for that he felt he should go mad. No doubt he remembered his old sensations when he had a short but sharp fit of lunacy in 1674.

The time was hurrying on which must reveal the whole truth; the prorogation of parliament terminated on the 20th of November; the house would meet, and the king would not be able to attend and open the session. Pitt was in a state of indescribable anxiety. If the king was likely to be permanently deranged, the power must devolve on the prince of Wales, with whom he was no favourite; for, trusting to the health and long life of his majesty, Pitt always treated the prince with a singular *hauteur*; and, by coinciding with the king in keeping a tight hand on his income, had thrown him wholly into the arms of the whig leaders. Fox and Sheridan were his great friends. Burke, though not a boon companion, was equally in favour with the prince, on account of his great abilities; and this party, with which Pitt was at mortal feud, must at once succeed to his power and influence. It was a matter which required all his art to manage, so as to retain his position, if possible, and keep down the great expectant party of his enemies. He made anxious visits to Windsor, to ascertain, if possible, the probable chances of the permanence or temporary duration of the royal malady. There he paid particular court to the queen, assuring her that, in case of the necessity of appointing a regency, she should have a proper share of authority in it. Thurlow, the lord chancellor, also was equally assiduous, and equally complacent to the queen, but forming an early opinion that the king's complaint would be lasting, he was equally assiduous in secretly making court to the prince of Wales. It was discovered that he had privately visited Mrs. Fitzherbert, and had even been closeted with Sheridan. He knew that the chancellorship had been promised to his rival, lord Loughborough, but he did not despair, by good acting, of inducing the whigs, for the sake of his influence, and for the conversions that he might make, to postpone Loughborough's elevation, and continue him on the woolsack.

The 20th of November arrived; the two houses met, and lord Camden in the peers, and Pitt in the commons, were obliged to announce the incapacity of the king to open the session, and to move for an adjournment till the 4th of December, in order that the necessary measures for transferring the royal authority, temporarily, might be taken.

Fox, at this important crisis, was abroad, and had to hurry home with headlong speed, in order to join his party in their anxious deliberations preparatory to the great question of the regency. In the meantime, the king's physicians had been examined before the privy council, and had given their opinion that the royal malady would prove only

temporary. From this moment Pitt appears to have taken his decision—namely, to carry matters with a high hand, and to admit the prince of Wales as regent only under such restrictions as should prevent him from either exercising much power himself, or conferring much benefit on his adherents. It was true that, by this course, he might confirm the dislike which the prince now entertained for him, but he was certain, on the recovery of the king's reason, to regain his former power, and, as the king was far from an old man—merely fifty years of age—he trusted to his yet reigning long, and the rest he left to the law of chances. When, therefore, parliament met, after the adjournment, and that in great strength—for men of all parties had hurried up to town—lord Camden moved in the lords, and Pitt in the commons, that, in consequence of the king's malady, the minutes of the privy council, containing the opinions of the royal physicians, should be read, and that this being done, these opinions should be taken into consideration on the 8th of December.

This being done, Mr. Vyner suggested that the physicians should rather be examined by the house itself; a proposal supported by Fox. Pitt replied that this was a matter requiring much delicacy, and that the opinions of the physicians before the council being on oath, he imagined that they had greater force than any given before parliament, where they would not be on oath. But, during the four days' adjournment, he had ascertained, to his satisfaction, that the majority of the physicians were of opinion that the king would pretty soon recover, and that especially Dr. Willis was of this opinion, under whose more immediate care he was; and, no sooner did the commons meet, than Pitt seemed to make a merit of acquiescing in the suggestions of Vyner and Fox; but he managed not to have the physicians called to the bar of the house, but to be examined by a committee of twenty-one members, of which he himself was chairman. The same thing was done by the lords, at the instance of the marquis of Stafford. On the 16th of December Pitt brought up the report of the committee, in which a majority of the physicians had expressed the opinion that the malady of the king would not be of long duration; and he then moved for another committee to search for precedents as to the power to be exercised by a regent. Fox declared that Pitt knew very well that there were no precedents to be found while there existed an heir-apparent, at the time, of full age and capacity; that he was seeking only the means of delaying what ought to be done at once; that the failure of the mind of the sovereign was a case of natural demise, and that the heir-apparent succeeded to the exercise of the royal authority from the period of that failure, as a matter of course; that the parliament had, indeed, the authority to decide that such failure had actually taken place, and to sanction the assumption of the powers of regency, as the other two estates of the realm, but nothing more.

Pitt immediately seized on this to assert that Fox was announcing a doctrine destructive of the constitution: that he was denying the right by which parliament had placed the present family on the throne, and he asserted that the prince of Wales had no more natural right to assume the regency than any other individual. This led to the severest

censures of the premier by Burke, who declared that Pitt was making himself a dictator, and changing the succession to the regal power in England from hereditary to elective. The same doctrine was announced and combated in the lords; but there, though Thurlow was silent, waiting to see how matters would go before he hazarded an opinion, Loughborough boldly supported Fox's doctrine, and declared that had the derangement of the king taken place during the non-existence of parliament, the prince undoubtedly would have been warranted in issuing writs and summoning one. On the 15th of December the duke of York and his uncle, the duke of Gloucester, both spoke on the question, expressing their sense of the inexpediency of pressing the delicate question of *right*, and stating that parliament could proceed to invest the prince of Wales with the powers of the regency without waiting, as they certainly could not appoint any one else. Thurlow had by this time found that he had no chance with the whigs, and he now, with unblushing assurance, took the part of Pitt, though every one knew why he had been hanging back till this moment. He declared that he could not see how parliament could avoid coming to some conclusion on the question of right, seeing that it had been raised. At the same time, he made a most pretendedly pious defence of the rights of the king against the prince and the whigs, exclaiming—“When I forget my king, may God forget me!” John Wilkes, who was standing in a knot of spectators near the throne, and within a few feet of Thurlow, said, loud enough to be heard by those around him—“Forget you!—he'll see you damned first!”

But Pitt had his majorities, and in a series of motions and violent debates on them—in which Fox, Burke, Sheridan, and the whigs generally, most ably but unavailingly, combated the doctrines and the attempts of the premier, which did not terminate till the 23rd of January, 1789—Pitt not only carried his point, that parliament should assert the whole right of appointing a regent, but he contrived to tie down the prince so completely, and to put so much of the authority into other hands, that, had the regency been carried through, the prince and his party would have found themselves a mere company of marionettes, in the hands of Pitt and his agents. Though the prince of Wales informed the house of lords, through his brother, the duke of York, and the house of commons, through Fox, that he had put forward no claim of right, Pitt, on the 16th of December, moved three resolutions—the third and most material of which was, that it was necessary that both houses should, for the maintenance of the constitutional authority of the king, determine the means by which the royal assent might be given to an act of parliament for delegating the royal authority during the king's indisposition. After most determined opposition by the whigs, he carried the whole of these resolutions, and it was then moved that the proper mode of doing this was to employ the great seal just as if the king were in the full exercise of his faculties. To prepare the way for this monstrous doctrine, the lawyers in Pitt's party had declared that there was a broad distinction betwixt the *political* and the natural capacity of the king; that, as the king could do no wrong, so he could not go politically, though he might go naturally mad; that therefore the king, in his

political capacity, was now as fully in power and entity as ever, and therefore the great seal could be used for him as validly as at any other time. A more dangerous and revolutionary doctrine could not have been conceived; for, if the great seal could be used by ministers when the king was utterly incapable of knowing or approving of it, what should put a limit to this arbitrary exercise of his power? what should restrain the ministers and parliament from actually convey-

the young member for Newport, in Hampshire, standing on the floor of the house, exclaimed, in a loud and startling tone—"I desire that gentlemen of more age and experience than myself will refer to the glorious reign of George II. Let them recall to their memory the year 1745. Suppose that great and good king had lain under a similar affliction of madness at that period, where are the men, much less a minister, that would have dared to come down to that house,



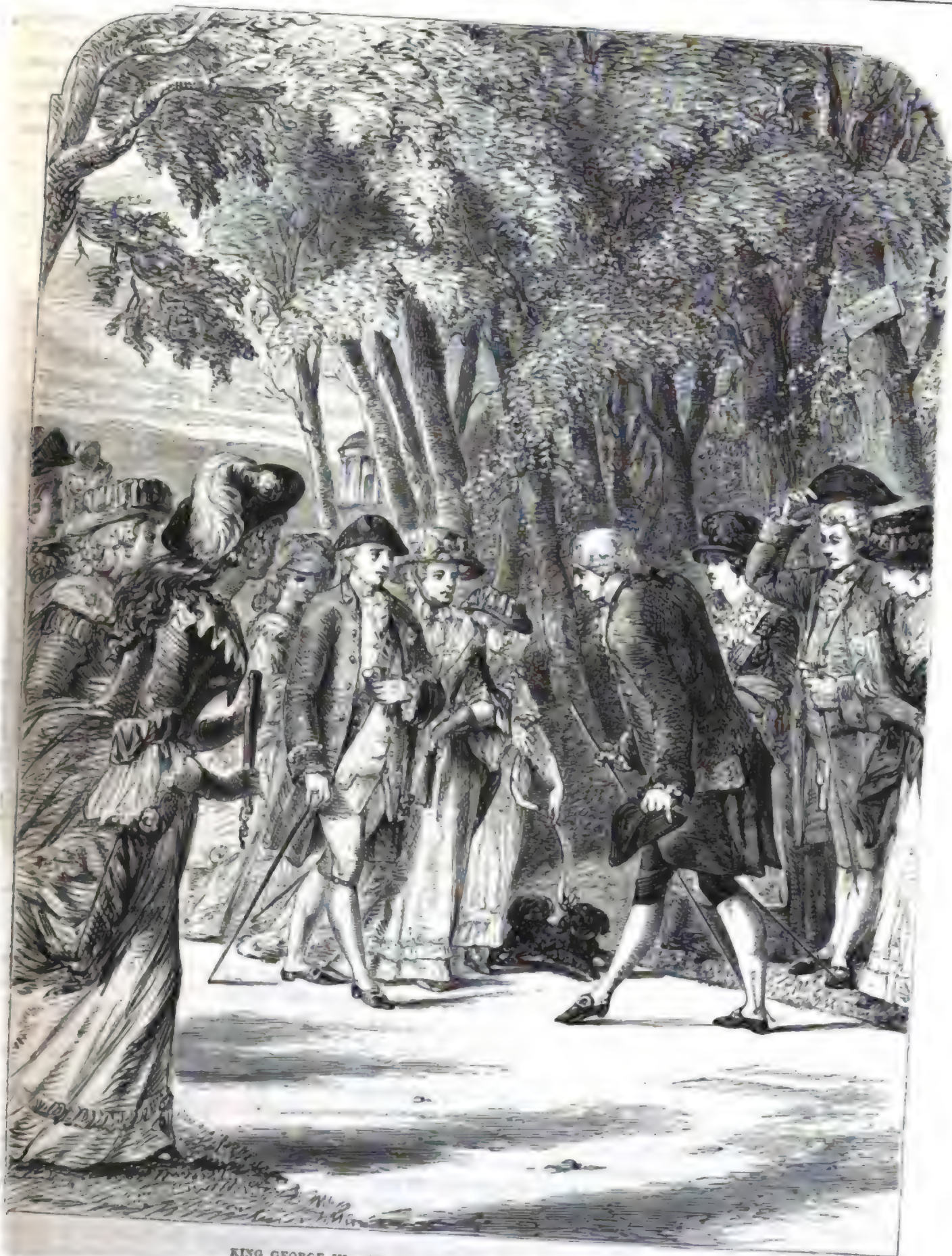
CARLTON HOUSE, RESIDENCE OF THE PRINCE REGENT.

ing away the crown to another line? For, supposing there was a disposition so to do, in the ministers and parliament, the authority, by this doctrine, lay fully in the great seal to do it. Surely, it was a far less dangerous, a far more constitutional doctrine, that the heir-apparent, being of sound mind, of full age, and being in all other respects in harmony with the constitution, should succeed to the regency in case of the king's incapacity, as he would succeed, as a matter of course, on the king's demise.

But this would have overthrown the power of Pitt and his majority, and they determined to carry through the monstrous fiction. In vain did Burke exclaim that it was "a phantom," "a fiction of law," "a mere mummery, a piece of masquerade buffoonery, formed to burlesque every species of government." In the midst of the debate, Mr. Rushworth,

and boldly, in the face of the world, say that the prince of Wales had no more right to the regency than any other subject? The man or minister who could have dared to utter such language must henceforward shelter in some other place than in the house of commons, and in some other country than England!"

This most appropriate suggestion was received with tumultuous cheers by the whigs, and with loud murmurs by the ministerial party, but Pitt went on. The prince of Wales, by letter, complained of the little respect shown to him or his rights, but Pitt treated the prince himself with as little courtesy as he did his rights; he carried the resolution regarding the great seal, that it should be appended to a commission for opening parliament in due form, it only now occupying the position of a convention, and then should



KING GEORGE III. AND QUEEN CHARLOTTE AT CHELTENHAM

affix the royal assent to the bill for the regency. This done, he consented to the demand of the calling up the physicians again before proceeding with the bill, for he was quite aware that he had a majority amongst them, and the physicians having expressed sanguine hopes of the king's speedy recovery, on the 16th of January he moved the following string of resolutions:—That the prince of Wales should be invested with the royal authority, subject, however, to these restrictions; namely: that he should create no peers, that he should grant no place or pension for life, or in reversion, except such place as in its nature must be held for life, or during good behaviour. That the prince should have no power over the personal property of the king, nor over the king's person or household. That these two latter powers should be intrusted to the queen, a council being appointed to assist her in these duties by their advice, but subject to her dismissal, and without any power of alienation of any part of the property.

These restrictions were violently contested, and colonel Fullarton compared the situation of the queen and Pitt as parallel to that of Isabella of Bavaria, the wife of Charles VI. of France, who was also subject to fits of insanity, and her minister Morvillier; saying Isabella "was a woman attached only to her treasures, to the chancellor, the prime minister, and a few chief officers, who apprehended that if the heir-apparent were trusted with the government during the king's incapacity, they should lose their places."

These resolutions being carried, it then became a question whether the prince would accept this restricted regency. Burke had warned the house that perhaps, after all, the prince would not accept such a shadow of his own natural powers, and he warned them likewise that the English parliament might find itself electing the prince as regent, whilst the Irish parliament was nominating him as by right. But it would appear that the whigs were so anxious to seize on office, even under such cramping restrictions, and to see Pitt dethroned, that they advised the prince to accept. A joint committee of lords and commons waited on him on the 30th of January, the anniversary of the execution of Charles I., and another joint committee the same day waited on the queen, and the next day their answers, accepting their respective offices, were communicated to parliament. The prince, indeed, qualified his acceptance by declaring that he did it only as a temporary arrangement, and in the hope, notwithstanding the peculiar and unprecedented circumstances, of preserving the interests of the king, the crown, and people.

A commission was then moved for, under the great seal, by lord Camden, and in this commission were included the names of the prince of Wales, the dukes of York, Gloucester, and Cumberland. These royal personages, however, declined to be named in it. With these remarkable omissions Camden's motion was passed, and the result communicated to the commons, on which Pitt, on the 2nd of February, moved for the concurrence of that house. This again brought up the question of the prince's right. Lord North, who, though now blind, had mixed in these debates with his usual moderation, and with a great display of good sense, based on official experience, expressed his pleasure that the prince had condescended to accept the regency, notwithstanding

its limitations. This prudence, he observed, had given the country an agreeable surprise, considering the temptations to stand upon his right, which must have produced inconceivable embarrassments. Pitt could not resist the impulse to rise and again deny the right, and observe that he believed those who had advocated that right were now really ashamed of it. This immediately called up Burke, for Fox was ill and away at Bath, and he exclaimed, "I assert that the prince of Wales's right is clear as the sun, and that it is the duty of the house to appoint him regent, with the full powers of sovereignty." A stormy debate followed. He asserted, with equal warmth, that ministers were about to purloin the great seal, and commit an act of forgery.

On the 3rd of February the commons attended to hear the commission read at the bar of the lords, which was done by earl Bathurst, in the absence of Thurlow. On returning to their house now as an authorised parliament, the commons read the bill for the first time without a division, but on the second reading, on the 6th of February, Burke attacked it with unabated ferocity. He wanted to know how they were to determine when the king was sane again. Who was to inform them of it? Who was to certify it? He asserted the utter impossibility of adducing proof whether a person who had been insane were perfectly recovered or not. If this doctrine had been established, the regency must have become permanent. But this mode of reasoning was too metaphorical for the house of commons; the debate passed on, and the bill was committed. The clause providing against the non-residence of the prince, and against his marrying a papist, again brought up Mr. Rolle. He said that he had given his assent to the appointment of the prince regent on the assurance of his friends, that he was not married to a certain lady, either in law or in fact; but that he had since read a famous pamphlet, which affirmed that the facts were in opposition to those avowals. This was a brochure of Horne Tooke's, in the shape of a letter to a friend, in which he declared his positive knowledge of the marriage of the prince with "the late Mrs. Fitzherbert," who, he contended, spite of the marriage act, was his lawful wife. Tooke knew very well that she could not be his lawful wife, in defiance of the marriage act, and that that act, by preventing her becoming a lawful wife, prevented the prince's loss of the crown, which was the certain consequence of a legal marriage with a catholic. But Tooke knew it to be a fine opportunity of embarrassing the whigs with an undying hatred. Rolle, accordingly, declared that no threats, no opposition, should deter him from moving that the words "or who is, or shall be married, in law or in fact, to a papist," should be added to the seventh clause of the bill. Rolle was answered by lord North, who declared that the object of the pamphleteer was simply to make mischief by throwing out assertions that he never meant to prove, and Welbore Ellis called for the reading of the royal marriage act, and showed that no royal marriage could be valid without the king's consent, and that therefore, whatever was the case, all those objections were a mere waste of words. Rolle did not press the question to a division. The other clauses of the bill raised much debate, but were all passed, and on the 10th of February the council was appointed to assist the queen in her charge, and Pitt named the four principal officers of the household for the

time being, the lord chamberlain, the lord steward, the master of the horse, and the groom of the stole, with the addition of the archbishop of Canterbury, lord chancellor Thurlow, the archbishop of York, and lord Kenyon. The names of the prince of Wales, duke of York, several of the other princes, the lord mayor of London, and the speaker of the house of commons, were all strongly urged upon parliament as persons who ought to be members of this council, but it did not suit Pitt's objects, and they were, to a man, rejected by a ministerial majority of about fifty.

Pitt had not forgotten the difficulty started by Burke, as to the recognition of the return to entire sanity of the king, and he now met it, by proposing that when five out of the eight counsellors appointed to assist the queen should declare the king's health restored, they should notify this to the political servants of the regent, and announce it in the London Gazette, as well as communicate it to the lord mayor; that the king should then summon nine of his privy council, who, sitting in council with him, should be able to observe whether he were perfectly restored or not; and if six of the nine agreed that he was so, these six should sign a proclamation to that effect, on which the regency should cease and determine. Great opposition to, and various amendments on this motion were made, but without effect: it was carried. On the 12th of April the regency bill finally passed the commons, and was carried up to the lords, with the addition of a clause limiting the restriction on the making of peers to three years.

Reports that the king was rapidly recovering now began to fly about court, daily gaining strength. The whigs, impatient to seize on office, were in a state of strange excitement; but to go in with the prospect of being immediately dismissed by the king, did not accord with the dignity of the leaders. On the other hand, there were so many good things to be given away—one or two bishoprics, the office of chief-justice in eyre, sundry commissions of major-general, beside expectations of promotions to the rank of field-marshal, as made the dependents of the party highly impatient. Neither the whigs nor Pitt knew well what to do. The lords did not commit the bill till the 17th, when they made two important additions to it, namely, to place all the palaces, parks, houses, gardens, &c., of the king, under the control of the queen, and to give her the care of all the royal children under the age of twenty-one. But, at that very crisis, the king was pronounced convalescent. On the 19th, lord Thurlow announced this, on the certificate of the physicians; and it was declared by him that their lordships could not, under these circumstances, proceed with the bill, but had better adjourn till Tuesday next. The duke of York observed that he should most gladly have corroborated the statement of the lord chancellor, but could not, having called the day before at Kew, to desire that he might see his father, but had not been permitted. The house, however, adjourned, and on Tuesday, the 24th, Thurlow informed the house that he had seen his majesty, had found him perfectly recovered, and therefore moved another adjournment to the Monday following, which was agreed to.

On the very next day took place what Burke had foreseen. A deputation from the two Irish houses of

parliament arrived in London, with an address to his royal highness the Prince of Wales, requesting him to assume the regency as his *right*. Though the English bill was now certain to be abandoned, this address was presented on the 26th of February, the day after the arrival, and was received by the prince in a manner likely to mark his sense of his treatment by Pitt and his party. The deputies were entertained at a splendid banquet; the walls of the dining-room at Carlton-house were adorned with Irish harps, the shamrock, and other Irish emblems; the arms of Ireland, encircled by a glory, blazed in the centre of the table, and the richest wines flowed in torrents. Burke and Sheridan, both Irishmen, as chief amongst the prince's friends, shone conspicuously. But people did not fail to observe that it was a day of double rejoicing to the prince, for that morning a bulletin of the royal physicians had been posted at St. James's, announcing the king's perfect recovery. But these banquetings had not been confined to this more auspicious day. Whilst the great contest had been going on in parliament, dinners had been given on the Saturdays and Sundays of every week at Carlton House, to which about thirty of the members of both houses had been invited, and at which the prince and the duke of York had presided. Besides these, the attractions and persuasive powers of the great ladies on both sides had been enthusiastically called into play. The fascinating duchess of Devonshire, who, in 1784, had so successfully canvassed for Charles James Fox in Westminster, had now thrown open her house, and employed all her amiabilities to win supporters to the prince's party. On the other hand, the more bold and vigorous duchess of Gordon, had feasted, entreated, and almost commanded adherence to Pitt, through whom it was said her husband had obtained the great seal of Scotland, and his brother, lord William Gordon, the sinecure rangerhips of St. James's and Hyde-parks. The rivalries of these parties had been carried on in the most public manner, by caricatures, lampoons, ballads, and popular jests. Westminster was pre-eminently whig; but London, which had formerly been so democratic, had become essentially loyal. The coalition had given the first shock to the popularity of the whigs in the city, and the sympathy for the calamity of the king had produced a wonderful loyalty there.

Both houses adjourned, by successive motions, to the 10th of March; they then met, and were informed by the lord chancellor that, by the blessing of Providence, his majesty being recovered from his severe indisposition, and able to attend to the public affairs of his kingdom, had issued a commission authorising the holding and continuing of parliament; and, the commission having been read, the chancellor declared himself commanded to convey to them his majesty's warmest acknowledgments for the additional proofs they had given of their attachment to his person. He also informed them that he had concluded a treaty of defensive alliance with the king of Prussia. Addresses were then moved, as at the commencement of a session, by both houses, and also addresses of congratulation to her majesty the queen; and the same evening the capital was illuminated, and the most sincere joy was evidenced in the happy event of the royal convalescence. The next day the Spanish and Prussian ambassadors had a private

audience of the king. On the 8th of April Pitt informed the house that his majesty had appointed Thursday, the 23rd of that month, as a day of public thanksgiving for his recovery, and that it was his majesty's intention to go in procession to St. Paul's church on that day to return thanks to Almighty God. The house voted thanks for his majesty's having taken measures for their accommodation on the occasion, and passed a resolution to attend.

On the appointed day the two houses of parliament, the officers of state, the judges, all in their robes of state, the queen, and princes, and princesses, attended the king on this solemn occasion. The streets were crowded with the inhabitants; the lord bishop of London and the dean and canons of St. Paul's received him at the door. His entrance was announced by the sound of martial music from military bands on the outside, and the roar of the organs and the voices of five thousand children of the city charity schools inside singing the hundredth psalm. On walking across the area, under the great dome, the king was greatly affected, and observed to the bishop of London and the dean of St. Paul's, "*I now feel that I have been ill.*" After the singing of the Te Deum, and the firing of the Tower and Park guns, the procession returned to St. James's as it had come.

Having thus brought the circumstances attending the king's illness to a close, we must return to the business of parliament, which, from the time of reading the commission, had begun to resume its more ordinary course.

On the 3rd of January the death of Mr. Cornwall, the speaker, was announced to the house of commons; and on the 5th, the whigs, by Mr. Welbore Ellis, put forward Sir Gilbert Elliot as their candidate for the chair; but Pitt's relative, William Wyndham Grenville, afterwards lord Grenville, was elected by a large majority. On the 18th of March two hundred and eighteen thousand pounds were granted for the extraordinaries of the ordnance. This unusual amount was occasioned by a plan for erecting fresh fortifications in our West Indian Islands. General Burgoyne and others condemned the scheme as useless, alleging that, if a landing were effected anywhere on an island, the threat of laying waste the plantations with fire would cause the capitulation of any part, as it had done in the last war at Brimstone Hill, in St. Kitt's. On the 24th Mr. Beaufoy moved to bring in a bill to establish an everlasting thanksgiving anniversary for the glorious revolution. The leave was granted, and the bill passed, but the lords threw it out on the motion of the bishop of Bangor, Dr. Warren, who showed that the event was expressly commemorated in the Church service. On the 2nd of April Fox renewed his attempts to repeal the shop tax, and now succeeded. Mr. Dempster also succeeded in getting repealed the additional tax and restrictions on hawkers and pedlars.

On the 12th of May, the report of the privy council on the subject of the slave trade was brought up by Mr. Pitt. It was a voluminous one, with ample details of evidence. The lords of council, during the recess, had put forth great and incessant exertions in collecting this evidence. The associated committee had engaged all the persons they could discover to be possessed of influence and information on the subject, in the inquiry. They had established committees all over the country, and had agents travelling into the

great sea ports, and even abroad, to collect facts on the question. On the other hand, those interested in the trade had been equally active. They prepared calculations most alarming of the effects of any interference with the trade on our maritime towns, our West India Islands, and on the general trade and revenues of the country. Petitions in great numbers were sent up to lay before the houses of parliament, from shipowners, manufacturers, proprietors, and mortgagees of estates. Counter petitions from the abolitionists, with statements of the cruelties and demoralising effects of the trade were presented.

The house, on receiving the report, having resolved itself into a committee. Mr. Wilberforce introduced the question in a long, circumstantial, and able speech. He first described the desolating and brutalising effect of this trade in the heart of Africa itself, where it caused the African princes to abandon all other commerce, and to engage in the most savage wars with their neighbours, as well as in the most frightful oppressions of their own subjects, to furnish slaves for the European merchants. He then described the horrors of the middle passage, and the consequent vices and diseases introduced into the plantations; arguing that the stoppage of the trade would lead to the growth of a healthy population in the islands themselves, and prove, eventually, more profitable to the planter. He then produced evidence to show its effect on our mercantile marine, affirming that, so far from its being the nursery, it was the grave of our navy. He proved this by reference to the muster-rolls of vessels. He alluded to the great argument, that, if we abandoned this trade, the French would take it up. Were that the case, he said, the trade was such a curse, so wicked and so impolitic, that we could not wish our worst enemies a worse pursuit. But France, he declared, was too enlightened to take up a trade which England had abandoned as ruinous and scandalous; that M. Necker, when minister, had recorded his abhorrence of the traffic, and the king of France had refused to dissolve a society formed for the abolition, expressing his pleasure that it existed. He concluded by moving twelve resolutions, declaratory of the state of the trade in general, and affirming the propriety of discontinuing it. Pitt proposed that the resolutions should be entered on the journals. They were opposed by lord Penrhyn, Mr. Gascoigne, Sir William Yonge, and others, but warmly supported by Burke and Fox; Burke declaring that the speech of Wilberforce was equal to any effort of modern oratory, perhaps to any of Demosthenes himself.

On the subject being renewed on the 21st, it was opposed by alderman Sawbridge and Mr. Henniker, the latter of whom quoted a letter from the king of Dahomy to George I., in proof that it was not the slave trade which brutalised such savage despots, but, on the contrary, that it was a mercy to bring away their wretched subjects from them. Fox denied that a single satisfactory argument could be advanced in favour of so diabolical, so disgusting, a trade. He applauded Wilberforce for having brought forward the subject, and, referring to the argument regarding France, he reminded the house that events were taking place there in favour of liberty, which must lead the French greatly to sympathise with our proceedings. He said he had often been accused of unnecessary severity of opinion regarding

France, but he trusted that now she was as likely as any nation on the face of the earth to catch a spark from us, and run the race of humanity with us. On the other hand, the representatives of the trade in the house exhibited the most bitter and excited spirit. Mr. Molyneux declared that to annihilate the trade and make no compensation, was an act of swindling. Mr. Macnamara characterised the measure as hypocritical, fanatical, and methodistical. The house sat in committee for several days, hearing evidence, and then adjourned the further consideration of the question till the next session, sir William Dolben's bill for regulating the middle passage being renewed.

Early in May Mr. Beaufoy renewed his attempt to relieve dissenters from the operation of the Test and Corporation Acts, but without success; and on the 18th the earl of Stanhope brought in a bill to relieve the members of the church of England from sundry penalties and disabilities made in the time of Elizabeth and her successor, and for the freedom of religion in general. He noted the enactments against those who did not attend service at the church, and who ate meat on prohibited days; he specified a Law of James I. against the exportation of women; a canon of the church against marrying two wives, or one widow; to the laws against witches, &c. He was severely handled by the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishops of Bangor, St. Asaph, and St. David's, and his bill was rejected without a division. But the earl assured them he would bring in another, and if he could not load away their rubbish by cartfubs, he would endeavour to carry it off in wheelbarrows; if that mode of removal was resisted, he would, if possible, take it away with a spade, a little at a time. He next introduced a bill to relieve the Society of Friends from vexatious prosecutions on account of tithes, but with like want of success. Fortunately, time has made much of the rubbish which the noble earl wished to cart away perfectly innocuous, and subsequent legislation has greatly mitigated the process for the recovery of tithes.

Lord Sydney having resigned his situation as secretary of state, was succeeded by Mr. Grenville, and the speakership thus becoming vacant, Sir Gilbert Elliot was again proposed by Welbore Ellis; but the marquis of Graham proposed Mr. Addington, the son of Chatham's physician, and he was supported and carried by Pitt's party.

On the 10th of June Pitt opened his budget, and congratulated the country on the success of his financial schemes, and especially on that of the sinking fund. He observed, however, that as there had been some extraordinary expenses, the paying of the prince's debts, the debts on the civil list, and the fitting out the armament in the summer of 1787, he proposed to raise a loan of a million, and to lay some additional amount on certain taxes, as those on newspapers and advertisements, on cards, dice, probates and legacies, on horses and carriages. Sheridan declared that the minister's system of finance had been anything but successful. The extraordinary demands for the service of this year were most onerous, being five million seven hundred thousand pounds. The chancellor, whilst calling for fresh taxes in time of peace to meet this demand, was laying on fresh taxes and calling for a new loan. Whilst he was reducing the debt with one hand, he was augmenting it with the

other. On a division, however, the chancellor's requisitions were carried. Sheridan then moved for a committee to inquire into the state of the public income and expenditure, into the progress actually made in the reduction of the national debt since 1786, and into the grounds on which a reduction of the same may be expected in future. He contended that it could be proved that no real reduction could be made, except by an increase of taxation or a decrease of expenditure. He named his committee, but the motion was negatived without a division. A similar motion in the house of lords, by lord Rawdon, seconded by the duke of Richmond, was resisted with equal success.

On the 16th Pitt submitted to the house a plan for removing the duties on tobacco from the customs to the excise. He showed that, on the present system, one-half of the tobacco imported was smuggled. The late regulations, he said, had deprived the illicit dealers of their trade in tea, wine, and spirits, and all their energies were now concentrated on tobacco. The Glasgow merchants were of opinion that not less than eleven million pounds were illegally imported; the London merchants calculated fourteen millions. The value of that legally imported averaged seven millions, so that, by illicit importation of the residue, nearly three hundred and fifty thousand pounds were annually lost to the government. As the wine regulations had passed so easily, it was anticipated that this would do so too; but all the old jealousy of the excise was at once aroused. The press denounced the project rigorously; the walls of the city were covered with placards against it; public meetings were called in haste to deprecate it; and the common hall of the city was decided in its tone. Five aldermen joined Sheridan and Fox in opposing its going into committee; but this motion was carried without a division. Many alterations were proposed in committee, and some effectually. Sir Watkin Lewis proposed a clause for enabling persons aggrieved by the commissioners of excise to bring an action of trespass, in which the condemnation or conviction should not protect the defendant. Other amendments, almost wholly destructive of the bill, were proposed, and Mr. Fox gave these all his influence. He reminded the house of the boasts we made of our liberties, as so far beyond those of other nations; and he regretted that such continual invasions were made upon them. It seemed to him that we were ready to sacrifice everything for revenue, and he recalled to the mind of the house that it was not so formerly. When Sir Robert Walpole was advised to lay on excise instead of customs, he treated the proposal as the height of impolicy. He reminded the house of the evils produced by lord Bute's cider bill. He thought it most dangerous and unconstitutional to send beavies of excisemen to interfere on all occasions with manufactures, and invade the privacy of domestic dwellings. There had, he said, been a distinction drawn between a private gentleman's house and houses where trade was carried on. He saw no difference. We boasted that every Englishman's house was his castle, and a shop was as much a shopkeeper's castle as a gentleman's house was his castle. Unless parliament would do its duty and stem the tide of expenditure, of course taxes must be raised; but there was a wide difference in their mode of collection; and if we meant to preserve our national

character and privileges, we must consult the industry, the manners, and feelings of the people. Standing, as we did, the first country in the world for literature, for science, and for all which could improve and adorn mankind, that the source of these enjoyments should be thus forgotten must mortify every man who admired the freedom of our constitution and the equality of our laws.

The bill, somewhat modified, was passed; but in the lords it met also with considerable opposition, especially from

of the lords and commons, being absorbed by the interest of the king's lunacy and the regency bill. We may now notice these trial incidents consecutively. Early in the year, there was made a most determined attempt, on the part of Hastings and his friends, to get rid of the impeachment altogether, by ruining the credit of the managers, and especially of Burke. On the 3rd of February, Hastings presented a petition to the lords, complaining of the great hardship which the extraordinary length of the trial



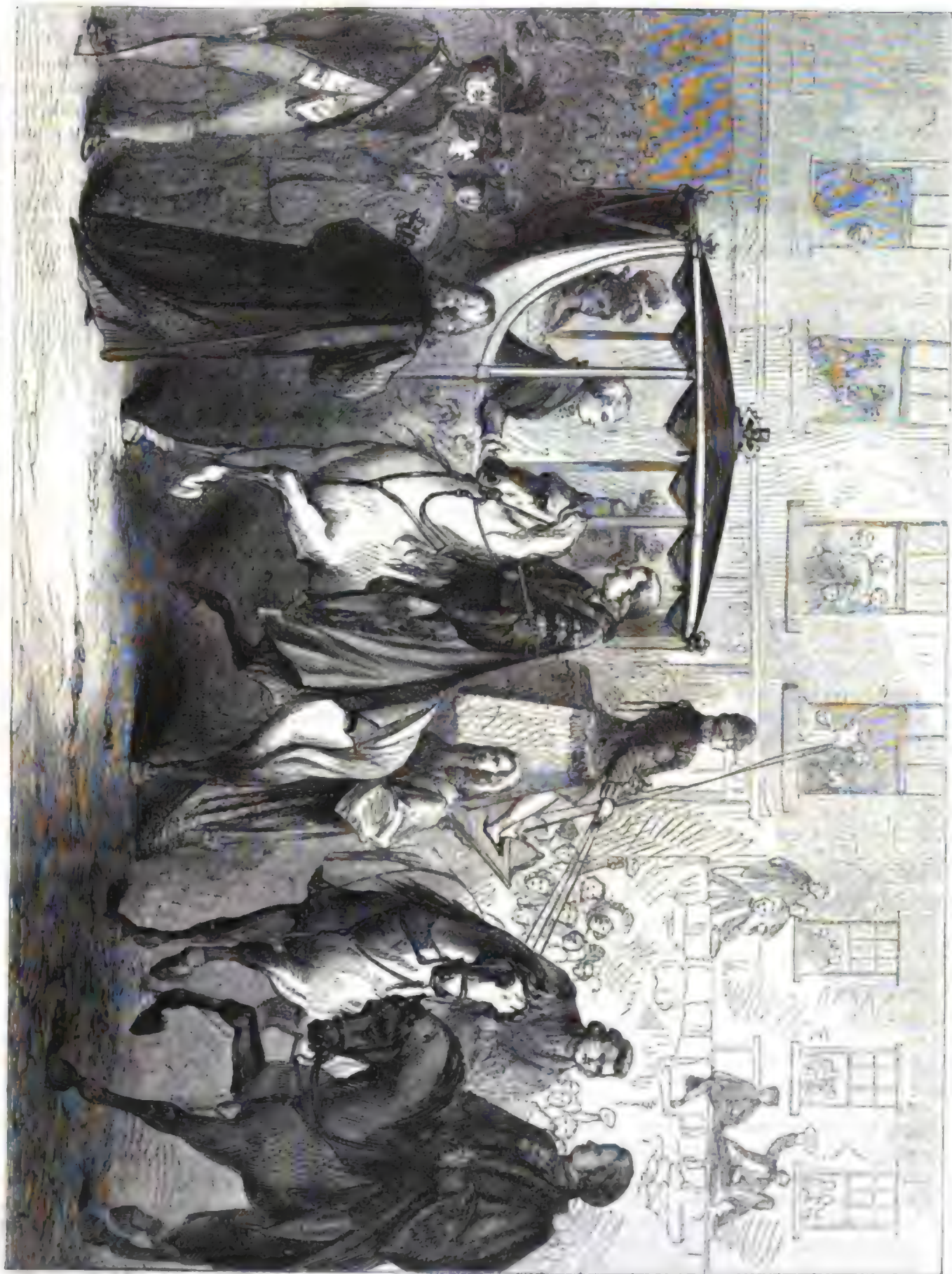
HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE DUKE OF YORK. FROM AN AUTHENTIC PORTRAIT.

lords Loughborough and Stormont and the lord chancellor. Thurlow had seen that his double conduct in the late regency case had given great offence to Pitt and his party, and he now determined to keep no measures with the ministry. He declared that the commons were now sending up to them bills that would disgrace the merest schoolboys; that there was neither sense, consistency, nor grammar in them; and he moved an amendment, which, however, was rejected, as was another by the duke of Richmond, and the bill passed, but only on the very morning of the prorogation.

Whilst the proceedings which we have debated were in course, the trial of Warren Hastings had scarcely advanced, partly in consequence of the managers, and of the whole body

inflicted on him. He stated that already several of his judges were dead, as also were several of his witnesses, and that the detention of others occasioned them the most intolerable inconvenience; that the certain consequences would be, that he should be deprived of his judges best acquainted with the whole proceedings, and of his witnesses by the ordinary accidents and changes of life; that his own health was broken, and his fortune fast disappearing; that already the cost to him had exceeded thirty thousand pounds; that if the trial proceeded at this rate, his fortune must have evaporated before the end of his life, and he should, if still alive, have no means left of defending himself; and he implored their lordships to devise some means of expediting the trial.

HIS MAJESTY KING GEORGE RECEIVING THE CIVIC SWORD FROM THE LORD MAYOR OF LONDON ON HIS WAY TO THE THANKSGIVING AT ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL.



Now, nothing was so obvious as that the very things of which he complained, were the direct result of his own counsel. The managers had done all in their power to have each separate charge completed and decided, before proceeding to another; but his counsel, undoubtedly by his own desire, had opposed and overthrown this arrangement. It was, therefore, absolutely certain that the mischiefs of which he now complained must take place. His judges and his evidence must fall off, in the natural course of things, before any decision could be arrived at, and the decision, when reached, must be proportionably uncertain.

On the 20th of April the trial recommenced, and the next day Burke, entering on the case of Nuncomar, declared that "Hastings had murdered him by the hands of Sir Elijah Impey." The expression was strong; but from the evidence in Burke's hands, notwithstanding the denial by Sir Elijah, and the failure of his impeachment, Burke was apparently fully justified in arriving at that conclusion. What were the facts? The maharajah Nuncomar, who had been appointed to various important offices by Hastings himself, came forward, and accused the governor of acquitting Mahmud Reza Khan, the naib duan of Bengal, and rajah Shitabroy, the naib duan of Behar, of vast embezzlements in their accounts; and he offered to give proof of the receipt, by Hastings, of a bribe of three lacs and a half from the munny begum and rajah Gourdam. What was the answer of Hastings? He refused to enter into the charges, but immediately commenced a prosecution of Nuncomar on a charge of conspiracy, which failing, the maharajah was immediately prosecuted on a charge of forgery, not in the name of Hastings, but of another party, though no one doubted who was the real prosecutor. On this, under the presidency of Impey, as chief judge, Nuncomar was tried, condemned, all appeal to the authorities in England refused, and he was hastily hanged, though the crime, by the laws of his own country, was not capital. Burke had full evidence of all these proceedings in his hands; of the necessity for Hastings getting rid of Nuncomar; and he came to the conclusion, which, he said, nothing could ever tear from his soul, of the guilt of Hastings in the matter.

But his daring expression of this opinion furnished a fine opportunity for an attack on him, and, through him, on the managers.

On the 27th of April, therefore, major Scott presented a petition from Hastings, complaining of these words, and calling for the opinion of the house on them. Scott designated the charge as a cool, deliberate, systematic misrepresentation of the most horrible kind. The managers objected to the receipt of the petition; but Pitt declared that, though Hastings was the object of their prosecution, he did not cease to be the object of their justice, and ought not to be deprived of the opportunity of complaining of a grievance. Now, had Hastings and his counsel allowed the trial to take the course the managers so zealously advocated, he could have had an immediate opportunity of rebutting any such charges, and, further, of disproving them, on the trial itself. But it suited him now to make this a grievance, in order to destroy, if possible, the weight of the managers. Pitt, also, though evidently leaning to the side of the

managers at the commencement, and favouring the trial, had of late been so galled by the managers on the regency question, that he now as evidently was throwing all his momentum into the scale against them. The petition was received without a division; and the subject of it was settled to be debated on the 30th. The lords were requested to suspend proceedings on the trial; and, on that day, Pitt and his supporters threw out a number of doubts, calculated to create delay.

Burke proposed to withdraw, to allow of the free deliberation of the house, but, before doing so, he reiterated the whole case of Nuncomar, and asserted the justice of his conclusions. The next day, also, Mr. Montague, in defending Burke, produced and read a letter from him, defending his words in the hall. He declared himself the authorised accuser of Hastings; but that he had accused him on evidence produced to the secret committee, all of which he bound himself to make good in the course of the trial. As that evidence, however, was given on the faith of the witnesses remaining unknown except to the committee, which they had fully satisfied, he protested against these witnesses being dragged by the agents of the accused into the public eye, in order that they might be exposed to their vengeance. That he was willing to take all the responsibility on himself for the present. The ministerial party, however, would not be satisfied without the short-hand writer, who took down the evidence before the committee, being called to the bar: and he was called. After much debate, the marquis of Graham carried a resolution against Burke, to the effect that much regarding Nuncomar ought not to have been spoken. On the contrary, a resolution, moved by Fox, asserting that the evidence of Nuncomar, not having been taken when it should have been, the charge against Hastings remained in fresh force against him, and that, consequently, the words of Burke were proper and necessary, was rejected.

In consequence of this triumph of Hastings against them in the commons, a meeting of the managers was held, and it was seriously agitated whether the managers should not throw up their charge; but Burke opposed this, as likely to give a still greater triumph—the whole being a stratagem on the part of Hastings' counsel to drive them from their duty as accusers, and thus screen the accused. Accordingly, the next day, Burke appeared in the Hall at Westminster, and made a statement of all that had taken place in the commons; and repeated his firm conviction of the murder of Nuncomar by Hastings; not, perhaps, a murder in the legal sense, but so much so in a moral sense, that the conviction of it would never leave him but with life. A few days afterwards Mr. Marsham moved for the prosecution of a certain newspaper for a shameful libel on Burke; and Burke himself read a paper purporting to be a bill delivered by a newspaper editor to major Scott, Hastings' champion, for lampooning and abusing the managers. One item was stated to be "for attacking the veracity of Mr. Burke, three shillings and sixpence!" which Burke said was small pay for such a service. The motion of Marsham to prosecute the editor, whom he had named, was carried.

The managers demanded that the evidence of Nuncomar, which had been taken by the council in Calcutta, proving the

corruption and the crimes of Hastings, should be admitted by the court; but the lords retired to their own chamber of parliament to consider this point. There were so many retirings and returnings, that lord Stanhope said the judges walked, but the trial stood still. They were, however, finally of opinion that the evidence could not be admitted, the parties themselves not being there to substantiate it, and that, therefore, it was only circumstantial evidence. Burke, on this, exclaimed—"Plunder on, ye Indian delinquents! the laws intended to restrain you are mere scarecrows! Accumulate wealth by any means, however illegal, profligate, or infamous. You are sure of impunity; for the natives of India are, by their religion, debarred from appearing out of

was not given upon oath, this being notoriously contrary to their religion; it being known, an oath was never required from natives. Yet this very evidence had been received by the council as legal; and, what was more, Hastings himself had always contended, during his own government, that such evidence was legal, and had uniformly acted upon it.

This decision, Burke properly said, "held out to future governors of Bengal the most certain and unbounded impunity. Peculation in India would no longer be practised as it used to be, with caution and secrecy—it would in future stalk abroad in noon-day, and act without disguise; because, after such a decision as had been given by their



Chief Tartar.

Moldo-Bulgarian.

Tartar Peasant.

Turk.

Bulgarian.

TYPES OF THE RACES ON THE TURKISH BANK OF THE DANUBE.

(See page 407.)

their own country, and circumstantial evidence will not be received."

Fox, however, insisted that direct personal evidence, taken and accepted by the supreme council in India, was good and sufficient evidence in that court; but the lords again retired to take the opinion of the judges on this point; and, on returning, replied that the judges did not consider that evidence could be received there *which had not been given originally on oath*. On this, Burke appeared to lose all patience. He declared that the ends of justice were thwarted by forms of law; that the criminal was thus effectually screened. When the most distinguished men in India had investigated, proved, and received these charges in evidence; and when the accused now stood before the house of peers impeached by the commons, instead of standing forward as a man conscious of his innocence, and glad of the opportunity to clear his name from such foul taint, every technical obstacle which the ingenuity of his counsel could devise was thrown in the way of evidence. When the testimony of Nuncomar, as taken by the supreme council of Calcutta, was tendered, it was rejected because it

lordships, there was no possibility of bringing into court the proofs of peculation." The managers then desired that Philip Francis should be called in to prove the corruption of Hastings in the transactions with the munny Begum. Francis was no native; he could be examined on oath, and he was perfectly familiar with many of these transactions. But here, again, the counsel of Hastings most clamorously interfered, and the lords decided against the calling of Francis. Defeated again, neither native evidence taken before the Calcutta council, nor the evidence of one of the council itself being admitted, the managers brought forward a letter from the munny Begum, proving the reception of the bribe by Hastings. This was objected to, as being merely a copy, though an attested one. After some delay the original itself was produced, and persons high in office in India at the time came forward to swear to the hand and seal of the Begum. This, it might have been supposed, would be decisive. By no means. The counsel of Hastings had still a resource. They submitted to the lords that the letter could not be admitted as evidence, because it made part of the evidence before the council which had been rejected on

other grounds; and the lords, again adjourning to their own chamber to consult, on their return announced to the court that the said letter could not be read!

Such was the manner in which these and the other charges against this great delinquent were met. Every piece of decisive evidence against him was resisted by every possible means; so that had he been the most innocent man alive, the only conviction which could remain in the mind of those who witnessed these things must have been that of his guilt. He had neither acted like an innocent, high-minded man to whom the imputation of guilt is intolerable, while in India, nor were his counsel now instructed to do so. Evidence on every charge gone into, of the most conclusive nature, was offered and rejected, and, spite of all the endeavours to clear the memory of Warren Hastings of cruelty and oppression, the very conduct of himself and his counsel on his trial must stamp the accusing verdict indelibly on his name.

Well might Burke exclaim that all attempt to prove the guilt of the accused on such a system was vain; that they were destroying all the endeavours of the managers by naked technicalities. But it was now clear that both the ministry and the lords were determined to prevent the full exposure of the case. Burke demanded to know on what opinions their lordships' decision was grounded; but he only received the most unscrupulous insult and abuse from Law afterwards lord Ellenborough, who affirmed that, to produce accusations against any man incapable of proof, was to be guilty of a slander and a calumny; and this in the face of the most decisive evidence being refused. Law threw in the face of the managers the recent resolutions of the commons. At this, Fox, in great indignation, said, it was indecent and highly irregular in an advocate to allude to what had taken place within the walls of the house of commons; but the learned counsel had done worse—he had misrepresented that to which he pretended to allude. He had charged the whole body of the commons with sending up slanders in the shape of charges, and had pronounced the deputies of the commons calumniators, merely because they offered in evidence those very documents on the authority of which the commons had pronounced the charges to be well founded, and sent them, as articles of impeachment, to the lords. On this head, Fox insisted that the counsel ought not to pass without due censure, and the lords were, in this instance, compelled to notice the indecency, and to reprimand Law by the mouth of Thurlow.

But this did not remove the resolute resistance to evidence. The same objections were raised by the counsel on every item of it brought forward. The lords again consulted, and the trial was delayed seven days. No sooner did they give their opinion on that point, than another was raised, and this occasioned a further delay of six days; and, on this plea of perpetual delay, Hastings now complained, through his counsel, that, if the trial went on at this rate, his remaining life would not be long enough to end it; that, could he have foreseen the length to which this interminable process would run, he would rather have pleaded guilty at once than have encountered it: that, as little more could be done this session, he prayed that some specific time might be named for concluding this charge, which he under-

stood was to be the last, and that he would rather waive all defence than have it postponed for another year. When it has been seen that the delays of which he complained had been most diligently and pertinaciously evoked by his own counsel, this impudent plea shows that his counsel trusted to defeat the whole process by these acts. But the court could not thus rid itself of the question, and it adjourned to the first Tuesday in the next session of parliament. Nothing, however, was more evident than that the inquiry had now become distasteful to the government; the public had long lost its interest in it, and the managers must have seen too plainly that they would not be allowed to convict a man who, with all his crimes, had so greatly extended the empire, and opened up vast fields for similar adventurers.

On the 11th of August the king prorogued parliament by commission, having himself gone to Weymouth for the benefit of his health. The lord chancellor, in the closing speech, congratulated the country on the continuance and prospect of peace; the prospect, however, being anything but peaceful, as we shall see. But, before taking a review of European affairs, we may note one or two incidents which had taken place during the present session, though not strictly connected with the narrative of it. The king had not, on recovering his sanity, perused, or been informed of, the conduct of the prince of Wales and his friends, during his malady, without great resentment. Pitt, in fact, had made political capital out of the affairs of the regency, by seeming to defend the rights of the unhappy monarch in his state of incapacity, while he really was only endeavouring to prevent his opponents profiting by it. The nation, ever ready to sympathise with the suffering party, were soon taught to regard Pitt as the champion of royalty in distress: and he gained much strength in public opinion from this. The prince and his friends were naturally represented in no favourable light by the ministerial party to the king, and while at Weymouth he wrote a letter to the duke of Clarence, commenting severely on the prince of Wales and the duke of York. The prince employed Sheridan to write for him a very able and judicious letter, which the prince copied and dispatched; and this had the good effect of leading to a reconciliation some months afterwards, at least in appearance.

During the heat of the controversy regarding the regency the duke of York had a very narrow escape for his life. Having charged lieutenant-colonel Lennox, the nephew and heir of the duke of Richmond, with submitting tamely to an insult at a military club, Lennox challenged him, and was so near shooting him in the duel at Wimbledon that he cut off a lock of his hair with the bullet!

A few months before George III. suffered his melancholy loss of reason, died at Rome Charles Edward the second, commonly called the Young Pretender. He was, however, no longer young, but sixty-eight years of age, bloated and diseased with excessive drinking; in fact, he had lost all title to that admiration which he had excited in his youth. With the fall of his fortunes fell his self-respect, and he became drunken and brutal. When he was fifty-two he had married a beautiful, amiable, and accomplished young German lady, Louisa Stolberg, of a noble but not royal

family. His conduct to her was disgraceful. She obtained a legal separation from him, and formed an attachment to Alfieri, the celebrated Italian poet. Though the life of Alfieri had been wild and dissipated, he was deeply attached to the countess of Albany, as the lady was called. They are said to have been privately married. The union had the happiest effect on the character and genius of the poet, whom she survived—living at Florence till the peace of 1815. The pretender was buried with great state, and the title and arms of the king of England were carved on his tomb. His brother Henry Benedict, the cardinal York, succeeded to the empty title by the style of Henry IX. of England. He died in 1807, and with him ended the direct male line of the deposed Stuarts.

Whilst the war of parties had been raging in England, matters abroad had been rapidly assuming a shape which threatened the tranquillity of all Europe. In France the elements of revolution had been fermenting, and had already burst into open fury, and with a character which, to observant eyes, appeared to bode inevitably their spread into every surrounding country. At the same time, the sovereigns of these countries, instead of discerning the signs of the times, and taking measures to guard their people from the contagious influence, were some of them acting so as certainly to invite the specious anarchy. In others, they were wasting their strength on schemes of conquest which only too much enfeebled them for opposition to the dangers thus preparing. Some of these warlike movements appear, at first sight, to have little connection with the history of England, but, more or less, they all are necessary to our comprehension of our own position in the time of those marvellous subversions which were at hand.

Least of all did the ambitious designs of the empress Catherine against Turkey seem menacing to us; yet these designs speedily drew into their current the whole power of Austria, and endangered our relations in the countries on the Baltic, and attracted the revolutionary torrent over the fertile plains of the Netherlands, directly opposite to our own shores, and menacing the stability of our allies, the Dutch. Catherine had found the Turks, feeble but tottering as she considered their empire, not so easily to be overcome as she imagined. The absorption of the Ottoman kingdom and the establishment of the Muscovite throne at Constantinople had been her confident dream—as it was that of the czar Nicholas in our day. But the Turks, though in a condition of decline and disorganisation which promised an easy subjugation of them, had still their spirit of fanatic fatalism, which could raise them to deeds of impetuous valour. The whole organisation and regulations of their army were in the worst condition. The janissaries, which had been amongst the finest infantry in the world, were now thoroughly demoralised and in insolent insubordination towards their own government. Their cavalry was numerous, but wretchedly disciplined. The commissariat was in the worst state conceivable, and their artillery, though it had received the energetic attentions of the French baron De Toff, was contemptible. It might have appeared that nothing was necessary but to enter Turkey and drive the whole army, as a disorganised rabble, before them. But Catherine had not found it so. Her favourite,

Potemkin, had been repeatedly defeated in his attempts to advance into Turkey from the Crimea, and Catherine had, as we have already related, been glad to engage Joseph II. of Austria in the enterprise by a promise of an ample share of the spoil. In their meeting at Cherson in 1787, Joseph had engaged to send one hundred thousand men to the campaign against Turkey. He had no quarrel with the sultan, and though a zealous advocate for national reforms, he paid very little regard to national or international justice. In all his reforms, Joseph, with true Austrian spirit, showed the despot still. He did not attempt to carry such reforms as his subjects desired, but such as he thought proper for them; and he was always ready to do what he deemed liberalism and improvement upon them at the point of the bayonet. In attacking Turkey, he did not wait to proclaim war, much less to have a pretence for it, but he suddenly made a rush upon the neighbouring city and frontier fortress of Belgrade. The Turks, though taken by surprise, defended the place victoriously; and Joseph's subsequent assault on the fortress of Gradiaka was equally unsuccessful and equally disgraceful.

In prosecution, however, of his unrighteous engagement to Catherine, he mustered the large army he had engaged to bring against Turkey, and in February, 1788, he made a formal proclamation of war, having no cause of hostility to assign of his own, but merely that his alliance with Russia demanded that he should support that power in its equally lawless invasion of Turkey. The prince of Saxo-Coburg, who commanded one division of Joseph's army, entered Moldavia, and spent the whole campaign nearly in the siege and reduction of the fortress of Choczim. The emperor himself accompanied another division, the destination of which was the renewal of the siege of Belgrade. He had been led by Catherine to hope, as his reward for the co-operation, the recovery of Bosnia and Servia, the acquisition of Moldavia and Wallachia, and the extension of his boundaries to the Dnieper. But, having waited some time for the junction of the Russians—for the Russians were themselves more warmly occupied than they had anticipated, and they pursued the policy which they have constantly acted upon, of securing their ground as they advanced, and so gradually but surely pushing their progress from the head of the Black Sea onwards, slowly but certainly extending their operations eastward—Joseph's army assembled on the banks of the Danube in February, and occupied itself in securing the banks of that river and of the Save. Joseph himself joined it in April, accompanied by his favourite marshal and counsellor, Lacy, and having also with him, but paying little attention to him or his advice, the brave and able Laudohn, who had so successfully coped with Frederick of Prussia in Silesia. On the 24th, he took the little fortress of Szabatch, whilst another part of his army suffered a defeat from the Turks at Dobitza. He then sat down before Belgrade, but carried on the siege with such slackness as to disgust his own troops and astonish all Europe. He was at length roused by the advance of the vizier, Yussuff, who was coming rapidly down upon him. At his approach, Joseph precipitately retreated behind the Save, while Yussuff threw bridges over the Danube at Cladova, broke the Austrian column by the defeat of a portion of the forces

of general Wartesleben on the heights of Meadia, and swept through the banat of Temeswar, Joseph's own territory, which he held, and threatened to invade Hungary. Joseph hastened with forty thousand men to support Wartesleben, leaving general Laudohn to conduct the war in Croatia. The army was delighted to have Laudohn at their head instead of the emperor. He led it on the very day of his arrival against the fortress of Dobitza, which he took; he then passed the Save, drove the Turks before him, defeated seven thousand of the enemy before Novi, and took

bottomed boats, in the shallows, or, as they are called, the *liman*, at the mouth of the river; but besides Potemkin, they had the able Suvaroff to contend with. This sagacious general drew the Russian flotilla under the forts of Kinburn, nearly opposite to Oczakoff, of which they were in possession. Thus safe himself, he swept the broad liman with his guns, destroyed many of the boats of the Turks, as they got entangled in the sands of the shallows, and compelled the capitan-pasha, who commanded, to withdraw his fleet. After several vain attempts, Oczakoff was stormed on St.



IALTA, ON THE BLACK SEA.

that place, where his operations were suspended by the winter. Joseph gained little credit by his junction with Wartesleben. The Turks attacked him, and, though they were for the moment repulsed, the emperor retreated in a dark night, and the Turks and Austrians resumed their former positions. After taking Verplanka, the campaign terminated with a three months' truce. But the Austrian army had suffered more severely from the miasmata of the marshes of the Danube and Save than from the Turks. Joseph had been persuaded by his physicians that vinegar would be a much more efficacious resistant of the marsh fever than their usual rations of wine. He had stopped the wine and ordered the vinegar, and the consequence was that the soldiers died off as by a pestilence.

Meantime, the Russians had been occupied with the siege of Oczakoff, near the mouth of the Dnieper. There the Turks had endeavoured to burn their flotillas and flat-

Nicholas-day, the 17th of November. But this success was only obtained at the last moment, in the very desperation of despair, and when the campaign had cost Russia twenty thousand men, of whom five thousand perished in the final assault.

But the czarina, though mistress of Oczakoff, was far from the end of her designs. She contemplated nothing but the subjugation of the Turkish empire. For this purpose she determined to excite insurrection in all the tributary states of that empire. Her agents had excited the Montenegrins to an outbreak; they had prepared the Greeks for the same experiment, and the Mameluke beys in Egypt. She determined to send a powerful fleet into the Mediterranean to co-operate with these insurgents, to seize on the island of Candia, to ravage the coasts of Thrace and Asia Minor, and to force the passage of the Dardanelles, or, if that were not practicable, to blockade them. Thus open-



ENCAMPMENT OF KALMUCKS ON THE BANKS OF THE DANUBE.

ing the communication betwixt her forces in the Mediterranean and in the Black Sea, she considered that Turkey would lie helpless at her feet. To give the necessary ascendancy to her fleet, she had long been encouraging English naval officers to take commands in it. At the famous battle of Chesmó, it was the English admirals Elphinstone, Greig, and others who had made Potemkin victorious. Greig was now at the head of her fleet preparing at Cronstadt for this Mediterranean enterprise. Catherine had also invited the famous pirate, Paul Jones, to her service; but on his arrival all the English officers at once sent in their commissions. To avoid the loss of these most important men, Catherine sent Jones to the Black Sea, where he was at the siege of Oczakoff. The English officers then resumed their services, and Catherine sent out agents secretly to engage English seamen for this grand fleet. She had also engaged eighteen British ships of four hundred tons and upwards as transports of troops, artillery, and stores.

If Pitt at this moment had possessed the far-seeing genius of his father Chatham, it was in his power, as the ally of Turkey, to have stepped in and given a blow to the ambitious designs of Russia which would have saved the country a far more arduous and costly effort for that purpose in our time. Russia had spared no pains to insult England, especially since the unfortunate contest on account of America. It was certain that if she once obtained Turkey she would become a most troublesome power in the Mediterranean; and it now required only the dispatch of a tolerable fleet to the Baltic, and of another to the Black Sea, to annihilate in a few days every vestige of her maritime force. Such a check would have caused her to recoil from her eastern aggressions for the purpose of defending her very existence at home. Holland was bound to us by the re-establishment of the prince of Orange, our fast friend; we were at peace with Prussia; France was engrossed inextricably with her own affairs; Denmark was in terror of us; and Sweden longed for nothing so much as to take vengeance for Russian insults and invasions. Catherine's fleets destroyed, Sweden would have full opportunity to ravage her coasts, and to seek the recovery of her Finnish dominions.

But Pitt contented himself with half measures. Instead of destroying the Russian fleet in the Baltic, or of attacking it in the Mediterranean, the moment it commenced its operations on the Turkish dependencies, and then clearing the Black Sea of their ships, he contented himself with issuing a proclamation in the London Gazette, forbidding English seamen to enter any foreign service, and commanding the owners of the vessels engaged by Russia to renounce their contracts. Thus the fleet before Oczakoff was left to operate against the Turks, and the fleet in the Baltic was detained there. This was, in fact, the preservation of the Russian power, and the establishment of it on such a footing as has proved most disastrous to modern Europe, and which still menaces it with a formidable future. But for this, it is probable that the eastward march of Russia would have been arrested for ever at this moment.

To insure a powerful diversion, the sultan had engaged the military co-operation of Sweden. Sweden had been forcibly

deprived of Finland by Peter, called the Great, and she longed to recover it. She had a brave army, but no money. The grand Turk, to enable her to commence the enterprise, had sent her a present of money, amounting to about four hundred thousand pounds sterling. Sweden put her fleet in preparation in all haste, and had Pitt merely allowed the Russian fleet to quit the Baltic, there was nothing to prevent the execution of the Swedish design on Finland, nor, indeed, of marching direct on Petersburg in the absence of the army.

But the English measures detained the Russian fleet in the Baltic with Greig at its head, and Russia was saved from her due chastisement. The king of Sweden, indeed, landed an army of thirty-five thousand men in Finland; and his brother, the duke of Sudermania, appeared in the Baltic at the head of a strong fleet. Nothing could have prevented Gustavus from marching directly upon the Russian capital, and Petersburg was consequently thrown into the wildest alarm. But Gustavus was only bent on recovering the provinces which Russia had reft from Sweden. He advanced successfully for some time, the Russians everywhere flying before him; but Russian guile and Russian intrigue soon altered all this. Catherine ordered her fleet, which was in the gulf of Finland, with Greig at its head, to bear down on the Swedish fleet, and, at the same time, emissaries were sent amongst the officers of Gustavus's army with plenty of gold, and letters were sent to the states of Sweden, calling on them to disavow the proceedings of the king. Before Gustavus had quitted Sweden with his army, her minister, passing over the king himself, had made similar communications to Gustavus's proud and disaffected nobles, and Gustavus had ordered him out of the country. The Russian and Swedish fleets now came to an engagement in the straits of Kalkbadén. The battle was desperate; the Swedes fought with their accustomed valour; and the Russians, under the management of Greig and the English officers, showed that they were apt scholars. The two fleets separated, after doing each other great mischief, each claiming the victory. Catherine immediately rewarded Greig with a letter of thanks, written by her own hand, and with the more substantial present of a large sum of money, and a good estate in Livonia. But the partial success of Russia by sea had the effect of encouraging the corrupted officers of Gustavus to refuse to proceed further in Finland. He was about to commence the siege of the important city of Fredericksham; but the officers laid down their arms, on the plea, put into their mouths by Russia, that the war was not undertaken by the consent of the states.

Gustavus seized and sent the chief mutineers under arrest to Stockholm; but he found those who remained equally infected. In fact, the whole of the Swedish aristocracy had long aimed at usurping the entire powers of the state, and of dictating to the king. Whilst thus suddenly disabled, the men themselves, in a great measure, assuming the language of their officers, Gustavus found that Sweden itself was menaced with an invasion of the Danes from the side of Norway, at the instigation of Russia. It was necessary to hurry home, leaving the portion of the army in Finland, which remained subordinate, under the command of

brother, the duke of Orthogothia. On arriving, Gustavus issued an earnest proclamation to his people to follow him to the defence of their country. But, to lose no time, he hastened on to Dalecarlia, the brave inhabitants of which had first placed his great ancestor, Gustavus Vasa, on the throne. They speedily mustered to his aid, and he led them directly against the Danes, who, under the prince of Hesse, were already in possession of Stronstad and Uddewalla, and in full march on Gothenborg, the chief commercial town of Sweden.

His arrival gave great joy and confidence to the people of Gothenborg; and at this moment, seeing the consequence of their too easy conduct, the English government sent a

invaded by the Danes through this encouragement. Made certain of their support, he then summoned a diet, which met on the 26th of January, 1789.

In this diet Gustavus freely complained of the conduct of the nobles, and they as freely, and more insolently, complained of his acting without authority of the states—declaring that his bringing down the Dalecarlians was done to overawe them, and that the appointment of count Lowenhaupt as president of the diet was intended to overawe the diet, as he was the king's sworn friend. The language of the nobles was unbearably insulting; and Gustavus fiercely retorted on them that they were traitors to their king and country—that they made themselves the tools of Russia,



QUAY OF ST. PETERSBURG.

pereaporty demand to Copenhagen through Mr. Elliot, the British ambassador there, that Denmark should desist from this invasion of Sweden, the ally of England, or, in default of this, that a powerful English fleet should be dispatched to the Baltic. The Danes evacuated Sweden, again retiring into Norway, but Gustavus was left to continue his contest with Russia. His broken army, under his brother in Finland, took up their winter quarters at the strong seaport of Sveaborg; and he himself prepared to make some decisive movement against his haughty and refractory nobles. Besides the order of nobility, three other orders sate in the general assembly of the states; and Gustavus, confident of their affection to him, determined to throw himself upon them for protection against the nobles. He therefore, in the first place, sent for the chief magistrates, clergy, and citizens, and laid before them forcibly his position. He showed them how the recovery of the ancient Swedish provinces on the other side of the Baltic had been prevented by the defection of the aristocracy, and how the country had been

and if Russia were not now encamped with her armies in and around Stockholm, it was owing only to resolute resistance to their proceedings. The nobles rose in a body and quitted the assembly; but Gustavus continued his speech to the three remaining orders. He declared it necessary, for the salvation of the country, for him to assume almost despotic powers, and he called on the three estates to support him in punishing the traitorous nobles, promising to secure the liberties of the country as soon as this was accomplished. Not only the three orders, but the public at large zealously supported him. Stockholm was in a state of high excitement. Gustavus surrounded the houses of the chief nobility with his brave Dalecarlians; secured twenty-five of the principal nobles, including the counts Brabé, Fersen, Horne, and others, who were consigned to the castle. He had already sent and arrested nine of the leaders of the insurrection in the army in Finland, and these officers were now also confined in the castle; others had escaped and fled to their great patroness in Petersburg. To

intimidate the king, nearly all the officers of the army, the fleet, and the civil department, threw up their commissions and appointments, believing that they should thus completely paralyse his proceedings. But Gustavus remained undaunted. He filled up the vacancies, as well as he could, from the other orders of the state; he brought the nobles and officers to trial, and numbers of them were condemned to capital punishment, for treason and abandonment of their sworn duties. Had Gustavus been a bloody-minded sovereign, Stockholm would have been deluged with blood. Some few examples were made: the rest, after a short confinement, were liberated, and they hastened to their estates in the country. Not a noble or a noble lady would appear at court, and, if Sweden had depended on so-called noble blood for its management, it must have been lost. But it was found there, as everywhere else, that rank confers no monopoly of talent. The three other orders warmly supported Gustavus, and he remodelled the diet, excluding from it almost all the most powerful nobles, and giving greater preponderance to the other three orders. In return for this, these orders sanctioned an act called the Act of Safety, which conferred on the king the same power which is attached to the English crown, namely, that of making peace or war. They granted him liberal supplies, and he quickly raised an army of fifty thousand men. As he considered the reduction of the restless and lawless power of Russia was equally essential to England, Holland, and Prussia, as to Sweden, he called on those powers to second his efforts. Had this been done, the blood of thousands, the expenditure of millions sterling at Sebastopol to-day would have been spared. But Pitt adhered to his blind half-measures. He would do nothing more than guarantee the neutrality of Denmark: and even this guarantee he permitted to become nugatory, by allowing the Danish fleet to give protection to the Russian fleet in the Baltic. A second Russian squadron, commanded by Dessenin, a French admiral, descended from Archangel, entered the Baltic, menaced Copenhagen, and, by the aid of the Danish ships, was enabled to join the other Russian fleet at Cronstadt.

The Swedes cursed the less than half assistance of their English allies, and Gustavus endeavoured to fight his way without them. He continued to win victory after victory on land; but Catherine soon brought down on his squadron of galleys, which attended his march along the coast to keep up his supplies, an overwhelming fleet of galleys of her own. A desperate battle ensued, but the Swedish galley-fleet was, at length, overcome. Gustavus was thus greatly embarrassed, and compelled to stand merely on the defensive, till time to go into winter quarters.

Gustavus continued for twelve months to do stout battle with Russia, and, though with very insufficient forces, threatened the very capital of that country. A little support by England, Prussia, and Holland, would have enabled Sweden to regain its territories on the eastern shores of the Baltic, to curb the power of Russia, and to assume that station in the north which is essentially necessary to the peace of Europe. These countries, however, had not the statesmanship to see this, or the good feeling to effect it, and we must leave Gustavus to struggle on alone whilst we trace other events.

The emperor Joseph of Austria had returned from the

campaign of 1788 against Turkey greatly chagrined, and with fast-failing health. Had he been wise, he would have accepted the overtures for peace made to him by the sultan, and have spent the few remaining days of his existence in tranquillity. But his ambitious and persuasive ally, Catherine, prevailed upon him to make another effort. He mustered fresh troops. A hundred and fifty thousand men were marched against the Turkish frontier, early in the year of 1789, in different divisions. The chief command was confided to marshal Haddick, a very old man, with the witty prince de Ligne as second under him. The duke of Saxe-Coburg, the prince of Hohenlohe, and marshal Laudohn, also now very old, took each their separate directions. It was a circumstance very much in their favour that the able sultan, Abdul Hamet, died suddenly in April, and was succeeded by his nephew, Selim, a young, rash, and unprincipled man. The acts of Selim, in murdering and dismissing his father's best ministers and commanders, and the unruly condition of the janissaries, rendered Turkey especially open to the attacks of its enemies. Marshal Laudohn, supporting his earlier fame, took the fortress of Gradiska, and stormed Belgrade. But this was not accomplished till the 8th of October, and an attempt was then made to reduce Orsova, but this failed. Coburg and Suvaroff having joined, won a great victory over the new vizier, Martinitz, in Wallachia, on the 22nd of September, and the remains of the Turkish army retired to the pass of Shumla, on the Balkan mountains. Potemkin, on his part, had greatly increased his forces after the reduction of Oczakoff, and after a desperate resistance took Bender, famous for the abode of Charles XII., of Sweden, after the battle of Pultawa. Before winter, the Russians had made a decided progress in their inroads into the Turkish dominions on the Red Sea. They had gained possession of Bialogrod, or Ackermann, at the mouth of the Dniester; of Kegli Nova, on the northern banks of the Danube, and of other places on the Black Sea. They had also extended their frontier to the left bank of the Danube, and they had actually reduced every important place between the Bug and Dniester and that river. Had Catherine had a sufficient fleet in the Black Sea, Constantinople might have trembled for its safety.

But Catherine's ally, Joseph, was fast sinking, and his mortal sun was going down amid storm clouds, all collected by his reckless disregard to the rights of his subjects, great reformer as he desired to be. He had wantonly invaded the ancient constitution of Hungary, just as his successors of our time have done; and the high-spirited and martial Hungarians had expressed their determination not to submit to it. They insisted that he should restore the regalia of their ancient kingdom, which he had carried off from Buda, the old capital, and where the Austrian emperors, as *kings* of Hungary, were always expected to be crowned, and to take the oath to observe the constitution. The Turks, already in possession of the Banat of Temeswar, invited their alliance, offering to assist them in driving out the Austrians, and establishing their independence. Joseph, alarmed at this prospect, made haste to avert the danger by conceding the restoration of the Hungarian constitution, and of the regalia: and the generous Hungarians were at once appeased.

But far different was the issue of the troubles with his

Flemish subjects, which, with an unaccountable folly and absence of good faith, he had again excited, though he had appeared to concede the question of the rights of the university of Louvaine, and the privileges of the Netherlands in general. He recalled count Murray as too lenient, and sent into the Netherlands count Trautmansdorff as governor, and general Dalton, a hot and brutal Irishman, as commander. He ordered the professors of theology at Louvaine to give way to the emperor's reforms, and, as they refused, Dalton turned them out by force, shut up the colleges, and Joseph sent back again the German professors, who had been before recalled, to appease the popular indignation. But the colleges remained empty; not a student would attend the classes of the Germans. As the volunteer corps had disbanded themselves, in reliance on the emperor's wish, Trautmansdorff calculated on an easy compulsion of the people, and he called on the grand council at Brussels to enforce the decrees of the emperor. The council paid no regard to the order.

The people having collected in great crowds in the neighbourhood of the council-house, Dalton ordered out a company of soldiers, under a young ensign, to patrol the streets, and overawe any attempts at demonstrations in support of the council. The young ensign, having a stone flung at him, without further ceremony ordered his men to fire into the crowd, and six persons were killed, and numbers of others wounded. No sooner did Joseph hear of this rash and cruel act, than he wrote highly approving of it, and promoting the ensign. The people, greatly enraged, rose in the different towns, and were attacked by the imperial troops, and blood was shed in various places. With his usual disregard to consequences, Joseph was at this moment endeavouring to raise a loan in the Netherlands, to enable him to carry on the war against Turkey. But this conduct completely quashed all hope of it; not a man of capital would advance a stiver. Trautmansdorff continued to threaten the people, and Dalton was ready to execute his most harsh orders. It was determined to break up the university of Antwerp as that of Louvaine had been broken up; and on the 4th of August, 1788, troops were drawn up, and cannon planted in the public square, to keep down the populace, whilst the professors were turned into the streets, and the college doors locked. Here there occurred an attack on the unarmed people, as wanton as that which took place at Brussels, and no less than thirty or forty persons were killed on the spot, and great numbers wounded. This massacre of Antwerp, as it was called, roused the indignation of the whole Netherlands, and was heard with horror by all Europe. The monks and professors who had been turned out became objects of sympathy, even to those who regarded with wonder and contempt their bigotry and superstition. But Joseph, engaged in his miserable and disgraceful war against the Turks, sent to Dalton his warmest approval of what he called these vigorous measures. He appeared as forgetful of the past history of these Netherlanders as he was unmindful of what was passing in France, where the masses were up in the wildest revolution, and scores of enthusiastic apostles of the few principles of liberty, fraternity, and equality, were flying about in all directions, and spreading a ferment that threatened destruction to all the ancient conditions of things.

These propagandists most gladly observed the state of affairs in the Netherlands, and spread themselves through its cities, preaching up equality of human rights, but keeping a prudent silence about the principles of atheism and materialism, which formed an essential part of their philosophy.

Joseph, in the face of these things, passed an edict sequestrating all the abbeys in Brabant. The states of Brabant therefore refused the voting of any subsidies, and Joseph, irritated to deeper blindness, determined to abolish the great charter entitled the *Joyeuse Entrée*, so called because granted on the entry of Philip the Good into Brussels, and on which nearly all their privileges rested. To compel them to vote a permanent subsidy, the military surrounded the states of Hainault, forcibly dissolved their sitting, and then calling an extraordinary meeting of the states of Brabant, Trautmansdorff ordered them to pass an act sanctioning such a subsidy. But the deputies remained firm, and thereupon the *Joyeuse Entrée* was annulled by proclamation, and the house of assembly dissolved. Joseph vowed that he would extinguish the rebellion in blood, and reduce the Netherlands to the same despotism which ruled all his other states, except Hungary and the Tyrol.

Trautmansdorff declared that, if necessary, forty thousand troops should be marched into the country; but this was an empty boast, for Joseph had so completely engaged his army against Turkey, that he could only send a thousand men into the Netherlands. On the contrary, the French revolutionists offered the oppressed Netherlands speedy aid, and the duke d'Arenberg, the archbishop of Malines, and other nobles and dignitaries of the church, met at Breda, on the 14th of September, and proclaimed themselves the legitimate assembly of the states of Brabant. They sent the plainest remonstrances to the emperor, declaring that unless he immediately repealed his arbitrary edicts, and restored their great charter, they would assert their rights by the sword. In proof of these being no empty vaunts, the militia and volunteers again flew to arms. Scarcely a month had passed after the repeal of the *Joyeuse Entrée* before a number of collisions had taken place betwixt these citizen soldiers and the imperial troops. In Tirlemont, Louvaine, Antwerp, and Mons, blood was shed; at Diest, the patriots, led on by the monks, drove out the troops and the magistrates. Dalton and Trautmansdorff, instead of fulfilling their menace, appeared paralysed.

Numbers of persons fled from the different towns to the frontiers of Holland; trade became stagnant, manufactories stood empty; the whole country began to assume a melancholy and ruinous aspect. Many of the refugees formed into revolutionary clubs by French emissaries, were prepared not merely to oppose Joseph's despotism, but all monarchical government whatever. A powerful body of these placed themselves under the leadership of Vander Noot, a lawyer, who assumed the title of plenipotentiary agent of the people of Brabant; and of Vander Mersch, an officer who had served in the seven years' war, who was made their commander-in-chief. These two men were in league with the new assembly of Breda, and issued their proclamations. These Trautmansdorff caused to be burnt by the executioner. The patriots in Brussels who sympathised with those in arms were, many of them, arrested; the citizens

were disarmed, the fortifications strengthened by palisades, and every means of defence resorted to.

But in October the patriots of Breda surprised the forts of Lillo and Liefenskoek, on the Scheldt. Dalton dispatched general Schröder with a strong force, who retook the forts; but on Schröder's venturing to enter Turnhout, after the insurgents, a body of three thousand of them, under Vander Mersch, armed with pitchforks, bludgeons, and staves, attacked and drove him out. General Bender, who had been dispatched against the insur-

tyranny and injustice; they proclaimed their entire independence, and ordered a levy of twenty thousand men.

Trautmansdorff now hastened to conciliate in earnest. He issued two-and-twenty separate proclamations, made all kinds of fair promises, restored the arms of the citizens, and liberated the imprisoned patriots. But it was too late. The insurgents, under Vander Mersch, were fast advancing towards Brussels, and Dalton marched out to meet them; but he was confounded by the appearance of their numbers, and entered into an armistice of ten



A VIEW ON THE BLACK SEA.

gents at Tirlemont, was driven out in the same manner. General Arberg was compelled to retreat behind the Scheldt, and the people were victorious in Louvaine, Ghent, Bruges, Ostend, and most towns of the district. Both Joseph and his governor and commander in the Netherlands now fell into the utmost alarm. The news which Marie Antoinette sent from Paris to her imperial brother, only rendered this consternation the greater. Joseph, with that sudden revolution which he had manifested on other occasions, after equally astonishing rashness, now issued a conciliatory proclamation, offering to redress all grievances on the condition of their laying down their arms. But the Netherlands were not likely to trust any such promises of Joseph after former experience. On the 20th of November the states of Flanders assumed the title of the High and Mighty States; they declared the emperor to have forfeited the crown by

days. But this did not stop the progress of insurrection in Brussels. There the people rose, and resolved to open the gates to their compatriots without. The women and children tore up the palisades, and leveled the entrenchments. The population assumed the national cockade, and the streets resounded with the cries of "Long live the patriots!" "Long live Vander Noot!" Dalton retreated into Brussels, but found no security there. The soldiers began to desert. The people attacked those who stood to their colours, and Dalton was glad to secure his retreat by a capitulation. In a few days, the insurgents from Breda entered, Trautmansdorff having withdrawn at their approach, and the new federal union of the Netherlands was completely established. The state of Luxemburg was the only one yet remaining to Joseph, and thither Dalton retired with his forces, five thousand in number.



THE FORTRESS OF OCZAKOW CAPTURED BY THE RUSSIANS.

But Joseph did not live to see the full extent of the alienation of the Netherlands. He had dispatched count Cobenzel to Brussels on the failure of Trautmansdorff's efforts. Cobenzel was an able diplomatist, but all his offers were treated with indifference. On the last day of 1789 the states of Brabant, in presence of the citizens of Brussels, swore to stand by their new freedom—an act which was received by the acclamations of the assembled crowds. They soon after ratified their league with the other states, and were in active negotiation with the revolutionists of France for mutual defence. On the 20th of February Joseph expired, leaving a prospect full of troubles to his brother Leopold, the new emperor.

CHAPTER XII.

THE REIGN OF GEORGE III.—(Continued.)

OUTBREAK OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION—The Causes of this Revolution long accumulating in the History of France—Various preceding Revolutions in France all having the same Bloody and ferocious Character, though less in degree—The Elements of this mingled Liberty and Ferocity inherent in the French Nature—Age of Louis XIV.—Its Licentious Tyranny, and sanguinary Repression of Religious Progress—Extermination of Protestantism—Consequent universal ascendancy of Priestcraft and Ignorance—The Regency—Louis XV.—Louis XVI. and his Family—Ministry of De Brienne—Bed of Justice—Duke of Orleans banished—Returns—Assembly of Notables—Coup Plénier—Resignation of De Brienne, and Ministry of Necker—Proposes the Meeting of the States-General—Unpopularity of the Queen—License of the Press—Assembly of States-General—Tiers Etat double in number to the other Orders—Refuses to act till the other Orders sit with it—The Aristocracy and Clergy compelled to join the Tiers Etat—The National Assembly—Its Proceedings—Burning of Revillon's Manufactory—Duke of Orleans, Lafayette, Mirabeau, Necker, &c.—Conduct of the National Assembly and of Parliament Mob—Necker resigns—Conflict between the People and Soldiery—Seizure of Gardes-Françaises—National Cockade—The Bastille taken—King goes to the Assembly—Necker recalled—More Bloodshed—Destruction of Privileges—Rights of Man—Proceedings at Versailles—Arrival of the Mob—Attempt to assassinate the Queen—The Royal Family compelled to go to Paris—The Jacobin Club—Proceedings at the Châtelet—Famine, Riots, Law against Tumults—New Division of the Kingdom—Abolition of Parliament—Lettres de Cachet—Armorial Bearings, Titles, Liveries, &c. abolished—Suppression of Monasteries and Seizure of the Property of the Clergy—Other Reforms—Commotions in the Provinces—Execution of Fyeras—Issue of Assignats—Views of the French Revolution in England—Burke denounces it—Admiration of it by Fox, Priestley, Price, &c.—Proceedings in the English Parliament—Differences with Spain regarding Nootka Sound—Slavery Question—Hastings' Trial—Irish Affairs—War in Belgium with the Austrians, in Turkey with Russia—General Swearing in Paris to maintain the New Constitution—Danton, Desmoulins, and other Paris Democrats—Proceedings of the National Assembly—Abolish Maury defends Church Property—Anacharsis Clootz—The Fête of the Federation in the Champs de Mars—Marat—The Moderates attempt to put Limits to the Revolution—The Royal Family seek for Flight—Interview of the Queen with Mirabeau at St. Cloud—Charges against the Duke of Orleans and Mirabeau—Revolt of the Troops at Nancy against the Assembly—Suppressed by Bouillé—Necker resigns—Atrocious Writings of the Jacobins, Marat, Danton, Carra, Desmoulins, &c.—Federation of the Friends of Truth—Growing Ascendancy of Marat and Robespierre—Suppression of the Insurrection in Belgium—War in India with Tippee Sahib—Proceedings in the British Parliament.

At the period at which we are now arrived, France was in a state of the wildest and most awful convulsion. A revolution had broken out, more terrible and furious than had ever yet appeared in the history of nations. The French people, so long trodden down by their princes, their aristocracy, and their clergy, and reduced to a condition of wretchedness and of ignorant brutality, almost unparalleled, seizing the opportunity of the distresses of the impoverished government, and encouraged by a new race of philosophers,

who preached up the equality of the human race, had broken through their ancient subserviency, and were pulling down all the old constituted powers, all ranks and distinctions, with a rapidity and a ferocity which electrified the whole world. They had destroyed the great state prison, the Bastille: they had brought the king and queen in triumph from Versailles to Paris, where they kept them in the palace of the Tuilleries as mere state prisoners, and, by the agency of the National Assembly, were proceeding to still more startling deeds. Already they had decreed that orders and titles of nobility should cease; already they had compelled the nobles and the dignified clergy to take their places in the assembly with the commons; already they had confiscated the property of the clergy, and the plate of the churches—had abolished the old divisions of the kingdom into provinces, and divided France into eighty departments. They had taken from the king the title of the "King of France," and given him that of the "King of the French," preparatory to leaving him neither a crown nor a head to wear it. To enable the reader to comprehend, in some degree, the cause of this fierce and frightful phenomenon, we must take a brief retrospective glance at the past history and constitution of France, and at the character of the people.

The French people had, through their whole history, never acquired any constitutional liberty. We have seen how, in our own country, the commons had gradually assumed a substantial place in the legislative life of the nation. Rising steadily and strongly, the commons of England have, indeed, become the chief power in the state. In the house of commons, all the great questions of reform and enfranchisement have arisen, and there chiefly been fought out. During the commonwealth, the commons completely extinguished the house of peers and the crown. After that, though the nobles managed to reintroduce royalty, the commons, uniting with the peers, drove out the monarch who would have destroyed the popular liberties, and fixed the general freedom on a new and firmer basis by the Bill of Rights. Since then, the freedom, the power, and the wealth of the mass of the nation have been constantly augmenting under the protection of these great constitutional guarantees.

But very different was the case in France. The French people are, for the most part, a Celtic race. With the exception of the people of Normandy, and a certain infusion of German blood through the Franks, they are almost wholly of the Celtic family, lively, excitable, prone to fierce and terrible cruelty and massacre, but wholly, so far as their history yet demonstrates, incapable of self-government, and therefore of the maintenance of social and political independence. Though the names of states-general and parliaments present themselves in French history, the people, up to the time of the Revolution of 1789, had little or no concern in them. It was only in the states-general that the tiers état, or commons, appeared at all, and there in such a humble and equivocal shape as to give them no real influence. Their business was to vote money, and not to legislate. The power of the crown, indeed, far surpassed the power of the states-general in their collective capacity, and they were rarely called together except to sanction such extraordinary measures which the difficulties of the sovereign rendered necessary for them. Digitized by Google

The very earliest even of these states-general took place only in 1302; and then, instead of having their separate houses, like our parliament, they all sat together, thus giving the two orders of the nobility and clergy the prevalence over the commons. Still the commons did not omit to seize favourable opportunities to demand redress of grievances, and the concession of just rights; but they never displayed the solid and temperate spirit of the English commons, which would have enabled them to gain permanently their object; but they fell to butchering and massacring the upper classes, and continually lost everything again.

Thus, when the dauphin, after the battle of Poitiers, which left king John a prisoner in the hands of the English, called the states-general together to demand moneys for the ransom of his father, and for the relief of the humbled government, the states demanded a full redress of grievances before granting the supplies. These must have been conceded, and the grievances were enormous; but the states fell to quarrelling and massacring each other, and the dauphin was compelled to dismiss them. In dismissing them, however, he could not dismiss his necessities; and, on calling them together in the spring of 1357, the demands were renewed and complied with. But, as was the case in the great revolution which we are about to narrate, this excitable people did not know where to stop. Instead of being satisfied with its proper advantages, its leaders in the states, Stephen Marcel, the Provôt des Marchands, and Robert le Coq, made the most unwarrantable attempts on the rights of the nobles and of the crown. These were resisted, and led to the most sanguinary massacres and conflicts. Marcel formed a league with the king of Navarre, who would fain have snatched the government from his brother-in-law, the dauphin, murdered two of the courtiers in the very presence of the dauphin, and, seizing the person of the dauphin, exhibited him as a prisoner to the exulting mob of Paris. Marcel took possession of the palace of the Louvre, but was soon after butchered himself; and these events introduced that terrible condition of anarchy called the *Jacquerie*, in which the people, both in town and country, rose against the upper classes, and massacred their lords and their families with unheard of atrocities, burnt their mansions, and ravaged their estates, in their turn to be attacked, hunted down, and exterminated by the aristocracy.

Similar scenes were enacted in 1380, twenty-two years later, when Charles VI. was a minor, and his uncles called together the states-general. The same demands of redress were made, and in part conceded; but the same bloody fury again possessed them, and the Maillotins, or Malleters, of Paris, who beat out people's brains with wooden clubs; and the Tuchins, or peasants, in the country, committed the most frightful massacres. Again in 1413, the states-general being called together when Charles VI. was afflicted with insanity, the people, instead of securing their privileges by firmness and wisdom, broke out under Catoche, a butcher; and, under the name of Catochiens, insisted, amidst blood and rapine, on domineering over the aristocracy and crown. The country, at the same time, was rent to pieces by the factions of the Bourguignons and Armagnacs; and, such was the general anarchy and horror, that our Henry V.

justified his invasion of France by exclaiming, "God has led me hither by the hand to punish the sins of this land, and to reign in it like a king. There is now no king, no government, no law in France!"

Charles VIII., in 1483, assembled the states-general at Tours, and there introduced the innovation of resolving the three orders, not into three chambers, but into six nations, according to the original nations of Old France. In these nations, however, the three orders continued to sit together. In 1558 Henry II. introduced a fourth estate into the states-general, called *L'Etat de la Justice*, the members of it consisting of the chief magistracy of the country. The last time that a states-general was convened previous to that of 1789, was by Louis XIII.; but this monarch took care that the people should derive no benefit from their assembling. The moment they prepared to present demands of reform, he dismissed them, and Louis XIV. never called them together at all. He declared, "*L'Etat c'est moi!*" "I am the state;" and he and his successors ruled as they pleased, only making a show of consulting parliaments.

These parliaments—which appear only first to have been introduced by Louis IX., in the thirteenth century—did not include a representation of the people at all. The members were merely summoned by the crown at its own dictation and discretion, and were originally almost entirely selected from the clergy. By degrees, the clergy gave way to lawyers, and the *parlement* was, in fact, merely a more extensive royal council, the chief business of which was to register the royal decrees. Some of these decrees were amongst the most disgraceful facts in French history. The parliament of Paris registered the edict establishing the inquisition, and those which condemned to death, as Protestants, Anne du Bourg and admiral Coligny, which sanctioned the revocation of the edict of Nantes, and the massacre of St. Bartholemew. When a weak monarch or a woman was at the head of government, these parliaments often became very presuming and refractory, and then what were called *lits de justice* and *séances royales* were resorted to, in order to compel them to obedience. There were special visitations of the parliaments by the sovereign, attended by the princes of the blood, the peers of the realm, and the chief of the clergy, including cardinals, archbishops, and bishops, besides the great officers of the state—together a great and imposing train—supported by whom, the king compelled the parliament to register the decrees which he had submitted to them. Such monarchs as Louis XIV., however, had no need of *lits de justice*—his word was enough; and, on one occasion, hearing, whilst hunting at Vincennes, that the parliament hesitated to register some edict or other, he rode off to Paris, and, entering their chamber in his boots and spurs, and with his hunting-dress on, and his hunting-knife at his side, put an end to their deliberations. Louis XV., who had not the vigour of his predecessor, was compelled twice to banish them; but Louis XVI. recalled them, and found them tolerably submissive till 1785.

Besides the states-general of Paris and the parliament of Paris, there were also provincial states-general and provincial parliaments; and there was also what was called the assembly of notables. This body was only called together on rare occasions, in crises of particular embarrassment.

They were, as the name implies, "men of note" and distinction for rank, ability, and wisdom, who were called together as a temporary council, to offer their advice to the crown, but possessing no legislative or executive functions. Such an assembly appears only to have been summoned from time to time in the history of France, previously to 1789—namely, in 1558 and 1596, in 1617 and 1626. This concise sketch of the legislative and governmental institutions of France may enable the reader to comprehend the events which were now taking place in 1789.

The reigning monarch, Louis XVI., was a very amiable and well-disposed monarch, weak and yielding in character, but who, under a constitution like that of England, might have lived and died a beloved and popular prince. He was of a domestic and unambitious character, fond of mechanic arts, and an excellent locksmith, but by no means understanding how to restore the disordered mechanism of his government and kingdom. He had married Marie Antoinette, the daughter of the great Maria Theresa of Austria, and sister to Joseph II., a princess of great beauty and accomplishments, of most engaging manners, but with a love of gaiety and pleasure which, amid a people suffering the intensest misery, led to suspicions of her virtue, which were, there is every reason to believe, most unfounded, but, at that crisis, most fatal.

Louis XVI. had inherited a kingdom crushed under the maladministrations, the corruptions, and the wild military ambition of ages. The people, possessing no real voice in the legislature, and incapable, from their ignorance and impetuosity, of prudently obtaining one when circumstances put it within their reach, were reduced to a condition of wretchedness and demoralisation inconceivable. No man had done more to produce this result than Louis XIV., *Le Grande Monarque*, as the French, in their foolish vanity, delighted to style him. By endeavouring to exterminate protestantism, not only in France but throughout Europe, and surrounded only by cardinals and priests, he had driven from his own territories and from the Netherlands thousands of weavers and other artificers, with their trades, to increase the wealth and glory of free England. He had involved himself in wars with England, Holland, and Germany, which for awhile were successful, and witnessed with acclamation by his people, but which, through the exertions of William of Orange, of Marlborough, and Eugene, eventually overwhelmed France with ruin, poverty, and misery incalculable. This heritage of woe descended to his successors, and was only increased by the crimes and follies of the profligate regent Orleans and the feeble sway of Louis XV. It went down with a tenfold force from the moral depravity and mental darkness which *Le Grand Monarque* had perpetuated by his suppression of all freedom of religious inquiry. We have had to relate the terrible dragonades by which he sought to massacre the whole race of protestants, under the name of Huguenots, and especially his frightful extermination of the Cevennois, whom, for years, he pursued with sixty thousand soldiers, under the command of Marshal Villars and others of his ablest generals. Had protestantism been permitted to take its natural course, it would undoubtedly so have enlightened, ennobled, and tempered the French people, that no such

scene of diabolical fury and carnage as the Revolution of 1789 could ever have taken place. But all real and active religious inquiry and influence were crushed. There remained a nominal hierarchy, administering the outward rites of the Romish church, but perpetuating the moral darkness of the people as a system. The nobility and the clergy possessed all the property, and power, and privilege in the country, and the people sank lower and lower in indigence and vice, till it was clear that nothing but some terrific tempest of human passion and vengeance could clear the land of its miseries and tyrannies.

Thiers has presented us with the following picture of the condition of France at the commencement of the great crisis:—"This condition, both political and economic, was intolerable. There was nothing but privilege—privileges invested in individuals, in classes, in towns, in provinces, and even in trades and professions. Everything contributed to check industry and the natural genius of man. All the dignities of the state, civil, ecclesiastical, and military, were exclusively reserved to certain classes, and those classes to certain individuals. No man could take a profession without certain titles and a compliance with certain pecuniary conditions. Even the graces and favours of the crown were converted into family property, so that the king could scarcely exercise his own judgment, or give any preference. Almost the only liberty left to the sovereign was that of making pecuniary gifts; and he had been reduced to the necessity of disputing with the duke of Coigny for the abolition of a useless place. Everything, then, was concentrated in the hands of a few, and everywhere these few resisted the many who had been despoiled. The burdens of the state weighed on one class only. The nobles and the clergy possessed about two-thirds of the landed property; the other third, possessed by the people, paid taxes to the king, a long list of feudal droits to the nobles, tithes to the clergy, and had, moreover, to support the devastations committed by the noble sportsmen and by their game. The taxes upon consumption pressed upon the great multitude and consequently upon the people. The collection of these imposts was managed in an unfair and irritating manner. The seigneurs, or lords of the soil, left long arrears with impunity; but the people, upon any delay in paying, were harshly treated, arrested, and condemned to pay in their persons, in default of money or produce. The people, therefore, nourished with their labour and defended with their blood the higher classes of society, without being able to procure a comfortable subsistence for themselves. The bourgeoisie, or towns-people, or body of citizens, industrious, educated, less miserable than the people, could, nevertheless, obtain none of the advantages to which they had a right to aspire, seeing it was their industry that enriched, and their talents that adorned the kingdom. Public justice was administered in some provinces by seigneurs, in the rest by magistrates, who bought their places, was slow, often partial, always ruinously expensive, and, above all, atrocious in criminal proceedings. Personal liberty was violated by *lettres de cachet*, the liberty of the press by royal censors."

The people, thus oppressed through long ages, ground in the dust, plunged in the grossest ignorance by neglect, ex-

rather, by suppression of all true Christian teaching, of all education, brutalised by contempt and harshness in those above them, were ripe for an outburst, but wholly incapacitated for any rational revolution. That revolution, when it came, must of necessity be one of blood and horror, a fierce revenge, knowing no restraints of conscience or knowledge. Whoever has read carefully this history, must have seen that, in all ages, the outbreaks of the French people were at once sanguinary, lawless, vindictive, and mingled with the most revolting features of levity and grimace. The tremendous atrocities, frivolities partaking largely of the horrible, and fury without restraint of principle, which astonished the world in the revolution of 1798, were only different from those of all former outbreaks, in that they were on a more extended scale. The character of the revolution lay in the character of the French people. Voltaire, their own countryman, described the Frenchman in a line, "half monkey and half tiger." Those elements of the grotesque and cruel are for ever mingled in French émeutes. We have only to refer to the popular insurrections of England, to the affairs of Wat Tyler, Jack Straw, Kett of Norfolk, and to the scenes of the civil wars of king and parliament, to perceive the essential difference. In the commotions of our most ignorant countrymen, in the least civilized times, there has always been mingled with a clearly-defined public object an absence of cruelty, and a knowing at what point to stop. In the French, blood once drawn, all the tiger broke loose, and the monkey element made the furious carnage more awfully revolting.

Never was there more urgent cause for revolution, and for the sweeping away of a thousand tyrannies and intolerable customs and laws, than in France at this time; but the people were certain, from all past precedents, to abuse and tyrannise; in their turn, to grow more furious as they proceeded, and to put no limits to their destructive instincts. Unfortunately, there were none of the classes above them qualified, or likely to take part with them for any just and wise end. The limits of necessary change were sure to be ignored, from the causes already stated; but, still more unfortunately, a new element was introduced into the fermenting mass of political abuses, pregnant with the most unbounded desolation.

For a long time there had been a systematic endeavour, by the wits and philosophers of France, to root out all faith in the Christian religion. Voltaire, Diderot, D'Alembert, the whole clique of the encyclopædists, Rousseau, Condorcet, and numbers of others, had employed every weapon of ridicule, sarcasm, and argument to unchristianise Europe. They had drawn their original views from our own infidel writers, Hobbes, Tindal, Hume, &c., and they had applied them with wonderful effect to the inhuman and putrid condition of France. The tales of Voltaire, charged with the most vile, indecent, and insolent mockeries of the sacred writings, the *Confessions* and *Nouvelle Héloïse* of Rousseau, had penetrated to every corner of France, and had produced the most ruinous effects. The grave reasonings of the encyclopædists, and the *Contrat Social* of Rousseau, though they did not reach the common people directly, were greedily imbibed by those just above them, who were soon to become their teachers, and from whose speeches and journals—the

foaming yeast of political levelling—they were to be amply leavened with it at second hand. By this new philosophy, so called, every ancient principle was annihilated; every binding and social force was destroyed, and, in their stead, the Rights of Man, and the liberty, equality, and fraternity of the human race, were preached as a most delectable doctrine to a multitude totally destitute of every motive for self-restraint and every sense of duty towards others. Society, under such circumstances, must inevitably become only a scene of the wildest license; selfishness, without inward law, was set free from all outward law, and the result must be universal destruction of the old, without a single germ of reconstruction of the beneficial or the wise in the new. The doctrine of the Rights of Man, in a multitude without knowledge and without virtue, could only be the doctrine of every man seizing whatever he could. Carried out to its ultimate issue, it was an analytical principle which must throw down and divide so long as anything was tangible and divisible. True, these philosophers and *soi-disant* philanthropists dealt largely in certain phrases, such as brotherhood, and pure reason, and instincts of humanity; but as they, at the same time, asserted the mere materiality of man, and treated spiritual life and moral responsibility as fables, their fine words were words and nothing more, possessing no more force on the surface of the raging sea of excited human passion, than the foam on the crest of the ocean surge. Christianity once dethroned, the only religion and the only philosophy which ever opposed and demanded the annihilation of self was gone, and the new philosophy became only a spectre light playing over a charnel-house.

The spiritual condition of the French people fully exposed them to the poison of this new teaching. They had never been taught the real truths of the New Testament; they had never been permitted to make acquaintance with its text. They had received their religion from a race of priests, who taught them in a foreign language, and whose lives, as the interpretation of their tenets, presented only atheism. The people saw them only part and parcel of their oppressors; as living in pomp, luxury, and the grossest sensuality. Their religion was a mere tissue of forms, and rites, and spectacles, and the people had only to be told that this so-called Christianity was a hoax, and a machinery of selfish priestcraft, to abandon it, to trample upon it, and to rush to the plunder of its shrines. The French revolution, from mere political and physical causes, was certain to be fearful; but, with this addition of a philosophical atheism, it could be nothing but Pandemonium broken loose!

Had there ascended the throne a monarch of vigorous character, who could have attached to his person the army, by consulting their interests and their ambition, the outbreak of the people would have been speedily crushed; for, after all that has been said of the bravery of the French mob, it is an undoubted fact, as will be seen, that it was brave only in the absence of any real danger. On every occasion when a vigorous resistance was made, not only the mob but the National Assembly trembled and recoiled; the most violent of the orators and journalists fled and hid themselves. But the whole government was demoralised and enfeebled; and whilst the mob grew daring from the consciousness of this fact, the monarch had neither vigour

to quell the storm, nor political sagacity to guide the state through it. Sweeping changes were inevitable, and Louis had neither the head nor the hand to conduct them.

The people might have dragged on a considerable time still in their misery; but the government was in its death-throes for want of revenue. The administration groaned beneath a mountain of debts; the mass of the people were exhausted in their resources; trade was ruined by these causes; and the nobility and clergy clung convulsively to their prescriptive exemptions from taxation. Long before the American war, the state was in reality bankrupt. The prime minister of Louis XVI., the count de Maurepas, was never of a genius to extricate the nation from such enormous difficulties; but now he was upwards of eighty years of age; and, besides that, stereotyped in aristocratic prejudices. Still, he had the sense to catch at the wise propositions of Turgot, who was made comptroller-general, and, had he been permitted to have his way, might have effected much. That he could ever have averted the revolution, is most improbable, but he might have softened its ferocity by abating some of the evils which provoked it. Turgot insisted that there must be a rigid and inflexible economy introduced into all departments of the state, in order gradually to discharge the debts. The excellent Malesherbes being also appointed minister of justice, these two able and good men recommended a series of reforms which must have struck the old and incorrigible courtiers and noblesse with consternation. They prevailed in having the parliament restored, and they recommended that the king should, by their hands, himself initiate the business of reform, thus preventing it falling into less scrupulous hands, and attaching the body of the people to him by the most encouraging expectations. They recommended the abolition of the infamous *gabelle*, or tax on salt, which was so severe a grievance on the people; the *corvée*, or compulsory labour on the roads without payment, equally infamous, and other tyrannical usages, arising out of the feudal system. That he should compel the nobility and clergy to pay taxes as well as the people. These reforms would, of course, cause a strong resistance from the influential bodies whose old, unjust immunities they attacked; but it was certain that the people and the commercial community would support the king in the work, without which these and a thousand other odious privileges must be brushed away by a ruder hand. They proposed that tallages, and other like services, which had been so long abolished in England, should be converted into fixed and equable imposts; that there should be a thorough reform of the criminal code and the whole system of judicature, and that torture, which at this late period still disgraced the French courts of law, should be abolished. They insisted on the declaration of full liberty of conscience, the gradual suppression of the convents and monasteries, and the withdrawal of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction from civil causes. They proposed that there should be a regulation of ecclesiastical revenues, so that the working clergy should no longer starve whilst the dignitaries of the church were living in sloth and luxury. In fact, they extended their schemes of reform to the whole public, social and religious. They demanded that old feudal rents and obligations should be extinguished by purchase; that all the

ancient fetters of trade should be removed; that duties and customs, which separated one province of the empire from another, should be abolished, and that measures be introduced for encouraging internal communication by canals and roads, and the formation of local boards of administration, in which the landowners and the municipal bodies should alike operate for public improvement. Turgot presented his calculations and his enlightened economic plans, and Malesherbes drew up his two memoirs "On the calamities of France, and the means of repairing them;" but they had not a monarch with the mind and the nerve to carry out the only reforms which could save the monarchy. Turgot, who was of the modern school of philosophy himself, and well knew the heads of the school, recommended that they should be employed by government. Had this been done, the voices that were raised so fatally against the king and crown, might have been raised for them, and the grand catastrophe averted. But Louis could not be brought to listen to any measures so politic; indeed, he was listening, instead, to the cries of fierce indignation which the privileged classes were raising against all reform. Turgot succeeded in abolishing the *corvées*, the interior custom-houses between one province and another, and some other abuses, but there the great plan was stopped. Both Louis and his minister, Maurepas, shrank from the wrath of the noblesse and the clergy, and desisted from all further reform.

By a still greater fatality, Louis was persuaded to comply with the solicitations of the American colonists, to assist them in throwing off their allegiance to England. To rend these colonies from England, who had deprived France of Canada and Nova Scotia, was too flattering to French vanity and French desire of revenge. Turgot in vain protested that the first cannon that was fired would insure revolution; Louis consented to the American alliance, and thus set the seal to his own destruction. Bitterly did he rue this afterwards, still more bitterly was it rued by his queen, when they both saw the fatal infection of republicanism brought back from America by the army. When Turgot saw that this fatal war was determined upon, he retired before the wild rage of the noblesse and clergy, and from the ruinous weakness of the king. Minister after minister rapidly succeeded each other in the vain endeavour to keep up the old partial laws and privileges, the old extravagance and incumbrances, at the command of the king, and yet avert revolution. Maurepas, Vergennes, Calonne, Brienne, Necker, went on with petty reforms, or no reforms, struggling with the colossal evils of the government, till driven to the summoning of the states-general, which was at once opening the door, and inaugurating the revolution.

Clugny assumed the arduous post of Turgot, as comptroller of the finances, but held it only for six months. Then came the celebrated Necker. James Necker had made a large fortune as a banker, first in the house of Thellusson, and then in one in which himself and his brother had been the chief partners. After his retirement from trade, he continued to reside in Paris, and employed himself in writing on matters of political economy. His work, "Sur la Legislation et le Commerce de Grain," procured him a great reputation, which was increased by another treatise on the affairs of the French East India Company.

Necker's reputation was not a little advanced by the dinners and entertainments which he gave to the most distinguished men in Paris, including the new school of literati and

written "Reflections on Divorce," and other things; and, by the additional attractions of their more celebrated daughter, Madame de Stael, the Neckers were raised to a wonderful



MARIE ANTOINETTE, QUEEN OF FRANCE.

philosophers, and in which his charming and intellectual wife, who was, like himself, a native of Switzerland, made his company very attractive. Madame Necker, who had been the object of the attachment of Gibbon, the historian, when living at Lausanne, was herself an authoress, having

reputation for ability of one kind or another. Ambitious of the fame of a great financier, M. Necker seized the opportunity, after the retirement of Turgot, and the failure of Clugny, to present to the bewildered Maurepas a scheme for rescuing the finances from their gigantic difficulties.

Maurepas caught at the proposal as a drowning man clutches at a straw. There were, however, formidable obstacles to the acceptance of Necker as a financial saviour, in the then bigoted notions of the French monarch and his courtiers. Necker was neither a Frenchman nor a catholic. But the need of some rescue was imminent: Necker demanded no salary or emoluments of office; he demanded the opportunity of saving France from ruin and disgrace. He was reluctantly permitted to undertake this herculean labour, but without being admitted to a seat in the council. At first, he was not even honoured with the title of comptroller, but merely of director of the treasury, under Taboureaux de Réaux, the comptroller-general, and afterwards was favoured with the title of director-general.

The scheme of Necker, however, seems to have consisted in little more than in endeavouring to introduce a more accurate system of bookkeeping, and in avoiding impossible draughts on the purses of the tiers état, by resorting to loans. Loan after loan was contracted, and the evil day thus, for a time, was put off; but in 1781 Necker published his famous *Comptes Rendus*, or statement of the finances of the kingdom. This, which he expected to give him great credit, certainly procured him much applause from the new school of reformers, but it was because, for the first time, it threw the blaze of daylight on the almost unfathomable gulph of debt, and corruption, and extravagance, which had hitherto been shrouded in impenetrable darkness. But the same cause brought down upon him the cries and maledictions of the whole race of placemen, pensioners, contractors, and sinecurists, who were fattening on the unfortunate nation till this moment in secrecy. It was felt by the revolutionists that this was a step in advance towards their object; the whole fearful condition of the national finances was before the public, and there could be no further mystification. To enable him to cope with his aristocratic assailants, Necker demanded a seat at the council board; but this was refused, on account of his not being a catholic. He threatened to resign, and his resignation was not only accepted, but he was ordered to retire to his country seat. He thereupon returned to Switzerland, purchased the barony of Copet, and published his work, the "*Administration des Finances de la France*," in three volumes octavo, and eighty thousand copies of it were sold in a few days. This raised his reputation still higher, and drew strong censures on the court, which had sacrificed the services of such a man to etiquette and church prejudice. Poor old Maurepas soon afterwards died, and was succeeded by the count de Vergennes.

Vergennes was an able diplomatist, and all his skill and experience were demanded to carry on the war in America on an empty exchequer. For a time, the attention of the country was agreeably diverted from domestic difficulties to the pleasing prospect of completing the downfall of England, which Lafayette, who was campaigning in the United States, assured the minister would be the certain result of the severance of those States. The desired object was achieved so far as America was concerned, but by the ruin of France rather than of England. The guns which had been fired had fulfilled Turgot's prophecy, and the revolution was by many degrees nearer to the door. France had

accumulated an enormous amount of fresh debts, and the whole monarchy lay in a condition of irredeemable prostration; and, as if the court despaired itself of any ultimate escape from utter bankruptcy, the choice was made of a minister, who professed an ability to carry on the diseased government without any retrenchments at all, but solely on the strength of loans, so long as these could be procured. This minister, who succeeded Necker in 1783, was the gay and brilliant Charles Alexander de Calonne. It is difficult to imagine that Calonne was fully aware of the desperate condition of the finances, or of the plainest principles of human nature. He went gaily through the routine of his office, as though he had coffers crammed with wealth. He professed that there was no need of the extreme economy insisted upon by Turgot and Necker. He encouraged rather than restrained the expensive gaieties of the court, and was always ready to listen to the solicitations of the princes, peers, and ladies about the court, for money and favours. This career, under the circumstances, could not be long, and when he was completely brought to a stand by his necessities, he proposed the summoning an Assembly of Notables. With the same shallow ignorance of men as of business, he thought that these notables, on most of whom he had conferred favours whilst he could, would be ready to listen to the absolute need of taxing themselves, as it was impossible to tax the people any further. The notables consisted of one hundred and fourteen persons, of whom seven were princes of the blood, and the rest nobles, ministers of the crown, high dignitaries of the church, great officers of the law and the army, deputies of the *Pays d'Etats*, and magistrates from various towns. From such persons, accustomed to tax and screw the people on all occasions to the utmost, and to pay nothing themselves, Calonne fondly imagined that he could draw the necessary revenue for carrying on the government. He was speedily undeceived. He laid before them, with great confidence, his plan for a *subvention territoriale*, or land-tax, from which no class was to be exempt. The notables, who had lauded Calonne to the skies, in their individual persons, so long as he did not trouble them, but, on the contrary, was ever ready to oblige them, received his proposals with indignant astonishment, and refused to contribute a penny to the public needs. He explained to them the impossibility of resorting further to the people, and the tremendous deficiencies in the treasury, but to no purpose; the princes, nobles, and great dignitaries, declared that they were exempt by their ancient charters and grants from the crown, and that it was impossible for them to violate their own sacred immunities. They were now as ready to denounce Calonne as they had been to praise him before. They declared that they were his own thoughtlessness and extravagance which had plunged him into difficulties, and did not hesitate to accuse him of peculation. It was clear enough that nothing but the irresistible tempest of a revolution would ever force from these selfish classes their fair quota of public tax, and, spite of the zealous support of the queen, Calonne was driven from office, poorer than when he entered it.

The next person to attempt the impossible in the vain endeavour to keep the vessel of the old French monarchy afloat with all its leaks and rottenness, was the archbishop

of Toulouse, Loménie de Brienne. He had vigorously opposed Calonne; but there was no way of raising the necessary revenue, but to adopt some of the very proposals of Calonne, and tax the privileged classes, or to endeavour to draw something still from the exhausted people. As the least difficult experiment of the two, he was compelled to cast his eyes towards the property of the nobles and the church; but he found the nobles and the clergy as ready to sacrifice him as they had been to sacrifice Calonne. When one or two of the more pliant or more enlightened members of those classes ventured to remark on the vast amount of untaxed property, and particularly of tithes, there was an actual tempest of fury raised. Tithes were declared to be the voluntary offerings of the piety of the faithful, and therefore not to be touched. At which the duke de Rochefoucauld exclaimed, "The voluntary offerings of the faithful, about which forty thousand law-suits are now pending!" As further loans were out of the question, some one ventured to assert that the only means of solving the difficulty was to assemble the states-general. "You would convoke the states-general?" said the minister, in consternation. "Yes," replied Lafayette, who was bent on revolutionising France, as he had helped to revolutionise America—"yes, and something more than that!" These words were taken down as most exceptionable and dangerous. All that the assembly of notables could be brought to do was to confirm the abolition of the *corvée*, and to pass a stamp act. They would not move a step further, and they were dismissed by the king on the 25th of May, 1787.

The dismissal of the notables, or *not-ables*, as Lafayette called them, by no means improved the situation of Brienne, who now was advanced to the richer archbishopric of Sens. He now entertained the idea of continuing the old plan of taxing the tiers état; but the parliament of Paris not only refused to sanction such taxation, but also refused to register the stamp act passed by the notables. They presented in July an address to the king, demanding a statement of the real condition of the finances, and this the king declined to furnish. Whereupon the parliament, at the instigation of Rochefoucauld and d'Espréménil, who were not prescient enough to see that they were calling for the utter extinction of their own order, and with it of the monarchy itself, issued a strong remonstrance, declaring that neither king, nor parliament, nor any other body, except the states-general, which comprised the three estates of the kingdom, had the power of making laws, and they demanded that this body should be summoned, as it had been in former times. This demand carried consternation throughout the court, and still further excited the expectations of the people. The king refused to call the states together; and, to compel the registry of the stamp act, he decided to summon a bed of justice for that purpose.

The bed of justice was held at Versailles on the 6th of August, 1787, and the parliament of Paris was, as a matter of course, obliged to attend it; but it took care, before going, to enter a protest against any measure which might be passed there contrary to the laws of the kingdom; and no sooner did the parliament return to the Palais de Justice at Paris than they issued a protest, declaring that they had not given their consent to the registration, and that therefore

the edict was null and void; and that every person endeavouring to carry the stamp-tax into effect should be judged a traitor. The excitement of the public was intense, and this was kept up by the press, which poured forth all sorts of attacks and libels on the king, queen, and government. The parliament, on the other hand, was extolled to the skies as the only defenders of the people. Jefferson, Gouverneur Morris, and many other Americans, were still in Paris. Jefferson, being the minister of the United States there, must have been strongly reminded of the days of the stamp act in his own country. It was clear that the revolution was beginning. Jefferson wrote home:—"All the tongues of Paris—and it is said in France—have been let loose; and never was a licence of speaking against the government exercised in London more freely or more universally. Caricatures, placards, *bon-mots*, have been indulged in by all ranks of people, and I know of no well-attested instance of a single punishment. For some time mobs of ten, twenty, and thirty thousand people have collected daily, surrounded the parliament house, huzzaed the members, even entered the doors and examined into their conduct" (a liberty that they afterwards were in the habit of taking with the National Assembly and the Convention), "have taken the horses out of the carriages of those who did well, and drawn them home." He adds, "The queen, going to the theatre at Versailles with madame de Polignac, was received with a general hiss. The king, long in the habit of drowning his cares in wine, plunges deeper and deeper," &c.

The count d'Artois, the younger brother of the king, told the members of the parliament, that, were he king, he would soon make them obedient, and was mobbed and insulted in the streets in consequence. It was now determined to employ force to compel the people to quietness, and the parliament to submission. Twelve thousand troops were assembled in Paris, and, whilst these paraded the streets, an officer of the guards, with a posse of soldiers, waited, very early in the morning, on each member of the parliament at his house, and ordered him to enter his carriage, and proceed to Troyes. This was easily effected; but no sooner was the fact known, than there was the wildest commotion, which the soldiers, however, managed to put down. But the excitement was spread by the active exertions and representations of numbers of the active patriots. Amongst these, Lafayette was particularly conspicuous. He appeared in the highest delight at the visible elements of a new revolution in action. He wrote to his quondam friends in America that notions of liberty had come with them from the United States, and had been spreading ever since; that the combustible materials had been kindled by the notables and the parlements, and that liberty was cantering and prancing from one end of the kingdom to the other.

And this was true. The new minister, De Brienne, was completely paralysed. All that he could do was to cause the troops to keep the streets quiet, and to order the suppression of the political clubs. But the discussions on the unpopular measure of carrying off the parliament, went on just as vehemently in other places—in all places—and the same excitement was almost universal in the provinces. Open insurrections broke out in Dauphiny, Brittany, Provence,

Languedoc, and French Flanders. The provincial states demanded the recall of the parliament of Paris, and the summoning of the states-general. All ranks now seemed to regard this as necessary. Archbishop Brienne, the minister, called together a body of the clergy at Versailles, in order to endeavour to procure an advance of money from them, but they not only refused, but drew up a memorial to the king, desiring him to refrain from beds of justice, and to assemble the states-general, as the only body capable of coping with the terrible evils which overwhelmed the nation. The Paris chamber of accounts, the court of aid—the two bodies next in rank to the parliament—and various other public bodies, sent in similar addresses. At the same time, the press teemed with papers, in which the woful condition of the kingdom was depicted in the most vivid colours, and the necessity of a thorough and searching reform was insisted on.

It was now that Mirabeau, destined to act so prominent a part in the revolution, came to the light with his celebrated essay on the abominations of the *lettres de cachet*. Mirabeau had lain for years in different dungeons and fortresses, the victim of this terrible engine of despotism, and could well describe its tyrannies. Honoré Gabriel Riquetti, count of Mirabeau, was the son of Victor Riquetti, count Mirabeau, who was known as the author of *L'Ami des Hommes*, and other works, and was the leader of the school of the *Economistes*. The family was originally from Florence, and engaged on the Ghibelline side of the factions of the Guelfs and Ghibellines. Being exiled by the prevailing faction, the family settled at Bignon, near Nemours, in Provence, in 1749, and their Italian name, Arrighetti, became Frenchified into Riquetti. The race was considered wild and eccentric, and old Victor, though calling himself "The Friend of Man," was a harsh despot in his own family, and his austerity has been said to have driven his son into excesses. Whatever the cause, Mirabeau himself says that his family was a family of Atreus and Thyestes. At all events, if not so bloody, it was much divided. Honoré Gabriel very early showed the utmost tendency to dissipation and to the most unrestrained love intrigues. Immediately on leaving school, he went into the army, where the conduct and conversation of his brother officers did not by any means improve his morals. He fell desperately in love, and his father, to check his extravagance, as well as to thwart his passion—for he seems to have found the highest pleasure in opposing his children's inclinations—had him arrested by *lettres de cachet*, and shut up in a fortress on the island of Rhe. When he got out, Mirabeau volunteered into the army in Corsica, and took part in its bloody campaigns. He obtained a commission as captain of dragoons, but, his father refusing to purchase him a regiment, he abandoned the military profession. He next married a rich heiress of Aix, in Provence, but soon dissipated her fortune, ran into enormous debt, separated from his wife, whom he had obtained by a disgraceful stratagem, and at the age of twenty-five had the reputation of being the most debauched man in France.

To arrest his wild career, his father had him again secured by *lettres de cachet*, and shut up in the Chateau d'If, on the Mediterranean shore, above Marseilles. Thence he was removed to the fortress of Joux, in the Jura moun-

tains. There the commandant of the fort, won over by his captivating address, allowed him the liberty of frequenting the neighbouring town of Pontailier, where he seduced the young and pretty wife of the old marquis de Mounier, president of the chamber of accounts, at Dôle, and ran off with her to Holland. There he was in such absolute destitution, that he took to writing for the booksellers, a profession which he actively followed till he became a member of the National Assembly, one of its most distinguished characters, and with more prolific means of income. In Holland, Mirabeau soon seduced another lady, young, unmarried, handsome, and of good connections. He he speedily abandoned. The Dutch now readily allowed the French police to seize him by authority of another *lettre de cachet*, who carried him to the dungeons of Vincennes, where he lay for more than three years. During this confinement, he studied with much diligence, made translations from the Latin, and from modern foreign authors, as well as wrote several works of an amorous and immoral kind. Notwithstanding his infidelity to Sophie Mounier, he continued to correspond with her, and this correspondence, after his death, was published. After his release, he hastened to Provence, and engaged in a number of lawsuits with the relations of his wife, and with his father, brother, and other relatives. Sophie, about this time, died suddenly, being supposed to have poisoned herself. In these trials he pleaded his own cause, as well as in a prosecution brought against him by the husband of his mistress, Sophie Mounier.

All this time Mirabeau was busily writing for a livelihood, and the quantity of work he seemed to accomplish was astonishing. But the fact was, that he engaged other men to do the work, while he put his own name to it, and had the credit of it. In this respect, he only resembled a number of men of distinction in this country. In this manner he soon sent forth *Doutes sur la Liberté de l'Escaut*, or "Considerations on the Navigation of the Scheldt;" an essay on political economy, another on count Cagliostro, an address to the democrats of Holland, &c. His biographer, Dumont, says:—"Having become acquainted with a geographer, he began to think of writing a universal geography. Had any one shown him the elements of a Chinese grammar, he would, I have no doubt, have attempted a treatise on the Chinese language! He studied a subject whilst writing upon it, and he only required an assistant who should furnish matter to him. He could contrive to get notes and additions from twenty different hands; and, had he been offered a good price, I am confident he would have undertaken to write even an Encyclopædia. His activity was prodigious. If he worked little himself, he made others work very hard. He had the skill of finding out men of talent, and of successfully flattering those who could be of use to him; he worked upon them by means of insinuations of friendship and of ideas of public benefit. His interesting and animated conversation was like a hone which he used to sharpen his tools with. Nothing was lost to him; he collected with care anecdotes, conversations, and thoughts; appropriated to his own benefit the fruits of the reading and study of his friends; knew how to use the information thus acquired, so as to appear to have

been possessed of it; and, when he had begun a work in earnest, it was seen to make a rapid and daily progress."

In 1784 he paid a visit to London, where he made the acquaintance of Samuel Romilly, afterwards Sir Samuel, lord Shelburne, first marquis of Lansdowne, and other Englishmen of note: renewed his acquaintance with Sir Gilbert Elliott, afterwards earl of Minto, who had been his school-fellow in France, &c. But he did not there, any more than anywhere else, avoid quarrels and lawsuits. He had a violent dispute with John Wilkes, on the subject of the gallows, and prosecuted his amanuensis, one Jacques Philippe Hardi, for stealing his shirts. Hardi, it seems, had demanded his wages, and threatened Mirabeau with arrest; when it appeared clear to judge Buller, who was on the bench, that Mirabeau, to get rid of this troublesome demand, accused the man of stealing more shirts than Mirabeau ever possessed! The man was acquitted; and Mirabeau incurred great discredit by the transaction. All this time he was busy writing for the press; one week against the proposed American order of Cincinnatus, for which he sought material in his usual way, from others; and another, a series of letters to his friend Chamfort, in which he praised the political institutions of England.

On his return to Paris he became acquainted with the minister Calonne, who, in 1786, sent him on a secret mission to the court of Berlin, in fact, as a spy, where he spent about eight months, and witnessed the end of Frederick, called the Great, and the commencement of the reign of his weak successor. He collected material there for a work on the Prussian monarchy; that is, he collected it in his usual way, for his biographer confesses that it was entirely the work of major Maun Villan, an officer in the Prussian service, whose talents were overlooked by his own government. This work, published in eight volumes, brought Mirabeau great reputation. But another work, more his own, "A Secret History of the Court of Berlin," was filled with court scandals of the vilest kind. Montmorin, the French foreign minister, bought the MS. to suppress it; but Mirabeau, having got the money, immediately produced and sold another MS. to a bookseller. The work, which was anonymous, was ordered by the parliament of Paris to be burned by the hangman, and Mirabeau, in the French and English papers, denied the authorship of it, though all the world knew it to be his.

The convocation of the states-general, in 1789, opened to Mirabeau a far more brilliant career than that of authorship; and we shall now soon find him most conspicuous in the turbulent current of the times. In person he was tall, thick-set, and robust, but of a very plain countenance, amounting to ugliness, but which was soon forgotten in the fascination of his manner. His head was large, and he had a vast mass of dark hair, which hung on his shoulders, and, when he wished to produce terror, he had only to shake what he called his wild boar's head, and assume a menacing aspect, and raise his thunderous voice, and the effect was instantaneous. For the rest, he had the worst character for licentiousness, the highest for splendour of oratory, of any man of his time. His genius was quick and penetrating, and the opinions which he formed of his most notorious contemporaries, Robespierre, Barnave, Petion, Desmoulins,

&c., time fully confirmed. With all Mirabeau's faults—and they were many and great—he was averse to the extremes of the revolution, was disposed to retain the monarchy, and never showed that thirst of blood which disgraced the majority of his countrymen. When he presented himself in Provence as a candidate for election to the states-general, he was rejected with insult, professedly on the plea that he possessed no fief, but really on the ground of his bad reputation, for seduction of the wives and daughters of his friends, for endless lawsuits, and general profligacy. He cursed the aristocrats, and offered himself to the tiers état, and was elected, both for Aix and Marseilles. He sate for Aix, and soon taught the noblesse to repent their rejection of him. His own family never forgave him what they considered the degradation of his appearing in the states-general as a plebeian, where his younger brother sate as a noble.

Mirabeau's essay on the horrors of *lettres de cachet*, as well as his personal exertions, hastened the summoning of the states-general. The parliament of Dauphiny protested against this terrible engine of despotism, and made it a capital crime for any one to attempt enforcing them in that province. The provincial assemblies of Brittany, held at Rennes and Grenoble, joined with Dauphiny, and all declared that they would allow no further collection of taxes till the parliament of Paris was restored to its freedom. Encouraged by these measures, the parliament of Paris boldly quitted Troyes, and returned to Versailles. There, on the 13th of September, 1787, the president demanded an audience of Louis XVI., and plainly told him that, unless the parliament was restored, and the states-general called, there would be a revolution. Louis knew that Brienne was utterly powerless, had found it impossible to enforce the *subvention territoriale*, or land tax, and was destitute of funds. He therefore consented to recall the parliament, to give up the stamp-tax and the land-tax, and only required that they should register the appointment of Brienne as minister. The parliament returned triumphantly to Paris, and addressed the king in most loyal terms of satisfaction, declaring that they would support all his plans for the relief and benefit of the people. But Louis, with a fatal duplicity, in which he much resembled our own Charles I., though without his courage, either ill-advised, or ill-prompted by his own mind, within a single week took a daring step in reversal of his ready acquiescence. Louis XIV. had frightened his parliament into obedience by suddenly returning from hunting, and, in boots and hunting garb, entering the parliament chamber, and issuing his positive commands. Poor Louis XVI. made an unhappy parody of this transaction, forgetting that the times were very different, and he himself a very different person. On the 19th of November he suddenly appeared at the gates of the Palais de Justice, where the parliament was sitting, after having given out that he was going to hunt in the forest of St. Germain. He was not, indeed, in the costume of the chase, but in regal garb, and attended by the princes of the blood, the great officers of the state and the church, and a long retinue, as if going to hold a bed of justice. The parliament was struck with consternation, and Louis, assuming a stern tone, informed them that he was come to recall them to a sense of duty. In allusion to the demand for the con-

vocation of the states-general, he assured them that he was the proper judge of the necessity of its assembling, and that he would not suffer himself to be indiscreetly importuned for what ought to be expected from his wisdom and love to his people. He then demanded that they should register two edicts—one for a succession of loans, running through five years, and amounting altogether to nine millions sterling, the other for granting all civil rights to the protestants of his dominions.

The emancipation of the protestants was become a popular subject in France, and was not likely to encounter

be registered at a *séance royale*, and he, for one, must enter his protest against such a registry. Notwithstanding this, Louis insisted, and the registry was made. Orleans, according to court etiquette, accompanied Louis to the gate on his departure, but he then returned and entered a determined protest against the legality of the registry, in which he was joined by the majority of the parliament. The duke was applauded as the greatest of patriots, and the parliament voted the registry of the edicts, under such circumstances, null and void.

The next morning the duke of Orleans received an order



VIEW OF PAU, BIRTHPLACE OF HENRY IV

any opposition; on the contrary, there is little doubt but that it was linked to the other and less palatable edict to render it the more passable. But the enormous loans, and the peremptory tone of the king, produced a scene of the most violent debate, which continued for six or seven hours, and to which Louis was compelled to listen. There was a loud and general demand for the calling of the states-general.

- D'Espréménil, Sebastian de Cabre, and Fréteau, especially urged the king to this measure, as of inevitable necessity. But, at length, Lamoignon, the keeper of the seals, whispered to Louis to put an end to the sitting, and he rose and commanded the edicts to be instantly registered. The duke of Orleans, the king's cousin, and first prince of the blood next to his own brothers, who was soon to occupy so remarkable a position in the revolution, asked whether this was a bed of justice or a *séance royale*. Louis replied a *séance royale*, and Orleans rejoined that edicts could not

to quit Paris, and confine himself to his chateau of Villars-Cotterets; Fréteau was arrested by *lettre de cachet*, and sent to the fortress of Ham, and Cabre to that of Mount St. Michael. The parliament was ordered to attend at Versailles with their journal, where they were soundly reprimanded, and the offensive protest erased. They returned, accompanied by the plaudits of the people, entered a fresh protest, and felt themselves stronger than ever. They boldly demanded the liberation of their members, Orleans, Fréteau, and Cabre. The king, paying no attention to their demand regarding the imprisoned members, ordered them to erase the second protest; they refused, and this state of antagonism continued several months. As Louis could not master his parliament, he was advised to abolish it, and to substitute in its place a *cour plénière*, consisting only of princes of the blood, great officers of the church, state, and army, nobles, governors of provinces, knights of



PROCESSION OF THE TIERS ETAT, IN PARIS, 1789.

different orders, one deputy from each provincial parliament, and two from each chamber of accounts and aids. The parliament of Paris was to be abolished for ever as unfitted for the requirements of the times. The members of the *cour plénière* were to be nominated by the king, and to retain their membership for life. Louis and the queen, who had ten times his sense and spirit, were in the delighted persuasion that they had discovered the means of freeing themselves from this troublesome parliament, and of avoiding the ominous *states-general*.

But the parliament was not so lightly set aside. No sooner did it learn the state secret, than it issued proclamations, declaring that there was no power in the state competent to remove it; and that this scheme was not only a violent invasion of its ancient and indefeasible rights, but equally so of the rights and liberties of the nation. Paris was in a state of intense excitement, and the court increased it by ordering the arrest of D'Espréménil and De Monsabert, the two members who had been most prominent in opposition. The parliament now took measures to make the occasion a fac-simile of the arrest of the five members of the English house of commons, for the revolution of England had been eagerly studied by the French patriots in all its parts. The two members, therefore, were not to be found at their own houses, but the next day appeared in their places in the parliament. There they stated that, over-night, an attempt had been made to deprive them of their liberty, and a resolution was passed, that it was a violation of the privileges of parliament, and that suitable remonstrance should be presented to the king. Soon after, as was expected, the *Palais de Justice* was surrounded by a regiment of soldiers, and an officer entered, and demanded, in the king's name, the persons of M. D'Espréménil and M. de Monsabert. The demand was received in profound silence, and at length the president replied that they were all, and there were one hundred and sixty-seven of them, D'Espréménils and Monsaberts, for they all held the same opinions. The officer, not knowing the persons of the two accused, retired, and went for fresh instructions. The members continued sitting, and, in fact, were blockaded by the regiment of soldiers. D'Espréménil addressed them in florid terms, declaring that they resembled the senators of Rome, awaiting the visit of Brennus, and that they were a grand spectacle to the universe.

After a besiegement of twenty hours, during which a messenger had been dispatched to Versailles and had returned, the officer reappeared, and demanded that they should deliver up to him the two members named, on penalty of incurring a charge of high treason, as protecting the king's enemies. The French senators, less stoical than their assumed prototypes of Rome, now gave way; the two members surrendered themselves, and were marched off. Outside, D'Espréménil said to the crowd, "Have you courage?" plainly suggesting a rescue, but the mob was not yet ripe for this. There was no response, and he and Monsabert were led away—D'Espréménil to a fortress on a little island near Toulon, and Monsabert to one near Lyons. The officer then, more like a Cromwell than a Charles I., turned out the remaining members, locked the doors, and departed. So far the parallel betwixt the French and English parliaments,

in the case of the arrest of their members, did not hold very closely; but the French parliament, though turned out of their house, were not the less determined in asserting their authority.

The king proceeded to call a *bed of justice* to register the edict for the *cour plénière* on the 8th of May, 1788, and the members of the parliament seized the opportunity to present a most decided address to Louis, declaring that they would take no part in that or any other transaction, except as a parliament restored to all its privileges, and denouncing the king's proceedings as despotic and destructive of the fundamental laws and institutions of the kingdom. The king explained the nature of the *cour plénière*, and ordered the edict to be registered, which it was, though the members of the parliament refused their concurrence. They then adjourned to a tavern, and entered a formal protest against the whole measure.

The example of the Paris parliament was followed by the provincial ones. They one and all refused to recognise the royal edict, and, though every means of intimidation was applied, none gave way except that of Douai. Force was applied at Rennes, and the military compelled the enregistering: this excited the indignation of the people to such a degree, that they insulted the soldiers, and were fired on, and some of them killed. A deputation was immediately dispatched to Versailles, bearing a warm remonstrance; but Brienne, instead of admitting them to the king, sent them to the Bastille by *lettre de cachet*. The sturdy Bretons, only the more incensed, sent a second and more numerous deputation; but these were met by government officers on the road, and compelled to return. A third and still more numerous deputation was sent, who were instructed to go privately, and by different roads; and thus they reached Versailles, but were refused admittance to the royal presence. Not thus, however, were the bold Bretons to be rebuffed. They called Lafayette to their councils, who had large possessions in Brittany, and whose mother was a native of that province, so that they claimed him as their compatriot. He had assured the Bretons that he was ready to act with them on all occasions for the thorough suppression of arbitrary power in France, and he did not fail them on this occasion. By his co-operation, they formed a Breton club, and its first act was to pronounce an energetic censure on the present proceedings of the court. Little did the court or even the patriots conceive into what this Breton club was to grow, and that it was to be the parent of the terrible jacobin club. From this moment Lafayette, with all his professions of regard for the crown and royal family, was a marked man, and, especially to the superior discernment of the queen, a revolutionist of the first stamp.

The same spirit was found to animate the rest of the parliaments. Eight of them, being found wholly uncompliant, were treated like the parliament of Paris, expelled from their places of sitting, and into other towns distant from their places of abode. The parliament of Grenoble, however, refused to quit the place, and, when military force was tried, the people rang the tocsin from every steeple; the countrymen flocked in armed with rustic weapons, and the soldiers refused to fire upon them. This was the first alarming symptom of that defection of the troops which soon utterly

broke the arm of royalty, and left it prostrate at the feet of the nation. The people of Pau, the capital of Bearn, instead of submitting to the government orders, through count Grammont, went in a body to him, carrying the cradle of Henry IV., the palladium of this little city, and informed him that they had planted cannon on their walls, and would resist to the death.

To add to those ominous proceedings in town and country, there was a loud demand for the liberation of the duke of Orleans. Louis replied that he knew sufficient of the duke to warrant the taking off his head, but still he soon after complied. Orleans returned to Paris, and, so far from avoiding the suspicions of a revolutionary kind, he gave great dinner parties and crowded *soirées* at his abode, the Palais Royal, at which appeared all those, of every class, who were notorious for their new and levelling principles. There were flying reports of large sums being distributed amongst the people, and of designs to pull down the throne, and set up Orleans as regent. If any portion of these rumours did injustice to Orleans, his own conduct at least gave sufficient countenance to the belief in them.

Events now rushed on with accumulating force and accelerated pace, and Heaven seemed to add its fiat to render them irresistible. The successive loans which had been so compulsorily registered, proved an empty vision. Nobody would subscribe to them; there had been a long drought, withering up the prospects of the harvest, and now, in July, came a terrible hailstorm, which extended one hundred and fifty miles round Paris, destroying the nearly ripe corn, the fruit on the trees, and leaving all that extent of country a desert, and the inhabitants the prey of famine. Under such circumstances, the people could not, those in other quarters would not, pay taxes; the treasury was empty, and the king was compelled to promise to convoke the states-general in the following May; Brienne endeavoured to amuse the active reformers by calling on men of intelligence to send in plans for the proper conduct of the states-general, as none had been held for one hundred and seventy-two years. The public was impatient for a much earlier summons, but they would not have been probably much listened to, had Loménie de Brienne known how to keep things going. His empty exchequer, however, and the pressing demands upon him, drove him to solicit the king to recall Necker and appoint him once more comptroller of the finances. He imagined that the popularity of Necker would at least extend the public patience. The queen energetically opposed the reinstatement of Necker; the position of affairs was, however, too desperate, and Necker was recalled. But now, on his part, he refused to take office under Brienne, and Brienne endeavoured to scramble on a while longer rather than resign. To buoy himself up, he committed acts of the most futile, and others of the most robberlike, character. He made a liberal issue of paper money, which the public creditors refused to take; and he then laid violent hands on the proceeds of a subscription raised for the relief of the poor who were perishing from the effects of the late storm. He next seized on the money-box at the royal theatre, and was proceeding to other deeds as lawless, when the king was compelled to dismiss him. Brienne, however, did not retire without substantial consolations for himself and his

connections. He was said to have accumulated from the revenues of the church not less than half a million of livres of income; he obtained a cardinal's hat; left his brother, count de Brienne, minister of war and governor of a province; his nephew was appointed his coadjutor in the archbishopric of Sens, and received one of the richest abbeys in France; his niece retained her appointment as *dame du palais*, and her husband his as colonel of a regiment.

Necker, on the 24th of August, resumed office amid the acclamations of the people, who imagined he was able to remove scarcity and supply revenue from some impossible sources. Yet not the less did they continue to express their resentment against Brienne, whose effigy they burnt in the streets, and against Lamoignon, the keeper of the seals, whose house they were proceeding to attack, when they were met and driven back by the troops. The mob called on the French guards to fraternise with them, but they were not so successful now as afterwards, for the soldiers fired on them, and killed and wounded a great number before they would disperse. Numbers of well-dressed persons were seen to mingle with the rioters, and to encourage them, especially one Carles, a jeweller. All these were imagined to be agents of the duke of Orleans; but were probably rather agents of the party with which he was co-operating. To conceal the extent of the slaughter, and thus avoid the consequent fury of the people, the soldiers and the city watch are said to have thrown the bodies of both killed and wounded into the Seine.

Necker immediately advised the restoration of the Paris parliament, and the members were accompanied on their way to the Palais de Justice by the deafening plaudits of the people; but their popularity was as brief as it was enthusiastic. They approved of the meeting of the states-general at the time fixed, but gave it as their opinion that they should take the same form as at their last sitting, in 1614. This at once turned the heart of the people against them, for it was saying that the tiers état was to be swallowed up entirely by the noblesse and the clergy. The moment this decision was known, the whole people of Paris burst into execration against the parliamenters, and their popularity and their existence disappeared together. On the other hand, the various clubs, amid which the Breton club and the club des Enragés were conspicuous, declared that the tiers état must outnumber the two other orders together, or that it was impossible to expect that the great and necessary changes demanded could take place. The first matter to be carried was that of taxing these orders in their full proportion to the rest of the community, and it was clear that, if left with a majority, it was absurd to hope for so much self-sacrifice. The fact was too palpable to be denied, yet it was equally clear that with a standing majority of the tiers état, the old privileged orders would be left at the mercy of the people, and must suffer, in their turn, all that they had so long inflicted on the lower classes. It was conspicuously not a question of deliberative reason, but of revolutionary force. The privileged orders must yield their privileges, and the people know well enough that they would not yield them voluntarily; the pendulum of compulsion must swing now as far one way as it had before done the other.

There were numbers of papers put forth, advocating the supremacy of the people. One of these, called *Délibérations*, issued from the Palais Royal coterie, that of the democratic duke of Orleans, and was said to be the composition of his private secretary, Laclos, the author of *Les Liaisons Dangereuses*, a most profligate work. These *Délibérations* went to make the tiers état everything, and the noblesse and clergy nothing. The abbé Sieyès, however, issued the most popular and effective brochure on the same side, entitled, *Qu'est-ce que le Tiers Etat?* "What is the Third Estate?" which he, in reply, showed to be the great and really rightful power. Count Emanuel Sieyès, or the abbé Sieyès, as he was universally called, was the son of the director of the post-office at Frejus. He entered the church, and became one of the grand vicars of the bishop of Chartres; but, on the breaking out of the French revolution, he became seized with the revolutionary spirit, abandoned ecclesiastical life, and devoted himself to politics. Sieyès was an honest enthusiast in this field. He was for a thorough and searching reform, but by no means for the destruction of the monarchy. We shall soon find him preparing the famous "Declaration of the Rights of Man;" but when the convention proposed to try Louis XVI. for his life, he declared that that assembly could not be at once accuser and judge. He opposed the licentiousness of the press; opposed Paine's scheme of a republic, declaring a monarchy more favourable to liberty than a republic. He declined sitting in the convention when the mountain gained the ascendancy. He continued to oppose the Jacobins, yet escaped with his life, and survived through a multitude of dangers—opposing Napoleon as he had opposed the republic—and died peaceably, in 1836, at the age of eighty-eight—one of the few prominent men of the revolution who reached old age.

But at this time Sieyès, with his love of liberty, did not comprehend the danger of letting loose millions of ignorant, oppressed, and debauched proletaires. He hated tyrants, but he had yet to learn that there are other and even worse tyrants than kings and nobles—the tyrant passions of a lawless, uneducated, and unchristianised mob. On the other hand, there were not wanting those at this crisis who warned the king of the certain consequences of giving the tiers état the preponderance in the states-general. The princes of the blood—the count d'Artois, the prince of Condé, the duke of Bourbon, the duke of Enghein, and the prince of Conti—addressed a memorial to the king, and published it, declaring that, to consent to the tiers état equalling the two other orders, would be, in fact, to sweep away monarchy, nobility, church, and everything. Every one who knew the real condition of France, and the miseries, and oppressions, and innate ferocity of the French populace, must see that inevitably; but the crown and the privileged orders had driven matters to this extremity, and there was no alternative. Give the tiers état power to control the two other orders combined, and down must come the whole ancient regime, with all its insolence and tyrannies, and with everything which might be of better nature in it; refuse that, and the tiers état, groaning with famine and desperation, and incited to fury by the new doctrines of equality, and revolution would force itself out by some other way. The convulsion must come; because, in the

party possessing wealth and honour, there was no idea of concession; and in the popular party no longer any patience of endurance.

Necker, the hoped-for preserver in this dilemma, was as completely at a loss as every one else. He proposed to the king to assemble the notables again, in order to settle the question whether the tiers état should equal in numbers the two other orders? and whether the three orders should deliberate in three separate chambers, or altogether in one? The expedient was preposterous; it had been seen in Calonne's time how the notables would act, for they were of the privileged orders, and would assuredly vote for their preponderance. They were called together, however, on the 6th of November, 1788, and, sitting in six different bureaux, according to the six ancient nations of which France was composed, a prince of the blood presiding in each, and with one exception, the whole of these bureaux, as might have been foreseen, voted that the tiers état should not double their number. They were immediately dismissed, and Necker, on his own responsibility, proposed to the king, at the close of the year 1788, to give the tiers état the desired double representation. Poor Louis, frightened and confounded, next sought the opinion of the parliament of Paris: but this body had already incurred the hatred of the populace, by giving their opinion for the old form of the states-general; and they now declined giving a further utterance on the question, declaring that this matter belonged strictly to the king. Driven to decide, and with Necker urging him, and representing the perils of refusing the popular demand, Louis issued an order that the states-general should meet at Versailles, in the month of May, 1789; that the tiers état should have the double representation; and that it should be left to the states-general themselves whether they would sit in one hall or three. The number of the deputies altogether, it was resolved, should be one thousand, and should be formed in a ratio composed of the population and the amount of taxes paid by each *baillage*.

This declaration was received in Paris with enthusiasm, and, as it was supposed to be produced by the influence of Necker, he received an accession of popularity with the people, and hatred with the nobles. In the provinces, the announcement called forth a scene of universal confusion and contention. The people and the nobles were thrown into violent opposition. Wherever the nobles and clergy possessed the power, the exultation of the people was crushed; wherever the people preponderated—as in towns—they attacked and intimidated the menacing nobles and clergy. The firmness of the people was doubled by the stringency of famine. All kinds of trade and manufactures were at a stand; bread, and every article of food, was enormous in price, and extremely scarce—money scarcest of all. In Brittany, where the people had of late shown such determination against the forcing of the parliament, the nobles now protested stoutly against the numbers of the tiers état equalling that of the other two orders; and they and the people came to blows about it in the streets of Rennes, and blood was spilled. The parliaments of Bourges, Aix, Grenoble, and nearly all the provincial parliaments which had demanded the states-general, now declared that

in its present shape it would ruin the privileged orders, the king, and kingdom. The name of Necker, the assumed counsellor of the double number of the tiers état, was execrated by the nobles and clergy, and rapturously applauded by the people.

In the country, the elections proceeded amid much tumult, and many faction fights; in Paris, they went on in the face of numbers of troops, who charged their muskets in view of the people. The famine was intense. The great hail-storm which made such havoc with the crops in July of the preceding summer, had been followed by a terrible winter, and the bakers were in constant terror from the starving multitude; and there were direful threats against the hoarders of grain. The states-general were to open on the 27th of April; but, to the great resentment of the people, they were adjourned to the 4th of May. The elections were delayed to the very eve of the assembling of the states, and were conducted in the capital under strict regulations. A special rule, introduced after the meeting of the convocation, named as electors of the first rank such as paid six livres of city rate. Lists were distributed, and certain persons in each district were named as those who should be candidates for the offices, the president, vice-president, and secretaries of the general election committee. But in only three of the districts were those returned the same as the king had named. Finally, from these were elected the advocate Torget, vice-president Camus, and as secretaries, Bailly the astronomer, and Guillotin, a physician. The elections went on in the different churches, and the electors, under a president of their own choice, triumphed over the archbishop, who endeavoured to influence the elections, according to his own predilections. Tradesmen, lawyers, literary men, found themselves, for the first time, thus brought together, and felt a new power in this union. The learned Bailly, who had hitherto lived so retired, came forth from his retreat at Chaillot, and proceeded on foot to the general bureau. As he paused for a moment on the terrace of the Feuillans, he was addressed by a young man. "You will be returned," he said. "I cannot tell," replied Bailly; "the honour ought neither to be solicited nor refused," and he walked on.

Whilst matters were thus quietly proceeding, there came a terrible interruption. A mob, in rags, rushed along the faubourg St. Antoine, demanding the head of an elector, Re-veillon, a paper manufacturer, who, it was said, had declared that he would reduce the wages of his workmen one half. Re-veillon had himself risen from the condition of a working man to wealth. The mob hanged him in effigy at his own door, then marched with the figure to the Place de Grève, and burnt it under the windows of the Hôtel de Ville, the office of the city magistrates. Having done this under the eyes of the lieutenant of police, Flesselles, the prévôt des marchands, the intendant Berthier, and all the agents of the court who had surrounded the electors with soldiers, all of whom remained inactive, they then announced that, on the morrow, they would execute justice on Re-veillon himself. It is amazing that, after this spectacle and announcement, the police took no measures of precaution. The colonel of the guards made a show of protection to Re-veillon's property and life, but it was a ludicrous one,

consisting merely of a guard of thirty men. These soon found themselves useless in the midst of a dense mob of from one to two thousand thieves, and a hundred thousand spectators. The house was forced open, everything was broken and destroyed; nothing was carried away, except what money could be found, and with which the thieves regaled themselves in the wine-shops and cabarets; and all this was done by a crowd, without arms, under the very guns of the Bastille! The mob was at length dispersed; but it returned the next day, and burned down the house; they were then fired on by the soldiers, and a considerable number of the ragged rioters killed. Money was found in many of their pockets, and it was industriously circulated amongst the aristocracy, that this money had been distributed amongst the crowd by the agents of the duke of Orleans, but more probably it was seized in the sacking of Re-veillon's house. Bessenval cleared the streets with his Swiss guards, and from four to five hundred killed and wounded were the first characteristic outbreak of this most bloody revolution. Another equally characteristic fact was, that whilst all this mischief was doing, the mob continued to cry, "Down with the aristocrats!" From the first, the destruction of the privileged orders was uppermost in the mind of the populace.

The nobles and the titled clergy, justly alarmed, rushed to the court, and sought protection there as the natural quarter. Unfortunately for them, the king rather regarded the people as the enemies of the privileged orders than of the court, and he fondly hoped that the states-general would enable him to crush, in some degree, the overbearing conduct and pretensions of these classes. He did not at all perceive the truth, that crown, court, nobles, and clergy were all alike inimical, and all alike doomed.

The time was come for the assembling of the states. On the 4th of May, Versailles was crowded by immense masses of people from Paris, and from all the country round, to see the grand procession of the deputies of the three orders advancing from the church of Notre Dame to that of St. Louis. The whole of the costumes, the order of march, and the spectacle had been carefully studied by the court, and so studied as to impress deeply the distinctions of the three orders, and to humiliate the tiers état. The evening before, the deputies had waited on the king, and even then he had greatly incensed those of the tiers état who came most favourably disposed to him. Even whilst he hoped to obtain essential advantages from the people against the presumption of the privileged orders, Louis, or his advisers, could not refrain from humiliating the third class. Instead of receiving the deputies in one body, they had been carefully separated; the clergy were received first, the nobles next, and then, not till after a considerable pause, the tiers.

Now, on the great morning, all Paris—all the vicinity—thousands from distant towns—were all astir. The broad streets of Versailles were lined with French and Swiss guards, and made gay with garlands of flowers, and from the windows hung rich tapestries. The balconies and windows were crowded with spectators of all ages and both sexes—the handsomest ladies gorgeously attired. The deputies, instead of one thousand, amounted to one thousand two hundred. First marched the members of the tiers état, six

hundred in number, all clad in plain black mantles, white cravats, and slouched hats. Next went the nobles in black coats, but the other garments of cloth of gold, silk cloak, lace cravat, plumed hat turned up *à la* Henry IV.; then the clergy, in surplice, with mantle, and square cap; the bishops in their purple robes, with their rochets. Last came the court, all ablaze with jewels and splendid robes; the king looking in good spirits, the queen anxious, and foreboding, even then, the miseries that were to follow. Her eldest son, the dauphin, was lying at the point of death in the palace, and her reputation was being daily murdered by the most atrocious calumnies. Yet still Marie Antoinette, the daughter of the great Maria Theresa, the once light-hearted, always kind and amiable woman, was the perfect queen in her stately beauty. She was still worthy of the eulogium of Burke, as he saw her, years before, at Versailles, when he wrote, "Surely never lighted on this orb, which she hardly seemed to touch, a more delightful vision! I saw her just above the horizon, decorating and cheering the elevated sphere she just began to move in, glittering like the morning-star, full of life, and splendour, and joy." "Marie Antoinette," says madame le Brun, who had often painted her, "was tall, exquisitely well made, sufficiently plump, without being too much so. Her arms were superb, her hands small, perfect in form, and her feet charming. Her gait was more graceful than that of any woman in France. She held her head very erect, with a majesty which enabled you to distinguish the sovereign amidst all her court, and yet that majesty did not in the least detract from the extreme kindness and benevolence of her look. And," adds madame le Brun, "I do not think that queen Marie Antoinette ever missed an occasion to say an agreeable thing to those who had the honour to approach her."

Such was the woman whom the people of France already delighted to torture. As she passed, the women cried, "Vive le duc d'Orleans!" trusting to wound her by naming her enemy. They were only too successful. The queen, at that cry, nearly fainted; but she summoned all her courage, recovered her firmness, and endeavoured to look calm.

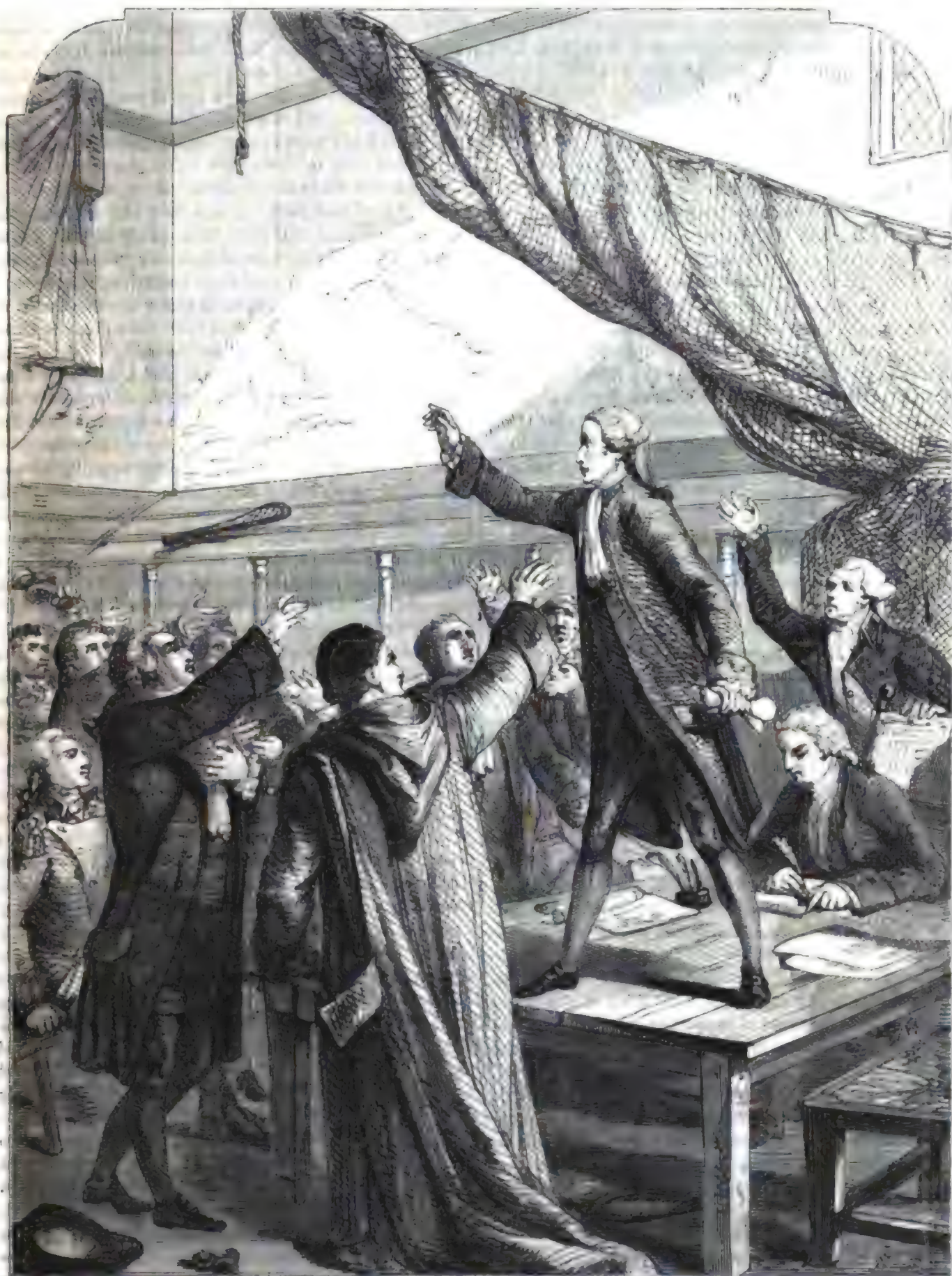
Two things were remarked—the absence of Sieyès, and the presence of Mirabeau. Sieyès had not yet arrived; Mirabeau drew all regards. His immense head of hair; his lion-like head, marked by an ugliness quite startling, almost terrifying: the eyes of the spectators seemed fascinated by his look. He marched on visibly a man; the rest, before and after, appeared mere shadows. A man, in his time and his rank, unfortunate; vicious, as most of his grade were; scandalous even beyond them; revelling and courageous in vice; violent and even furious in his passions. But a new life was opening upon him; a life of new power—one in which he declared that his soul would re-germinate with France. There was a flush of excitement on his cheek; he carried his enormous head aloft with an air of proud audacity; that voice, so soon to thunder through France, to shake the very throne, alone unperceived at this moment.

The tiers was applauded continually; amongst the nobles, Orleans was alone, he lingered behind, as desirous of showing that he wished rather to belong to the tiers; the king was applauded because he had convoked the states-general.

As the procession advanced, bands of music placed at intervals rent the air with melodious sounds; military marches, the rolling of drums, the clangour of trumpets, the impressive chants of the priests alternately heard, enlivened the march to the church. There were few there who did not feel all the deep emotion arising from a scene in which a nation sought to renew itself, like the marquis de Ferrières, who, as a spectator, says—"Plunged into the most delicious ecstacy, sublime but melancholy thoughts presented themselves to my mind. I beheld that France, my country, supported by religion, saying to us, 'Desist from your puerile quarrels; this is the decisive moment which shall either give me new life or annihilate me for ever!'" Alas! very little genuine religion was there, but the atheistic spirit disseminated by Voltaire, or, at best, but the theism of Rousseau and of his Vicaire Savoyard.

On their arrival at St. Louis, the three orders seated themselves on benches placed in the nave. The king and queen took their places beneath a canopy of purple velvet sprinkled with golden fleurs-de-lis; the princes, the princesses, the great officers of the crown, and the ladies of the palace occupied the space reserved for their majesties. The host was carried to the altar to the sound of the most impressive music. It was an *O salutaris hostia*! The bishop of Nancy delivered the discourse—"Religion constitutes the prosperity of nations; religion constitutes the happiness of the people." Even the scoffing sceptics of France were touched for a moment. Such was that beautiful day—the last day of peace, the first of a tremendous future!

The next day the states-general assembled in the hall of Menus Plaisirs, a vast place, in which the court had been accustomed to enjoy its amusements. It was now prepared for this solemn purpose, and exhibited a wonderful magnificence. The king was seated on an elevated throne with the queen near him, the two privileged orders occupying each a side of the hall, the tiers at the bottom of it on seats made purposely lower than those for the clergy and nobles. This was another of those insolences which only served to whet the fury of the tiers against their oppressors. They had come up from the country with written orders to submit to no indignities, and the blind aristocracy could not see that in thus piquing the tiers, they were goading a lion that would speedily tear them to pieces. When Mirabeau entered, there was a general movement. The man was so well known; his strange adventures of intrigue and imprisonment; his proud nature; his rejection as a candidate by his own order; and his condescending to sit as what the court in derision called "a plebeian consul." But his very look, his step, awed the assembly. He cast a threatening glance at the ranks that he was not allowed to approach. A bitter smile played on his lips, which were habitually contracted by an ironical and scornful expression. He proceeded across the hall and seated himself on those benches from which he was to hurl the thunderbolts of revolution. A gentleman strongly attached to the court, but likewise a friend of Mirabeau, who had observed the rancorous look which he darted round him when he took his seat, entered into conversation with him, and reminded him that his peculiar position closed the door of every saloon in Paris.



MEETING OF THE REVOLUTIONARY LEADERS IN THE TENNIS COURT.

against him; that society, once wounded, was not easily appeased; and, if he wished to be pardoned, he must ask pardon. At the word "pardon" he started up, stamped violently on the floor, his bushy hair seemed to stand on end, his lips quivered and turned livid, and he exclaimed, "I came hither not to ask pardon, but to be asked!"

The custom was that the tiers should take off their hats when the king ascended the throne, though the other orders remained covered, but they now remained covered too. The king observing this took off his hat, to mark the difference, but the tiers remained calmly retaining their hats. These were in themselves small matters, but they showed a great deal—they showed the spirit of the people. The king, with an air of cheerfulness, read a speech, in which he expressed his regard and admiration for the two higher orders, who, he said, were prepared to renounce their pecuniary privileges, and declared his affection for his people generally. He was occasionally applauded; but there appeared very little heart, either in the royal address, or in the responses to it. He was then followed by the keeper of the seals, not now Lamoignon, who had been dismissed, and soon after committed suicide, but Barentin, late president of the court of aids. He spoke chiefly of the necessities of the finance department. He was followed by Necker on the same subject, in a speech of three hours' length. It was written, and, when he had read till he was tired, he begged leave to allow a clerk to read the remainder. This would have appeared a strange proceeding on the part of a chancellor of the exchequer in England. The finances were the chief theme of this long treatise; there was very little of the subject of reform; Necker admitted a deficit of fifty millions of livres, and tired every one out with his prolixity. He calculated, like the king, on the privileged orders voluntarily submitting themselves to taxation, but this was a rather gratuitous assumption. Some of the more liberal or prudent nobles had proposed that this should be done, and many of the clergy, but contrary to the opinion of the majority of that body, had expressed such a wish; but as for the assembly at large, it was silent, ominously silent on the subject. It was not till after two months of terrible conflict, in fact, till after the victory of the tiers, that the clergy, on the 26th of June, declared their acquiescence in this principle of self-sacrifice, and that the nobles promised to concede.

When the king rose, there were pretty warm cries of *Vive le Roi!* but very faint ones on the rising of the queen. The queen had been excited to tears by the applause which the king received, and there were others present who augured well for the progress of affairs in the states-general, but there were others more profound. Two ladies sat side by side in the gallery of the great hall of the Menus Plaisirs, which, besides the one thousand two hundred members, could accommodate four thousand spectators. These were madame de Staël, the daughter of Necker, and madame de Montmorin, the wife of the minister of foreign affairs. De Staël was all exultation at the prospect of renovation and prosperity under the administration of her father, but madame de Montmorin replied, "You are wrong to rejoice: this event forebodes much misery to France and to ourselves." What must have been the horror, however, of this lady

could she then have foreseen all that awaited herself personally! Her husband was massacred in prison on the 2nd of September; one of her sons was drowned, another died on the scaffold; one daughter perished in prison, another died of a broken heart; and she herself fell beneath the axe of the guillotine!

The next morning the states met to verify their returns of the members; but when the tiers entered the general hall, they found that the two other orders had retired, each to an apartment by themselves. This was in accordance with the determination of those orders to maintain a superiority of rank over the tiers, and not to admit that they were a part of that body, or that body of them. The verification of the returns thus separately was voted by the nobles by a majority of one hundred and thirty-three to one hundred and fourteen; and by the clergy by a majority of one hundred and eighty-eight to one hundred and fourteen. But the tiers were resolved not to recognise any such separation, which would have necessitated a voting by order, and not by head in the general assembly. The question was of the most vital importance; for this separate deliberation permitted, the two orders voting one way on any subject, would have thrown the tiers into the minority, in spite of their superior numbers. Here, then, the great battle of the revolution began. Had the tiers entered into discussion on this point, it might have appeared to recognise some ground for such a discussion. On the contrary, they assumed that the states-general formed only one aggregate body, and they sent word only to the two other orders that they were waiting for their presence to proceed to the verification.

The clergy, which contained a large proportion of poor curés, who had been returned by the people, were disposed to entertain the question, and offered to appoint commissioners to discuss and settle it with the tiers. The clergy in this displayed great magnanimity, for, as a class, they had been the most severely handled by the philosophers, and their very existence as a political body denied. On the contrary, the nobles received the invitation with scorn and fury. This order, which denounced all exhibition of passion in others, displayed the utmost licence of rage in themselves. Cazales and D'Espréménil, who had been recently ennobled, like all proselytes and parvenus, were most violent. They were men not without talent, but vain, heady, and impetuous, and they made the most insolent and mischievous motions. The tiers remained quiet, steadfast, and in an expectant attitude. They knew that they had at least fifty of the nobles and a hundred of the clergy already with them in their views. In this position of things, the parties divided themselves, but in what unequal proportions! The two orders betook themselves to the king, the head of the privileged. The tiers relied on the people. On the one part, there was an active running to the palace, whose doors stood open to all such access; and on the other, there was as constant and active a passing to and fro betwixt Versailles and Paris. The assembly of electors in Paris was in great agitation, and sent almost hourly expresses to learn all that passed in the hall or at the palace. The court, on the other hand, continually surrounded itself more and more with soldiers. The tiers relied as its guard on the press, which was heard all over the kingdom; and the court, therefore, attempted to

fetter the press. Mirabeau published "A Journal of the States-General," in which he gave a regular report of the proceedings of that body. The court ordered its suppression; and by a second order, forbade any publication of a journal without its permission. This was a most ill-advised proceeding, to revive the thralldom of the press in the very face of the states-general, since the publication of its transactions was absolutely necessary as a means of communication betwixt it and its constituents. Mirabeau immediately altered the title of his journal to "Letters to my Constituents," and no one dared to say that a deputy should not correspond with his constituents.

Six days had passed. On the 12th of May, Rabaud de St. Etienne, the protestant deputy of Nismes, son of the venerable martyr of the Cevennes, proposed a conference with the other orders, to endeavour to establish union. Chapelier, of Brittany, proposed, as an amendment, that there should not be an invitation to confer, as that might argue a right of separate sitting, but a notification that the tiers were astonished that the other orders did not attend to verify, and that the states being once assembled, there could be no separate deputies of orders or provinces, but simply the representatives of the nation. The clergy thereupon addressed a letter to the tiers, but they refused to open it, or any other communications from either of the orders; they declared themselves a meeting of citizens assembled by legitimate authority to wait for other citizens. At length the nobles as well as the clergy consented to a conference. At the conference, the two privileged orders declared that they renounced their privileges. The tiers accepted the renunciation, but refused to proceed to business till the returns were verified in common, asserting that it was necessary that all should witness the verification of all. The nobles refused, and again retired, each party more embittered than before.

On the 27th of May, Mirabeau declared that it was high time to begin business; and, as the noblesse continued immovable, he proposed that they should send an invitation to the clergy, to summon them to join the friends of the people "in the name of the God of peace, and for the interests of the nation." This was at once acceded to, and Target, a lawyer of Paris, was sent up to that order, attended by a numerous deputation from the tiers, who demanded, in those very words, whether the clergy would join the tiers or not. The solemnity of the message struck the clergy. Numbers of the curés were anxious to join. They replied by acclamations; but the prelates obtained a delay, and the answer returned was, that they would take the message into deliberation. The inexorable tiers, on receiving this reply, declared that they would not adjourn till they had the response of the clergy. As the answer did not arrive, the tiers sent a second message, that they were waiting for it. The clergy complained that this was hurrying them, and the tiers rejoined that they might take their time, that the commons would wait, if necessary, all day and all night. The clergy then begged that they might give their answer on the morrow, and the tiers then went to their dinners and their clubs. On their part, the prelates hastened to the palace, and there held a close conference with the king and nobles. The king was then persuaded to send a letter to the tiers, inviting them to meet the other

orders, and renew their conferences in the presence of his keeper of the seals, and thus endeavour to come to an amicable conclusion. The tiers expressed their readiness to comply out of respect to his majesty, though they expressed little hope from the known feelings of the nobles. They sent their reply, accompanied by a loyal address, by the hands of their doyen, or president by seniority, who was Bailly, the astronomer. Bailly had been elected to this post, much to his own alarm and astonishment, and in opposition to his retired habits; but he quickly displayed a presence of mind and a firmness, which surprised nobody more than himself.

Bailly found much difficulty in obtaining access to the king, partly probably from the recent death of the dauphin, and partly, no doubt, from the endeavours of the courtiers to prevent him. Delicate, however, as was his mission at that time, the importance of the occasion made his delivery of the message imperative. He persisted and was successful. The courtiers complained that he had not respected the grief of the monarch, but this grief did not prevent the king being closeted with the prelates and nobles, and the complaint was, therefore, unjust. Bailly appears to have discharged his office with proper deference, and to have been received with courtesy by the king.

The court hoped at this time to become the umpire in the disputes betwixt the orders, and, in that capacity, to use the tiers in order to wrest from the nobles and clergy their pecuniary exemptions; and the nobles, aware of this, were equally anxious to create such embarrassments as should ultimately put an end to the states-general. But whilst the crown and nobles were thus manœuvring, the tiers, by their imperturbable patience, were every day further augmenting their influence with the public.

The conferences were held, as the king proposed. But, at the very outset, the commissioners of the nobles raised all sorts of objections to the title of the commons, which the tiers had adopted, and about the form and signature of the minister, or *procès-verbaux*. These being got over, Necker proposed that each order should verify its powers separately, and then communicate them to each other; and should any dispute arise, they should refer the decision to the king. This was precisely what the court wanted, for, by this means, it would be able to decide to its own advantage. It was a critical moment for the tiers. If the tiers should refuse this royal proposal, and the others accept it, it would appear to prefer its own will to the good of the nation. The people were waiting the results of the states-general with increasing famine and misery, and the commons would appear indifferent to it. If the tiers accepted the proposal, the crown might settle the question in dispute by an order in council, and the three orders would remain separate. At all events, the tiers would become what they had hitherto stoutly resisted becoming, only one party against two, and all would be lost. Mirabeau pointed out the snare, and advised that the tiers should wait till the other orders had decided; and, to their great satisfaction, the nobles released them from the dilemma. The clergy accepted the proposal at once; but the nobles agreed to accept the proposal only conditionally. They insisted on verifying separately, and in only appealing to the king on certain questions—not on all. From that day, says Thiers, must be dated all their

disasters. That day certainly brought the revolution to a crisis; but that crisis must have come sooner or later—it lay in the nature of things, not in any particular act.

The commons were now brought to a point. They must act for themselves, and for the people at large, or, by further delays, lose all the advantages of the moment. They resolved to assume the character of the representatives of the nation at large; yet, for a moment, there was a new snare thrown in their way by the prelates. The archbishop of Aix appeared in the hall, and made a most pathetic statement of the sufferings of the people in the rural districts. Labour had ceased, he said; those who could not find it at home sought it elsewhere, but they found it nowhere. They begged, but obtained nothing. Famishing bands ran through the country furious, murderous, raging. There was universal terror; all communication betwixt places was at an end; the dearth went on augmenting. He produced a piece of the most black and repulsive bread to show what the people ate when they could get anything. It required great tact to avoid the snare, that of refusing to quit their waiting position, and of thus appearing insensible to the misery of the people; but, when the archbishop had done, there arose a deputy, who had hitherto attracted little attention, but who was destined to electrify France and the world—it was Robespierre! Fixing his eye on the archbishop, he expressed his deep sympathy and the sympathy of the whole of the commons for the sufferings of the people, and he then added, in a stern and piercing voice—"Go tell your colleagues that if they are so anxious to relieve the people, they should hasten to unite themselves in this hall with the friends of the people. Tell them no longer to retard our proceedings by affected delays. Tell them not to employ paltry means like this to make us recede from the resolutions we have taken. Rather, ye ministers of religion, as worthy imitators of your Master, renounce the splendours which surround you, the luxury which insults the poor. Resume the humility of your origin, dismiss those insolent lacqueys who escort you, sell your gaudy equipages, and convert these odious superfluities into bread for the poor!"

At these words, astonishment ran through the assembly; every one was asking who was the speaker, and the archbishop retired to report his exemplary defeat. Mirabeau instantly rose, and said, "Any plan of reconciliation rejected by one party can no longer be examined by the other. A month is past; it is time to take a decisive step; a deputy of Paris has an important motion to make, let us hear him." He then introduced the Abbé Sieyès to the tribune. Sieyès had done much for the revolution by his proclamation of the Rights of Man. He now did a great deal more. He declared that the commons had now waited on the other orders long enough. They had conceded to all the conciliations proposed; their condescensions had been unavailing; they could delay no longer, without abandoning their duty to the country; and they ought to send a last message to the other orders.

The proposition of Sieyès was received with acclamation. It was suggested only that the word "invitation" was not sufficiently firm; not worthy enough of the assembly. They should demand a compliance, and that within an hour! This was also enthusiastically approved, but the morrow

being the Fête Dieu, or Corpus Domini, the summons was deferred to the next day, Friday, when it was duly delivered. The answer from the two orders was that they would take the message into consideration, and the king, to whom the communication had also been sent, replied that he would inform them of his intentions.

In strict accordance with their message, that the call of all the baillages convoked would commence within an hour, the tiers proceeded to the verifications, declaring that all such persons as did not appear should be proclaimed defaulters. Whilst engaged in this work, three curés entered, and were received as members with tumultuous applause. The next day, six more entered and took their places as part of the house; on the third day, ten more, amongst whom was the Abbé Gregoire. During the call of the baillages, a great debate arose regarding the name which the body of deputies which resolved to become the real legislative power should choose. Mirabeau proposed, the "Representatives of the People;" Mounier, "The Deliberative Majority in the absence of the Minority;" and Legrand, "The National Assembly." The proposal of Mounier was soon disposed of, but there was a strong inclination for the National Assembly, and Mirabeau vehemently opposed it in favour of his own suggestion. The name of National Assembly had, it is said, been recommended to Lafayette by Jefferson, the American minister, and, as Lafayette had not yet ventured to move before his order and join the tiers, Legrand, an obscure member, and lately a provincial advocate, was employed to propose it. But Sieyès had, in his famous *brochure* on the "Rights of Man," long before thrown out these words:—"The tiers alone, it will be said, cannot form a states-general. So much the better; it will constitute a National Assembly." On the 15th of June, Sieyès proposed that the title should be "The National Assembly of Representatives, known and verified by the French Nation." This addition to the simple title was meant to indicate that the tiers had verified as deputies publicly, the other orders in secret, and that, therefore, there was some dubiousness regarding their verification.

Mirabeau indignantly repelled the title in any shape. He declared that such a title, by denying the rights and existence of the other two orders, would precipitate the nation into a civil war. Legrand proposed to modify the name by making it "The General Assembly." Sieyès then came back to his original title of simply "The National Assembly," as devoid of all ambiguity, and Mirabeau still more violently opposed it. But it was soon seen that this name carried the opinion of the mob with it; the deputies cried out loudly for it; the galleries joined as loudly in the cry. Mirabeau in a fierce rage read his speech, said to have been written by his friend Dumont, before the president, Bailly, and withdrew, using violent language against the people who had hooted him down, declaring that they would soon be compelled to seek his aid. He had protested in his speech that the veto, which some of the deputies wished to refuse to the king, must be given to him; that without the royal veto he would rather live in Constantinople than in France; that he could conceive nothing more dreadful than the sovereignty of six hundred persons; that they would very soon declare themselves hereditary, and would finish, like all other aristocracies that the world had ever seen, by usurping

everything. These words, only too prophetic, had brought down upon him a tempest of execration; and writhing under it he had hastened to the court and had an interview with Necker, warning him of the danger of the crisis, and offering to use his influence in favour of the king's authority. Necker received him coldly, and thus Mirabeau was thrown back on the people.

Meantime, the debate had continued till one o'clock of the night of the 16th of June, when the term "national assembly" was put to the vote. There were four hundred deputies in favour of it, and less than two hundred against it; but this minority, seeing itself about to lose, maintained such a clamour of cries and opposition that the voting could not be completed. There was a call for adjournment, but this was firmly resisted, on the ground that the court, which had surrounded Versailles with troops, might employ them to defeat the ultimate decision. Amid the deafening cries of "adjourn! adjourn!" "vote! vote!" president Bailly sat for above an hour in immovable silence. Amongst the fiercest leaders of the noisy opposition was Malouet. A member suddenly darted upon him, seized him by the collar, and by main force expelled him from the hall. By degrees the uproar ceased, when Bailly himself proposed that they should adjourn till daylight, and this wise desire was complied with.

On the morning of the 17th, as the deputies were proceeding to vote, it was announced to the president that he was commanded to attend at the palace to receive a letter from the king. This letter, which was to represent that the tiers could do nothing without the other two orders, would have come in most malapropos to give a new vigour to the opposition. The tiers, therefore, calmly adjourned the receipt of the letter, and forbade the president to quit the hall until the close of the sitting. The three motions were then, in the absence of Mirabeau, resolved into two, that of Mounier for the title of representatives of the majority, Mirabeau's motion for comprehending the word "people" being included in it. Sieyès's motion, however, was put first, and was carried by a majority of four hundred and ninety-one against ninety; and the National Assembly was proclaimed amid loud acclamations, mingled with cries of "Vive le Roi!" Thus the proposition of Sieyès, which gave the preference to man over mere contingents, trampled over that of Mounier, who was the advocate of property against the population, of land against men. The nation now represented one great unity; there was, so far as the name and institution went, an end of ancient injustice. The middle ages now ceased in France—the barbarous system, in which the globe counted for more than humanity—where earth, manure, and ashes were paramount to spirit. It was a noble commencement, had the French had the necessary qualities to carry out the idea worthily.

Sieyès was appointed to report the motives of this transaction, and justified them on these grounds:—That the assembly had found that it represented at least ninety-six hundredths of the nation, and that all the *baillages* having been called, the defaulters had no right to suspend the action of the majority, such a majority as it was; that all who verified these returns were admissible into the assembly, and therefore had no right to act separately, or to complain of

the assembly acting without them; that there could be no veto betwixt the assembly and the throne; that the assembly would never relinquish the hope of collecting into its bosom all the deputies still absent, and pledged itself to receive them, or any of them, at any period during the session about to be opened.

There were two attempts made to delay the taking of the oath to maintain the new institution: one was a message from the noblesse on some pretext, and the other was a motion by certain deputies that, before taking the oath, the president should be elected, for Bailly was yet only provisionally president; and the second that the assembly should appoint its complete staff of officers. The house passed to the order of the day, and Bailly reading aloud the oath, all, raising their right hands, and looking fixedly on the president, cried, "We swear!"

The assembly was thus founded; but, to give it a more real air of life, it was deemed desirable to commence immediate legislative enactment, and it at once passed resolutions sanctioning the collection of the taxes, although they had been imposed without the national consent; but it confined this validity of collection to the term of the existence of the present assembly; and to prevent the possibility of the other orders or the crown declaring a national bankruptcy, and thus dispensing with their concurrence, they guaranteed the national debts, and declared that they would proceed directly to consider the causes of the public dearth and distress, and the remedies for them.

The minister, Necker, was confounded at the boldness of these proceedings. He had imagined that he could lead the world, and the world was advancing without him. He had advised the king to be calm and prudent, and, behold! the assembly had pushed down all the old barriers without even casting a look on him. In his stupefaction, he was counselled by persons of opposite political creeds, but whose counsels issued in the same result. These were the old intendant Bertrand de Molleville, an ultra-royalist, who has left us his memoirs, and Durovray, a republican of Geneva, who had been in England and indoctrinated himself with an admiration of its constitution. They advised that the king should annul the decree of the assembly establishing its name; should command the union of the three orders; should assume to himself the sanction of resolutions passed by the three united orders; and forbid any institution hostile to a limited monarchy. Durovray believed that by this decided conduct the assembly would be broken and humiliated, and be perfectly docile in its functions of legislation. Molleville believed that after this *coup*, Louis would only have occasion to dissolve the states-general.

But, unfortunately for the counsels which Necker was ready to adopt, the clergy were at this moment debating the propriety of going over to the tiers, and the multitude were waiting outside in eager anticipation of the issue. The junction was carried through the curés by a majority of one hundred and forty-nine votes against one hundred and twenty-five, and the news was received by the populace with shouts of exultation.

This alarming event produced an instant and zealous union of the court and the nobles. The heads of the aristocracy and of the dignified clergy—amongst them the duke

of Luxembourg, the cardinal de Larochehoucauld, and the archbishop of Paris—threw themselves at the feet of the king, declaring the monarchy lost, if he did not at once dismiss the states. The utmost confusion reigned in the palace. The unhappy Louis, never able to form a resolution of his own, was made to sway to and fro like a pendulum betwixt opposite recommendations. In order to secure him in one determination, the queen and princes induced him to go with them to Marley, where he would be separated from these contending influences, and thrown more entirely into their hands. The council followed to Marley, and on

as suspected. The council was adjourned; an announcement was made of a royal séance to take place on the 22nd at the hall of assembly, and, on pretext of this, the hall was found closed on the 20th. The real cause, no doubt, was, first, to prevent the union of the clergy with the tiers, and ultimately to destroy the states-general.

The assembly had adjourned on the 19th to the next day, and Bailly, on reaching the door of the hall, attended by many other deputies, found it not only closed, but surrounded by soldiers of the French guard, who had orders to refuse admittance to every one. Some of the fiercer young



FASHIONABLE PROMENADE IN PARIS IN THE TIME OF LOUIS XVI. FROM AN ENGRAVING OF THAT PERIOD.

the 19th of June there was a violent discussion in the chamber of the nobles, in which the duke of Orleans advised that they should join the tiers as the clergy had done. Necker's plan was laid before the council; it was discussed, some modifications made, and it was on the point of being accepted, when an officer of the household entered, and spoke with the king in a whisper. Louis arose and went out. M. de Montmorin said to Necker, "It is all over; the queen alone could presume to interrupt a council of state; the princes have evidently circumvented us." It was, no doubt,

spirits amongst the deputies proposed to force their way in; but the officer in command ordered his men to stand to their arms, and showed that he would make use of them. Bailly induced the young men to be patient, and obtained leave from the officer to enter a court and write a protest. A brisk conference was then held, thus standing in the Avenue de Paris, in the midst of pouring rain, as to whither they should betake themselves. Some cried, "To the Place d'Armes!" others, "To Marley!" some, "To Paris!" There was a violent excitement. The deputy Guillotin recom-



MARIE ANTOINETTE PRESENTING THE DAUPHIN TO THE NOBLES.

mended that they should go to Old Versailles, to the Jeu de Paume, or tennis-court, and this plan was adopted.

Before leaving, the courteous officer permitted Bailly and about half-a-dozen deputies to enter, and bring out their papers. The carpenters were already at work, making preparations for the royal séance, and as the body of the deputies, now nearly completing their six hundred, marched through the streets, they heard the heralds proclaiming it for Monday, the 22nd. Bailly felt that there was more indignity intended than even that of turning them so unceremoniously out of their house, for a message had been sent to him from the king, announcing the séance, but it had not been delivered to him, as etiquette required, at the hall, but at his private house, and not by a written dispatch, but verbally by De Brézé, the master of ceremonies. When the deputies, with their president at their head, reached the tennis-court, they found it a very capacious apartment, but naked, unfurnished, and desolate. There were no seats for the deputies, and a chair being offered to Bailly he declined it, saying he would not sit whilst the other members were standing. A wooden bench was brought, and served for a desk, two deputies were stationed as doorkeepers, and the keeper of the court appeared and offered them his services. Great numbers of the populace crowded in, and the deliberations commenced. There were loud complaints of the interruption of their sitting, and many proposals to prevent such accidents in future. It was proposed to adjourn to Paris, where they would have the support of the people, and this project was received with enthusiasm; but Bailly feared that they might be attacked on the way, and, moreover, that such a measure would give an advantage to their enemies, looking like a desertion of their ground. Mounier then proposed that the deputies should bind themselves by an oath never to separate till they had completed the constitution. This was hailed with enthusiasm. The oath was drawn up, and Bailly, standing on the bench, read it aloud:—"You solemnly swear never to separate, and to re-assemble whenever circumstances shall require it, until the constitution of the kingdom is founded and established on a solid basis." As he read this all the deputies held up their right hands, and repeated after him the words, "We swear!" The formula was read so loud that not only the spectators within but numbers without heard it, and all joined in the cry, "We swear!" Then followed loud acclamations of "*Vive l'Assemblée!*" "*Vive le Roi!*"

The deputies then proceeded to sign the declaration, and out of the six hundred there was but one dissentient. This was one Martin D'Auch, of Castelnaudery, in Languedoc, who would neither swear nor sign; but being dragged to the table, and in danger of injury from the indignant populace, at length signed, but added the word *opposer*. A terrible tumult arose, D'Auch was in danger of being torn to pieces, but Bailly protected and smuggled him out at a back door. His protest was allowed to stand on the paper, as a proof of freedom of action in the assembly.

The assembly then adjourned to Monday, the day of the royal séance, but to an earlier hour. The next day being Sunday, vast crowds poured into Versailles from Paris, where the news of the insult offered to the assembly, by shutting it out of its proper hall, had excited the wildest indignation.

Threats of the fiercest kind had been uttered against the very highest persons. It should be recollected that at the time the whole of the tiers état, if, perhaps, we except the yet but little conspicuous Robespierre, were royalists: but the court was now, by every fresh movement, destroying that attachment to the old traditions of monarchy. The first effect of these fatal measures of the court had been to induce the minority of eighty to swear along with the rest of the tiers.

In the meantime, there were busy plannings and discussions at the palace. The nobility, alarmed at the resolution shown by the tiers, went on the Sunday thither, to excuse themselves for having prevented the union of the states general, by introducing restrictions into the plan of conciliation. But the minority consisted of forty-seven members, including the duke of Liancourt, a warm friend of the king; the duke de Rochefoucauld, a man of high character and talents; Lally-Tollendal, Clermont-Tonnerre, both eloquent men; the brothers Lameth, both colonels, brave and intelligent; Duport, of great firmness and sagacity; and the marquis La Fayette, too well known for his part in the American revolution, to merit particular mention here. At the council at court, Necker urged his plan of conciliation, which, however, if accepted by the king, would produce little effect. Although Necker, in his works, has assured us that his plan was an extremely bold one, it merely amounted to this:—Those necessary reforms, which the court had so long refused, he would concede, through the king, thus making the national liberties a royal gift instead of a right demanded and established by the states; and he continued to expect the accomplishment of this from the king, though he knew that he was a mere puppet in the hands of the queen and courtiers. He proposed that there should be two legislative chambers, in imitation of the English ones; thus the clergy, or at least the titled ones, would sit with the lords. The king would permit the three orders to deliberate on general affairs; but there was to be no general discussion of anything relating to privileges, rights attached to fiefs, &c.; the very matters into which, of all things, it was necessary to admit the searching force of public opinion. Necker would retain the old and lumbering machinery of provincial parliaments, useless if there were a proper general one, and in all cases destroying unity of action. His parliaments were to sit with closed doors; there should be no publicity. As to the monstrous abuses of the law and of the executive, he would not at once abolish the detestable *lettres de cachet*, but merely endeavour to find some means of superseding them. The odious prisons of state, the Bastille, &c., were to remain. This was all that Necker, who dreamed that he was a great statesman, required the king to promise, when the whole country was ripe for a thorough cleansing, and knowing, as he did, that what the king promised solemnly the court laughed at as he promised, and would take the first opportunity of inducing him to retract.

But Necker was not able to obtain even so much from the king. We have seen that the king was called away to counsel with the queen and the princes, and the result we shall immediately see. It was resolved, in the first place, to postpone the royal séance from Monday the 22nd, to Tues-

day the 23rd, and, to prevent the tiers meeting on Monday in the tennis court, the count D'Artois thought it would be an admirable plan for the princes to occupy the place themselves, on pretence of playing on that day. This was agreed; the master of the court, who had been so polite to the commons, was now equally polite to the court, and engaged to keep the place secure for the princes. At midnight, betwixt Sunday and Monday, Bailly was called up to receive three noble deputies from the court, D'Aguillon, De Menou, and De Montmorency, who informed him that the tennis court was engaged for the whole of Monday by the princes, for a grand match, and that M. Necker had determined not to be at the royal seance on Tuesday, and that they believed he would retire from office. The court had hoped to throw the blame of the intended royal declarations on that day on Necker, who, if present, would be supposed to have originated or approved them; but Necker was not so compliant, and he resolved to absent himself, and let the court bear its own odium. Bailly, early in the morning, hastened to acquaint the deputies of their being shut out of the tennis court. They then proceeded to the church of the Recollets, but it was found too small, and they adjourned to that of St. Louis, where they were joined by the majority of the clergy, headed by the archbishop of Vienne and the bishop of Autun, the afterwards famous Talleyrand. The clergy of this party, amounting to upwards of one hundred and forty, were chiefly the unbeneficed ones—the cures. They declared that they came to verify in common with them, and were received with delight.

Thus united, the two orders, on the morning of the 23rd, marched in procession to the hall of the Menus, where they found fresh humiliations prepared for them by the insolent court. Louis had gone there at the head of a courtly train, clad in all its splendour, and flushed with the assurance of a speedy victory over the tiers. "I went," says Dumont, "to the palace, to see the magnificent procession. I remember yet the hostile and triumphant looks of many of the courtiers, who made sure of conquest. I saw the king's ministers come out. The count D'Artois, the king's brother, was bold and proud. The king appeared sally dejected. The crowd was immense, and the silence profound. When the king entered his carriage, there was a roll of drums and a flourish of military instruments, but no plaudits from the people—not a single *Vive le Roi!*"

When the deputies arrived, they found that the nobles and the minority of the clergy, consisting chiefly of the bishops, abbots, deans, &c., had been admitted earlier by the great doors, which were now closed, and the commons were ordered round to a side door, where they were allowed to wait in pouring rain, part of them finding shelter in a shed least exposed to the drenching wet. After waiting a long time, Bailly knocked; it was not opened. He knocked again; some of the *garde-du-corps*, who were stationed within safe from the rain, looked out. Bailly ordered them to open the door. The guards replied, "All in good time," and closed it again. Bailly knocked more vigorously; the door opened, and he demanded where was De Brézé, the master of the ceremonies. The guards replied, "We don't know," and shut the door in their faces. On this the deputies cried out, "Let us go! let us go away at once,"

But Bailly persisted, knocking louder than ever, and insisted that the master of the ceremonies should appear, as the deputies would wait no longer; they would go. This was effective. De Brézé appeared; the deputies were admitted, and found the two other orders already seated, the soldiers standing round, and the rest of that vast hall empty, from the exclusion of the people. The king had sent word that no discussion could be allowed; all was melancholy and broodingsilence. Such were the indignities which this doomed and haughty court so madly adopted to insult the representatives of a people already stung by oppression to fury, and which leave no wonder at the vengeance taken in return.

The king, from his elevated throne, read the speech which had been prepared for him by the princes. In this he told them that he was come, as the father of his people, to put an end to their divisions, and he then ordered the keeper of the seals to read the declarations of his will. This the keeper did on his knees; and the matter was nothing less than an entire annulment of the resolutions of the tiers etat on the 17th of June, and of all that they had done since, as illegal and unconstitutional. The king then said, that though he had found it incumbent on him to abrogate what was done only by a section of the states-general, he should be most ready to confirm whatever was done by the whole; but the next moment he ordered the keeper of the seals to read a second paper, in which he presented to the states just what he would have done, in the most despotic manner. In this declaration was contained the resolves put into the king's mouth in place of the proposals of Necker. These were divisible into two parts: first, the maintenance of all the ancient privileges and feudalities; second, the reforms proposed, called the King's Intentions. In the first part, Louis was made to set aside everything done by the tiers; to reassert the separate deliberations of the three orders—that is, that two hundredths of the nation should bind the whole nation; that the states should not touch on any of the ancient privileges of the crown, the church, or the nobles, and should do nothing affecting the rights of future states-general; moreover, that the clergy should have a special veto as related to everything affecting their order against both the nobles and the tiers. In short, all the old evils were carefully preserved. The reforms were these:—The king would sanction the publication of the state of the finances, the rate of taxes, the limitation of expenditure—if he found them agreeable to his regal dignity, and the promotion of the public service. He would oppose the general imposition of taxes on the clergy and noblesse, if these orders were willing to renounce their privileges. That all property should be respected, especially of tithes and all feudal services. The abolition of *lettres de cachet*, of the restrictions on the press, and an admission to the higher ranks of the church and of the army to the plebeian class, were all refused, though in equivocal language.

Thus the odious and annihilating obstacles to popular advancement were rigidly maintained. The people, in the language of colonel Napier in his "History of the Peninsular War," were still to "wither in the cold shade of the aristocracy." No person of plebeian birth could ever rise into any church dignity, whatever his talents or his virtues. No one could obtain a commission in the army who could not

claim a hundred years of nobility in his family. Then agriculture was still to lie crushed under the mountain of feudal insolence and fetters. What these were, has been well described by Alison, a modern historian of not too liberal tendencies:—"The most important operations of agriculture were fettered or prevented by the game-laws, and the restrictions intended for their support. Game of the most destructive kind, such as wild boars and herds of deer, were permitted to go at large through spacious districts without any inclosure to protect the crops. Numerous edicts existed which prohibited hoeing and weeding, lest the young partridges should be disturbed; mowing hay, lest the eggs should be destroyed; taking away the stubble, lest the birds should be deprived of shelter; manuring with night-soil, lest their flavour should be injured. Complaints for the infraction of these edicts were all carried before the manorial courts, where every species of oppression, chicanery, and fraud was prevalent. Fines were imposed at every change of property in the direct and collateral line—at every sale to the purchasers; the people were bound to grind their corn at the landlord's mill, press their grapes at his press, bake their bread at his oven. Obligations to repair the roads, founded on custom, decrees, and servitude, were enforced with the most rigorous severity; in many places the use even of handmills was not free, and the seigneurs were invested with the power of selling to the peasants the right of bruising buckwheat, or barley, between two stones. It is in vain to attempt to describe the feudal services which pressed with so much severity in every part of France."

These were the abominable tyrannies which had reduced the whole of the rural population of France to a condition of the most abject misery, such as Arthur Young, who travelled on an agricultural mission in France just before the revolution, describes in such gloomy colours:—"Their houses dark, comfortless, and almost destitute of furniture; their dress ragged and miserable; their food of the coarsest and most repulsive kind; the burdens piled on them by their feudal superiors almost without limit, and certainly without mercy." This was the state of things which caused Madame Roland, on a visit to England, to gaze with such wonder on the homes and the comforts even of our labourers, and which made her, amongst other things, so ardent a revolutionist. Yet all these curses were to be preserved intact. It was clear who had concocted "the king's intentions."

These exciting atrocities having been announced as "royal benefits," the king added, "I may, without flattering myself, say that never did any king so much for any nation." He continued, "Reflect, gentlemen, that none of your projects can have any force without my special approbation; and if you abandon me in this beautiful enterprise, I will seek the good of my people alone; I will consider myself as their real representative." He then commanded them to withdraw, and to meet the next day in their separate chambers to continue their sittings. He then departed, followed by the nobles and the minority of the clergy. The courtiers were convinced that they had now given the death-blow to the assuming tiers. They ran to congratulate the count D'Artois on the success of his plans for the king's conduct, and thence they hastened to the queen. Marie An-

toinette, radiant with joy, received them holding her daughter by the hand, and presenting to them the little dauphin in her arms, said, "I confide in the noblesse!" But in the midst of this triumph shouts were heard, and every one ran to ascertain the cause. De Brézé had brought word to the king that the tiers were still sitting in the hall, and requested his orders. Louis, who did not participate in the joy, for the silence of the people had fallen heavily on his heart, after walking about uneasily for some time, said, "Well, let them sit!"

But in his terror Louis had sent for Necker, entreated him to retain his portfolio, saying, "As for this declaration, I have no faith in it." Necker, who still believed that nothing could go on without him, at once consented to remain, and hastened down into the court to appease the indignant people collected there, and this was what the queen and the nobles saw when they ran to the windows—Necker, going amongst the people, who fell on their knees and kissed his hands as their saviour, whilst he continued to address them, "Yes, my children, yes, my children, I remain, compose yourselves," and then he rushed away, to burst into tears in his cabinet. And this was not all: the court had to learn that the tiers had remained immovably in their seats after the king and the nobles had retired. De Brézé, as master of the ceremonies, said, "Gentlemen, you have heard the orders of the king." Bailly replied, "I am going to take the orders of the assembly;" and, turning to his colleagues, he said, "It seems to me that the assembled nation cannot receive an order."

On that remark Mirabeau rose, and assuming his most terrible aspect, and fixing his flashing eyes on De Brézé, exclaimed, in a voice of thunder, "Yes, sir, we heard what has been suggested to the king; but for you, sir, you are no organ of communication with the assembly; you, who have no place, nor voice, no right, to speak here, are not authorised to remind us of it. Go, tell those who sent you that we are here by the will of the people, and that nothing but the bayonet will force us hence." Brézé, confounded at this address, retreated backwards from the assembly, as he was accustomed to do from the presence of royalty, and carried to the court this formidable intelligence. The court was as much confounded as poor De Brézé. In its foolish confidence it had sent workmen to remove the benches, but at a word of the president they desisted, and stayed to listen. A deputy proposed on the morrow to discuss the resolutions of the king; but Camus exclaimed, "The séance is only a ministerial act, the assembly maintains its decrees." Barnave, a young native of Dauphiny, said, "You have declared what you are; you depend on no one's sanction." The Breton Glezen added, "What! the sovereign speaks as a master, when he ought to consult!" Petion, Garat, Gregoire—men whose names were soon to possess a deep significance—spoke out with equal decision, and Abbé Sieyès completed the conversation with a laconic simplicity: "Messieurs, you are to-day just what you were yesterday." The assembly then, on the motion of Mirabeau, declared its members inviolable, and that whoever should lay a hand on any one of them was a traitor, infamous, and worthy of death. Nor was this resolution the result of empty boast.

The *gardes-du-corps* were drawn up at this moment in line in front of the hall, and it was whispered that sixty of the deputies were that night to be arrested.

"Thus," says Thiers, "was effected the first revolution. The tiers état had recovered the legislature, and its adversaries had lost it by attempting to keep it entirely to themselves. In a few days, this legislative revolution was completely consummated." But it was not consummated without a violent fermentation of the populace. The privileged orders, as is the nature of such bodies, had not known when it was absolutely necessary to yield. They believed the world made expressly for themselves, and they were not able yet to conceive that the rest of the world could or would reclaim its rights by force. By their insensate counsel to the king, they had fearfully aggravated the public temper, and injured irrevocably not only themselves, but the crown. On the night of this unfortunate *coup-d'état* of the 23rd of June, Mirabeau said to his friend Dumont, "This is the way kings are led to the scaffold." The only person, besides the members of the assembly, who was popular was Necker, who was supposed to have made a far greater opposition to the will of the court than he had. The archbishop of Paris was attacked, and his carriage windows dashed in. The same fury pursued every bishop, priest, or noble who had applauded the king on this occasion; the count d'Artois was especially denounced as the head of the evil counsellors of the king, and the queen was execrated in terms too foul to repeat. The clubs in Paris, and especially the Breton Club, which La Fayette had so essentially helped to establish, were in the utmost activity as agencies of revolution, nor were the means they proposed at all marked by moral scruples. The duke of Orleans was in full communication with them, and from him, it was declared, flowed much of the money by which these societies propagated their own spirit and views. Orleans was, with all his professions of liberty, a thorough debauchee, and, as he soon showed, a mean and selfish man, who would have been glad to step over the bodies of his royal relations to the throne. The most strange thing is that La Fayette, with his professed attachment to the monarchy, and to the royal family, and great advocate of sound principles, as he was, as well as of reform, was fully cognizant of the dark doctrines and unprincipled proceedings of these clubs. But La Fayette was a vain man, fond of riding on the crest of the ocean of public opinion, of being treated as the hero of popular freedom. This vanity led him into gross inconsistencies.

Sieyès had more principle and more strength than either of them. He was so much disgusted by what he saw and heard in some visits to the clubs, that he exclaimed, "I will go no more amongst these men; theirs are cavern politics; they propose crimes as expedients!"

As for La Fayette, he did not want for solemn warnings from one of his old American coadjutors, Gouverneur Morris. This gentleman, having no national interest in this conflict, could now perceive all the mischievous tendencies of democracy, when unrestrained by perfect enlightenment and moral worth. He says, "I told him that I was opposed to democracy from regard to liberty; that they were going headlong to destruction; that their views of their nation

were totally inconsistent with the materials of which it was composed; and that the worst thing that could happen to them would be to grant their wishes." La Fayette professed to believe this; declared the people mad, but still asserted that he would die with them. Morris told him that he had better try to bring them to their senses, and live with them. But all such advice was lost on La Fayette, who could not live out of the air of popularity; and who, with all his professions, as in America, took care to keep out of the way on occasions of most peril. At this moment Paris was in one general ferment of revolutionary mania; and the Palais Royal, where Orleans lived, and where the mob orators harangued, was the centre of it.

On the 24th of June the tiers assembled in their hall, which they now found left free to them. The majority of the clergy, paying no attention to the command of the king to deliberate in their own chamber, again joined the tiers. The minority maintained their separate sitting; but even amongst them a fresh defection appeared; and those who demanded to go over to the tiers compelled the archbishop of Paris, a worthy man, but a great stickler for privileges, as well as the popular archbishop of Bourdeaux, to accompany them. The very same day the same transition took place in the chamber of peers. A fierce agitation arose; D'Espréménil proposed to prosecute the tiers, and that the attorney-general should be instructed to do it. On the other hand, Clermont-Tonnerre moved that they should join the commons; Lally-Tollendal seconded him, and La Fayette and all his party voted for the measure. The duke of Orleans voted too, though he had the day before promised Polignac that he would not. The motion was lost by a large majority against it; but, notwithstanding, forty-seven members, headed by Clermont-Tonnerre, went to the tiers, and were received with acclamation. "We yield to our consciences," said Clermont-Tonnerre, "but it is with pain that we separate from our colleagues. We have come to concur in the public regeneration; each of us will let you know the degree of activity which his mission allows him."

Every day the members and influence of the assembly increased. Its doings and sayings were spread over all France, by means of a system of corresponding committees, which Sieyès had organised. The most enthusiastic feelings everywhere prevailed. In many towns the people were armed, especially at Grenoble and Marseilles, to support, if necessary, the commons against the aristocrats. Cries of "Death to the aristocrats!" began to be heard, and nowhere more than in Versailles. The very servants of the court were knocked down in the streets, with the royal livery on their backs. Addresses poured in from all quarters. Mounier presented one from Dauphiny; there was one from Paris, and its great political hotbed, the Palais Royal, sent another, which the assembly received, to avoid giving offence to the multitude. "At that time," says Thiers, "it did not foresee the excesses of the populace; it had need, on the contrary, to presume its energy, and to hope for its support." The most violent animosity raged in the chamber of the nobles still. Amid the menacing features of the truce without, many became terrified, and counselled union with the tiers and their brethren.

The king alarmed, too, wrote to them, counselling them to give way, and follow to the common hall. "The junction will be transient," said the most obstinate; "troops are approaching, let us give way and obey the king." Simultaneous with this decision, which took place amid much uproar, was that of the remaining clergy. They all went together. "We are come," said the duke of Luxembourg, "to give a mark of respect to the king, and of patriotism to the nation." "The family is now complete," observed Bailly; "we can now attend, without intermission and without distraction, to the regeneration of the kingdom and of the public weal."

Thus the union of the deputies of all ranks was consummated after this great battle; the triumph of the commons was perfected; but the most obstinate of the nobles still could not amalgamate with the tiers without a struggle with their pride. They continued to come in after the opening of the sitting, and to stand behind the president, as representing their own body. Bailly wished them to be seated; they declined; but Bailly respectfully persisted, and they took their seats. But no sooner was this done, than they demanded that a new president should be elected; it was gall to their proud hearts to sit under a plebeian president. The motion was contemptuously rejected by the tiers, who were the majority, and Bailly retained his proud pre-eminence. The nobles and the hierarchy, or that portion of them which stood out for their privileges, must have felt their utter impotence, when once merged into the assembly. A large section of them, the curés and the liberal nobles, were one with the tiers, and the tiers alone were equal to the whole body of clergy and the noblesse. Thus, therefore, supported by numbers from the privileged ranks, they could outvote the recalcitrant nobles and prelates by a large majority on all questions. From that moment the privileged classes, in truth, were at an end. Yet not patiently did the nobles submit to their fate. They insisted that, though sitting together, they should vote not by head but by order. This motion was rejected by a wild acclamation, which was echoed by a more appalling thunder from the galleries. Undaunted by that evidence of subjection, the cardinal archbishop, De Rochefoucauld, protested in the name of the order; but the liberal archbishop of Vienne reminded him that he was in a minority, even in his order, and had, therefore, no right to speak in the name of that order. Mirabeau said, sternly, that it was strange that any one should protest in the assembly against the assembly; that he must either recognise its sovereignty or retire.

It was under such circumstances of conflicting spirit that the assembly began to construct a constitution: an enormous task, and to be executed amidst the most distracting and explosive materials within and without. France, unlike England, could not be said ever to have had a constitution. It had had its king, and its parliament, its states-general, but all of an arbitrary caste; without any fixed times for assembling, and without any laws to secure the responsibility of the agents of power, any guarantees for the liberty of the subject, of the press, or any liberty of the general body. It was necessary to clear the ground of the poisonous rubbish of despotism before beginning to erect an orderly fabric of constitutional government. There were

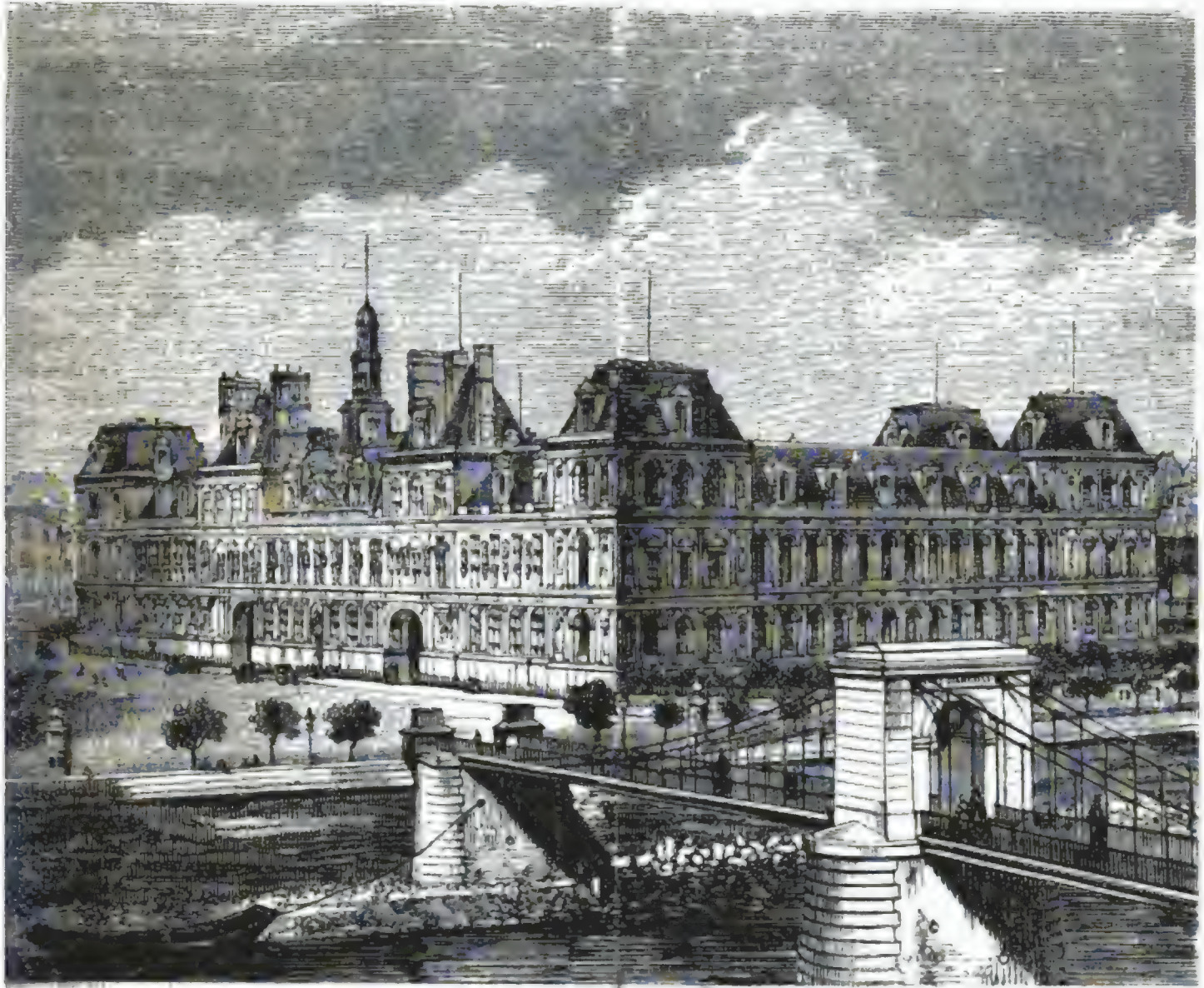
multitudinous theories afloat in men's minds, but no precedents, at least, of French growth. The deputies, indeed, had, from every quarter, brought with them written instructions for the demands which they were to make on behalf of the nation. They had unanimously prescribed: monarchical government; hereditary succession from male to male; the exclusive attribution of the executive power to the king; the responsibility of all agents; the concurrence of the nation and king in making of laws; the voting of the taxes, and individual liberty. But they were divided on the subject of one or two chambers of legislature; on the length of their sessions, and the periods of their meeting; on the political existence of the clergy, and of the parliament; on the extent of the liberty of the press. In reducing these great questions into constitutional form, the national diversity of mind was sure to produce vivid conflicts, and wide divergences of opinion. But beyond this, the state of the population out of doors added infinitely to the dangers and the difficulties of the process.

The people were starving in the provinces, and ready, in their excitement, for mischief everywhere. The assembly was anxious to do something to relieve the distress; but in so doing they must encroach on the duties of the executive. They were yet without a constitution, and therefore could only act on their own authority. They had been invited by the clergy to join them in seeking a way to furnish the means of existence to the people, the clergy now sitting with them; they proposed to carry out this desirable object in some manner. They appointed a committee, which put itself into communication with the ministers, asking information as to the best machinery for the purpose; and the ministers informed them of what they themselves had attempted to do. The assembly then proposed to order provisions to be conveyed to the quarters most destitute, and to vote a loan for the necessary funds, to be assisted by charitable contributions. Lally-Tollendal moved that they should issue a decree for this purpose, but Mounier replied that such a decree would require the sanction of the king; and, in the present absence of a constitution, there would be difficulty in procuring this sanction. The assembly was paralyzed by the necessity to legislate without any basis on which to legislate. Meantime, Paris, only twelve miles distant, was in constant attention to all that passed in the assembly, and at court. Messengers were continually passing to and fro, and every movement of the assembly produced a corresponding sensation.

The electors assembled in sixty districts, having discharged their functions, ought to have retired into the mass of citizens, but they were too fond of the new exercise of power, and they continued to retain their elective character, and to meet on the plea that it was necessary, under such extraordinary circumstances, to instruct and support their deputies. The ministers naturally represented that this political life was at an end for the present, and refused them admittance to their place of meeting. Like the national assembly, they sought another, and found one in the miserable but large room of an eating-house in the Faubourg Dauphine. This was their *Jeu de Paume*; but they determined to remove thence, and take possession of the Hôtel de Ville, which they did, and there acted as the organ of Paris.

and corresponded with the deputies at Versailles. These electors were, for the most part, rich citizens, not without some admixture of aristocracy. Two amongst them were revolutionists of the most ardent description, with a certain tendency to mysticism, Fauchet and Bonneville. In an earlier age they would have been burnt as heretics; in the nineteenth century they were enthusiasts in resistance of the court, and Bonneville was the first to raise the cry,

the Palais Royal to learn the events of the day, and to discuss them. The gardens of the Palais Royal were continually thronged. Not less than ten thousand persons of one kind or another were frequently collected there. This magnificent garden, surrounded by the most splendid shops, and adjoining the palace of the duke of Orleans, was the rendezvous of foreigners, of debauchees, of gamblers and loungers, but, above all, the most fiery agitators. In the



HÔTEL DE VILLE, PARIS.

"To Arms!" Fauchet, Bonneville, Bertolio, Carra, a fiery journalist, made the most daring motions, such as ought to have emanated only from the national assembly:—For a city guard; for the immediate organisation of regular communes, elective and annual; for an address to the king, praying for the removal of the troops; for the freedom of the assembly; and for the revocation of the *coup-d'état* of June 23rd.

Whilst the assembly of electors were thus usurping the functions of a real parliament of Paris, the Palais Royal was exercising an influence on the population not less active. As no journals yet gave an account of the proceedings of the national assembly, the people ran daily to

coffee-houses, and in the open air, the most stimulating harangues were continually being delivered. There might be seen an orator mounted on a table, and surrounded by a wild crowd, whom he was addressing in the most seditious language, and with the most perfect impunity, for there the mob was the sovereign power. The duke of Orleans was supposed to favour all this. His wealth was said to flow freely amongst the incendiary orators and other agents. He had the ambition to place himself at the head of affairs through the favour of the people. If he did not find all the money used for the purposes of agitation, much was found, and, no doubt, he contributed a liberal share. The duke had been accused of being the head of a party, and the

newspapers of the day made free use of his name. According to them, France would follow the example of England. The Stuarts had been expelled in favour of the prince of Orange; and the duke was become the ideal prince of Orange to the French populace. The thing was so often repeated that the duke at last imagined that he might place himself at the head of a party, and become the leader of a faction, without the qualifications for such an office.

To add to the dangers arising from the proceedings of the electors and the agitation of the people, there were rapidly-growing symptoms of fraternisation taking place amongst the French guards. This regiment, numbering three thousand six hundred men, lay at Paris, four companies of them, by turns, doing duty at Versailles as the king's guard. At the pillage of Reveillon's house they had shown no hesitation in resisting the people; but since then they had greatly changed. Their old colonel, Abiron, was dead, and M. Du Châtelet, their new one, was a rigid disciplinarian. This new colonel found that the marquis de Valady, who had formerly been an officer in the regiment, but who had become a most ardent democrat, had been going amongst the men of this as well as of other regiments to indoctrinate them with the revolutionary spirit. He had not only talked with them, but left them printed addresses on their duty to their country. These had produced their effect: there had been for some time secret societies formed amongst them, and they had sworn never to act contrary to the orders of the assembly. The *coup-d'état* of the 23rd of June had greatly incensed them, not only on account of the indignity offered to the national assembly—their admiration—but by the emphatic declaration of the king, that he would never consent to the alteration of the institution of the army—that is to say, that there should never be an avenue of promotion for the common soldier; that a common soldier he must live and die; he could never become an officer, whatever his merit. To appreciate this phrase, the "institution of the army," it is necessary to understand that of the military revenue of the French army at this time the officers received forty-six millions of francs, the soldiers only forty-four millions. It is necessary to know that such men as Jourdan, Joubert, Kleber, who had been common soldiers in it, had quitted it because it presented an impossible barrier to advance. Augereau was a subaltern officer of infantry; Hoche, a sergeant of these French guards; Moreau, a common soldier. Such, under the Bourbons, they might for ever have remained. Even the miserable pay of the privates, they declared, they did not wholly obtain; that the officers, under one pretext or other, kept a considerable portion of it, and spent it amongst them.

It was easy to persuade the soldiers of such an army to listen to the new philosophy of liberty, equality, and a brilliant chance for all men. The colonel of the guards had kept them closely confined in their barracks, to prevent their further corruption by popular agents; but on the news of the determined conduct of the national assembly, they broke out on the 25th of June, and hastened to the Palais Royal to join in the common joy of the people. They were received with acclamation; they were embraced, almost smothered, by caresses from the ardent patriots, both men and women. Ladies of family and distinction were

seen to embrace common soldiers in their intoxication of delight at the union of these pariahs, as they called them, of the ancient monarchy—these brave men, so maltreated by the noblesse—with the rest of the nation. Then the soldiers were treated, fêted, presented with money, and asked to listen to the patriot orators, who, on stools and tables, were haranguing against the aristocrats. They were asked if they would ever again wet their hands with the blood of their fellow-citizens, and they cried, "No! *Vive la nation!*" And all this passed under the windows of the duke of Orleans—under the eyes of that court, intriguing, greedy, and unclean. Philip Egalité must have thought that his day was rapidly approaching. He could not, indeed, conceal his joy. He thought the king lost, and that he should be soon called to take his place.

An Englishman who had visited France for very different objects—the peaceful inquiries of agriculture—the celebrated Arthur Young, just then entered Paris. The silence and desertion of the streets astonished him; not a vehicle was to be procured—scarcely a man to be seen. All Paris seemed concentrated in one spot, the Palais Royal, where its life raged like a furnace. Directing his steps thither, he was confounded. Ten thousand men seemed speaking at once, ten thousand lights blazed from the windows—the people seemed gone mad with the news of some great victory. Fireworks were flashing, and guns firing in all directions. He retired in bewildering amaze.

The colonel of the guards seized eleven of the ringleaders of the men who had thus been fêted at the Palais Royal, and shut them up in the Abbaye prison. It was rumoured that they were to be transferred to the Bicêtre. A young man mounted a table at the Palais Royal and cried, "To the Abbaye! Let us release those who have refused to fire upon the people!" Soldiers offered themselves; the citizens thanked them, but went alone. The crowd increased till six thousand appeared before the gates of the prison, which they burst open, and they then brought out the captive soldiers. They were met returning by bodies of hussars and dragoons, in full trot, with their swords drawn; but the people seized their bridles, and explained; the hussars and dragoons were unwilling to attack the deliverers of their fellow-soldiers, they put up their swords, loosened their casques, and taking the wine offered them, drank to the king and the nation. As well as the fifteen French guards, the people delivered an old soldier who had lain for years in the prison, and could no longer walk. They carried him on their shoulders, and altogether, soldiers, citizens, prisoners, marched to the Palais Royal, where they regaled the rescued men. There citizens, rich and poor, hussars, dragoons, French guards, mingled together, and cried, "*Vive la nation!*"

This was an alarming spectacle for the aristocracy, alarming news for the court. If the soldiers revolutionised, on whom were they to depend? Early in the morning a band of young men went to Versailles to carry the news to the assembly. That body was struck with consternation. A military insurrection was more than they were prepared for: it might make them suspected of encouraging it, if they seemed to approve. They debated the matter, declared that it belonged to the king; that they were desirous of preserving public peace and order, and advised that the deputies

tion of the people should solicit the king's pardon. A letter was addressed to his majesty, who replied not to the assembly, but to the archbishop of Paris, that if the arrested soldiers returned to prison, he would pardon them. The people putting but little faith in that promise, marched to the Hôtel de Ville, and sought the advice of the electors. The electors undertook, if necessary, to go to Versailles, and not to return without the royal pardon. On that assurance, the guards returned to prison, and were immediately set at liberty again.

But this only restored peace in appearance. The court and the nobles were greatly alarmed, and secretly preparing for war. The nobles had joined the assembly with the utmost repugnance, and many only on the assurance that the union would not continue. The members of that order continued to protest against the proceedings of the assembly, rather than join in its deliberations. The king himself had consented to the union, in the hope that the nobles would be able to put a check on the tiers. Both king and nobles saw now that all such hopes were vain. And whilst Necker was retained to satisfy the people for the present, and whilst Mounier, Lally-Tollendal, and Clermont-Tonnerre were consulting with Necker on establishing a consultation resembling that of England, the court was preparing to put down the insurrection and the assembly by force. The marshal Broglie was placed at the head of the troops which surrounded both Paris and Versailles. He judged of both soldiers and citizens by the recollections of the Seven Years' War, and assured the king that a little grape-shot would soon disperse the rioters. Fifteen regiments, chiefly foreign, had been gradually drawn round the capital. The headquarters of Broglie were at Versailles, where he had a brilliant staff, and a formidable train of artillery, some of which commanded the very hall in which the assembly sat. There was a battery at the bridge of Sevres, commanding the road to Paris, and in Paris itself there were strong batteries on Montmartre, which overlooked the city, and which, moreover, were carefully intrenched. Besides these preparations, there were French regiments quartered at St. Germain, Charenton, St. Cloud, and other places. Altogether, there was calculated to be fifty thousand troops collected. The old noblesse were impatient for the king to give the order to disperse the people both in Paris and Versailles; to surround the assembly, seize the chief members, put them in prison, and send the rest adrift; to treat the ringleaders of the electors in the same manner; to dissolve formally the states-general, and restore the old order of things. Had the reins of government been in the hands of a Bonaparte, the whole plan would have been executed, and would, for the time, without doubt, have succeeded. But Louis XVI. was not the man for a *coup-d'état* of that rigorous nature. He shuddered at the idea of shedding his subjects' blood; and instead of doing that for which the troops had been assembled, he now listened to Necker, who reminded him that when the people were put down or shot down, and the states-general dispersed, the old debts and difficulties would remain, and, without a states-general or parliament, there would be no authority to impose or collect taxes. To Necker's arguments, the more timid and liberal nobles added, that the excitement would

soon wear itself out; that nothing serious could be done in the presence of such forces, and that the constitution, once completed, all would right itself, and that he would have to congratulate himself on his bloodless patience in a new and happier reign: humane but fatal advice in the circumstances of the nation. The soldiers, allowed to remain inactive in the very midst of the great national hotbed of sedition, were sure to follow the example of the French guards; to become inoculated with the spirit of revolution. The debates in the national assembly were actively distributed in print, and the soldiers read them with avidity. Whilst the court had been conspiring, the people had conspired too. The electors at the Hôtel de Ville listened with avidity to a suggestion of Mirabeau, thrown out in the national assembly, which passed, at the time, without much notice. This was for organising the citizens into a city-guard. The plan had originated with Dumont and his countryman, Duroverai, both Genevese. Mirabeau had adopted and promulgated it. Fallen unnoticed in the assembly, on the 10th of July, Carra revived it at the Hôtel de Ville. He declared that the right of the commune to take means for the defence of the city was older than the monarchy itself. Bonneville, Fauchet, Chartres, demanded that this should be carried into effect, at an assembly of all the sixty districts; and that their decision should be announced to the national assembly, that the plan might be adopted in all the great cities of the kingdom. The Parisian people seconded, in an immense multitude, this daring proposition, and desired nothing more than a direct order to arm themselves, and to maintain their own safety.

Thus encouraged, Mirabeau renewed his motion in the national assembly. He demanded that the troops should be withdrawn from the neighbourhood of Versailles and Paris, and a burgher guard substituted. He also moved that the "discussion on the constitution should be suspended till the security of the capital and the assembly were effected." He moved for an address to the king, praying him to dismiss the troops, and rely on the affections of his people. The motion was carried, and a committee appointed to draw up the address. This office was assigned to Mirabeau, who produced one written by Dumont, which was greatly applauded. The address stated that, every day, more and more troops were advancing; all the roads were intercepted; the bridges and promenades turned into military posts; that they saw more soldiers gathered around them than were necessary even for a foreign invasion, and ten times more than would have been necessary to preserve the alliance with Holland, which had been so dearly purchased and so shamefully lost. The address breathed the warmest loyalty to the king, though it condemned severely the counsels of his ministers, and it added a startling warning. This army, it said, brought so near the centre of discussion, this very army, were but men, and might catch the popular contagion; but that the king might rely on the assembly, which would go straightforward in the work of regeneration, in spite of snares, plots, difficulties, or dangers.

The address was presented by a deputation of twenty-four members. The king replied, that the troops had been assembled to preserve public tranquillity and to protect the national assembly; but that, if the assembly felt any

apprehension, he would send away the troops to Noyon or Soissons, and would go himself to Compiègne. This answer was anything but satisfactory, for this would be to withdraw the assembly much farther from Paris, for Compiègne was fifty miles from the capital, and the movement would thus weaken the influence of the assembly, cut off in a much greater degree the communication with the Parisians, and, at the same time, place the king between two powerful armies—the one under Broglie, at Soissons, and another which lay on the river Oise, under the marquis de Bouillé, a relative of Lafayette, but a most determined royalist. The assembly was greatly disconcerted when this reply was reported. The count de Crillon believed there was no cause for alarm; that they might rely on the word of the king, who was an honest man. Mirabeau said, "The word of an honest king is a bad guarantee for the conduct of his ministers. Our blind confidence in our king has been our ruin. We demanded the withdrawal of those troops, not that we should fly before them. We must insist again and again." The earnest recommendation of Mirabeau was not supported. The people of Paris were indignant at what they called the apathy of the assembly. They believed that the infusion of so many aristocrats and clergy had weakened the patriotism of that body. The assembly increased this feeling by dismissing the subject of the removal of the troops, and discussing a paper on the rights of man, presented by Lafayette. Guillotin, one of the very moderates of the assembly, hastened to Paris to reassure the electors. He declared all went well; that Necker was more firm in power than ever. The electors, like the assembly, were lulled to security. They received Guillotin's news with applause, and heard with joy that the assembly were preparing an admirable paper on the national rights, which they were going to send immediately to the electors.

At the very moment that the electors were thus felicitating themselves on the tidings brought by Guillotin, Necker was receiving his dismissal. His situation at court had been most painful. The people surrounded the palace, crying, "Vive Necker!" "Vive le ministre du peuple!" He was more popular than ever, because he had not appeared to support the *coup-d'état*. At the same time, when the queen appeared on the balcony with a child in her arms, the fiercest execrations were uttered amid curses on the aristocrats. This made Necker all the more unpopular within the palace. He was accused of having produced all the mischiefs existing by advising the king to summon the states-general. He, on his part, retorted that the nobles and bishops were the cause, by preventing the king following the plans he had laid down. Necker, therefore, begged to resign; but he had been always desired to remain, for the court apprehended an outbreak if he were dismissed. But now, matters being deemed sufficiently safe—the army being in grand force—the king, on the 11th of July, suddenly took him at his word. Necker was just sitting down to dinner when he received the king's note, which begged him to keep his retirement secret, and to get across the frontiers as expeditiously as possible. He had sufficient self-command to conceal his feelings, and after dinner, asking his wife to accompany him in a drive to visit a friend, he took his leave without even making his daughter aware of the real fact.

When it was known at court that Necker was gone, even Broglie and Breteuil were somewhat dismayed. Broglie did not wish that Necker should go. Breteuil said, "In this case, we shall want a hundred thousand men and a hundred million of francs." "You shall have them," gaily replied the queen; and secret orders were given to make paper money. Besenval, who for eight years had had the command of the army of the interior, and who was ordered to put himself under the command of the old marshal Broglie, now in his seventy-first year, represented to the marshal the real danger of the situation: that it was no ordinary campaign in the field, but a conflict with a city of eight hundred thousand souls in the highest condition of enthusiasm. But Broglie was too busy to listen. His house was like a fair; full of aides-de-camp, couriers, clerks; orders were flying in all directions; horses stood ready saddled for mounting with dispatches; a list of general officers was in preparation; an order of battle was discussed.

On the morning of the next day, Sunday, the 12th of July, the news was all over Paris that Necker was dismissed, as well as Montmorin, De la Luzerne, De Puysegur, and St. Priest; that their successors were Breteuil, Broglie as war minister as well as commander-in-chief, De la Vauguyon, Foulon, and Darnecoret, all notorious for their opposition to the popular cause. The alarm was intense. Gouverneur Morris urged marshal de Castries, a great friend of the king, to hasten to Versailles and open the eyes of Louis to the truth: that the troops would not fight; that the people would stand by the national assembly; and that to attempt to crush the revolution by arms would be fatal to him. De Castries replied that it was useless; and unquestionably it was, for nothing but the truth in all its frightful actuality could prove to the court its folly. That truth was at hand! All Paris was in an uproar. The Palais-Royal was choked with people in a frenzy of excitement. All at once a young man leaped upon a table and shouted, "To arms! to arms! whilst we are talking, foreign troops are gathering round us to massacre us!"

This orator, whose loud voice and dramatic action stopped in a moment the loud buzz of tongues, and the voices of lesser orators, mounted on chairs and tables, was Benoît Camille Desmoulins, already a favourite orator of the people on this spot. He was a man of talent, but of the most rabid republicanism, and on fire with all the atheistic dogmas of the philosophers; so much so, that when asked his age, when he was afterwards arrested by his own murdering compatriots, and hurried to the guillotine, he replied, "The same as the ragged Jesus, thirty-three!" He had been a fellow-student with the sanguinary Robespierre; and he was ready, in his mad desire to overturn everything of the past, to wade, like that tyrant, through scenes of blood. This fanatic revolutionist, whom Thiers calls "a young man endowed with a tender heart but an impetuous spirit," now held up a brace of pistols; and, snatching a green twig from a tree, stuck it into his hat as a cockade. There was an instantaneous imitation of the act by the whole mass of people. The trees were all stripped naked, and a woman brought out a great roll of green ribbon, and cut off cockades for the patriots as far as it would go.

The mob speedily broke into the shop of M. Cartier.

Swiss, who modelled busts in wax; this Curtius being the uncle of madame Tussaud, of London fame, in the same line. They seized on the busts of Necker and of the duke of Orleans, who, it was said, was to be banished; and, covering them with black crape, carried them through the streets, crying, "Hats off! hats off!" The cry was, "No theatres! no dancing! It is a day of woe!" The mob, armed with pistols, clubs, swords, and axes, continued their procession along the rue Richelieu; then turning on the Boulevard, along the rues St. Martin, St. Denis, St. Honoré, to the Place Vendôme, where they paraded the busts round the statue of Louis XIV., which stood where the Bonaparte column now stands. There a German squadron was drawn up before the hotel of the farmers-general, and attacked the crowd, destroyed the busts, and killed a soldier of the French guard who stood his ground. The commandant, Bezenval, remained inactive in the Ecole Militaire; he was without orders from Broglie; and, besides, dared not trust the French guards, but kept them close in their barracks. But he had three foreign regiments at his disposal, one of Swiss and two of German cavalry. Towards afternoon, seeing the disorder increase, he sent the Swiss into the Champs Elysées with four pieces of cannon, and the German cavalry into the Place Louis Quinze, adjoining. Towards evening, the crowd, returning from the Champs Elysées, entered the gardens of the Tuileries, where they saw the German cavalry drawn up, but continued to pass on. It is said that some of the mob insulted the Germans, and some boys threw stones; whereupon Bezenval, who had been accused at Versailles of doing nothing, ordered the prince Lambesc to charge them with the cavalry, and drive them back. Lambesc at first attempted to repel the throng by advancing only at a foot-pace, but he was opposed by a barricade of the chairs, which are let out in thousands in these resorts, and was assailed by showers of stones. He then fired over the heads of the people. The women raised piercing shrieks, the men pressed on to close the gates behind him. Lambesc rushed forward, overturning an old schoolmaster who was not alert enough to get behind the railing, and so was severely injured. As Lambesc was marching along the Chaussée d'Antin, he was met by a body of the French guards, who had escaped from their barracks to avenge their slain comrade. They fired on him and killed three of the German cavalry, and wounded numbers more. They then advanced with fixed bayonets to the Place Louis Quinze, where the Swiss guards were posted. There they and the Swiss remained facing each other under arms all night, the people feasting and encouraging the French guards; who, however, did not come to blows with the Swiss. Lambesc had continued his route to St. Cloud, leaving the city all night in the hands of the mob, who burnt the barriers at the different entrances, so as to allow free access to the people from the country; and broke open the gunsmiths' shops, and carried off the arms.

The crowds who had dispersed themselves over Paris carried everywhere the most horrible reports of the savage cruelty of the German cavalry; of their firing upon, and running over women and children. The indignation became furious. Thousands rushed to the Hôtel de Ville, demand-

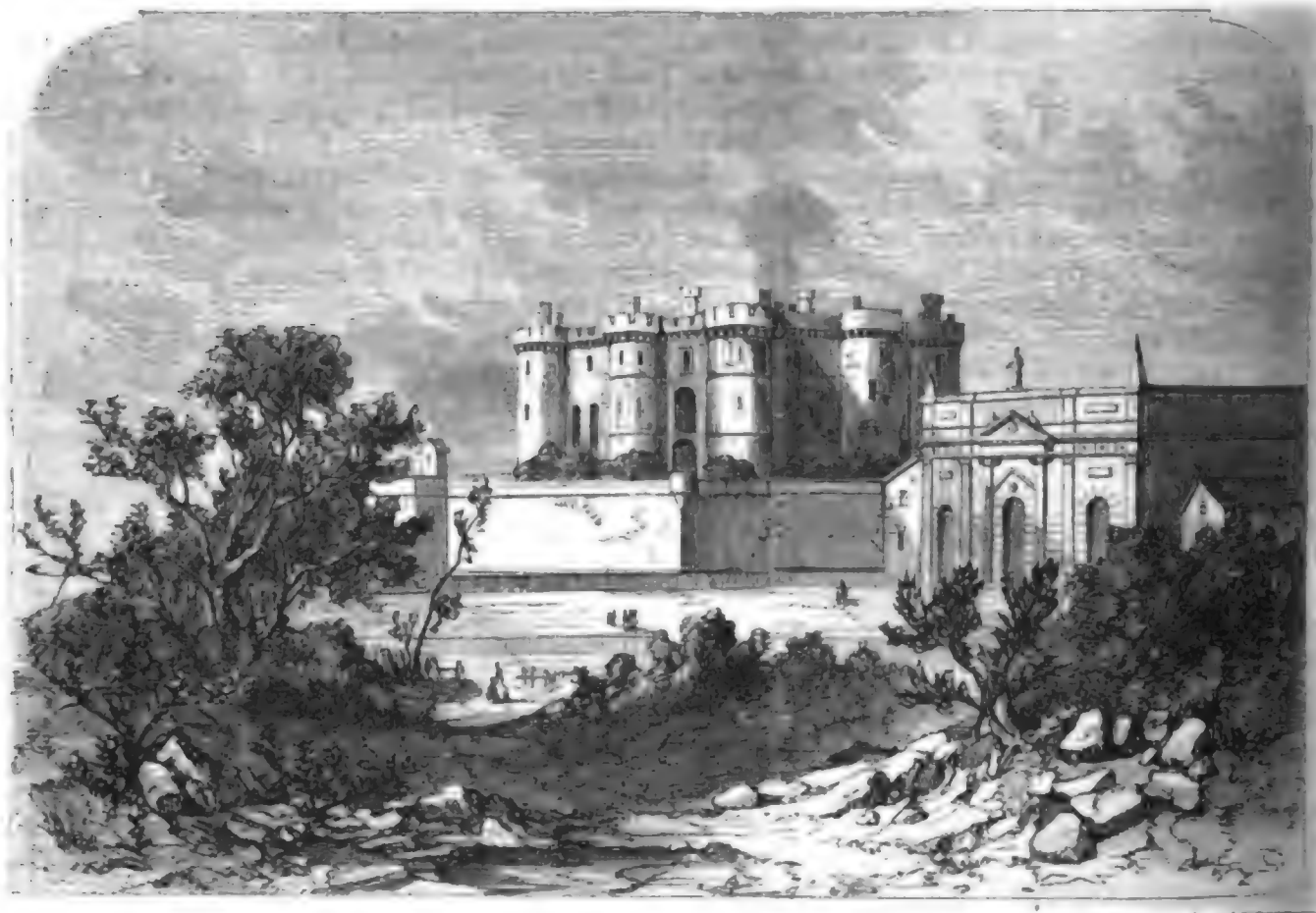
ing arms and ringing the tocsin. The few electors who were there endeavoured to calm them; but fresh crowds came pouring in, and crying "Arms! arms!" The electors shrank from the responsibility of giving out the arms there, but the people forced their way in, and began to seize them for themselves. The electors were compelled to give way, and soon was seen a man clad only in his shirt, without shoes or stockings, placing himself, with a musket on his shoulder, as sentinel at the door of the hall.

On the Monday morning, by six o'clock, the alarm bells were ringing from all the churches in the city; the tocsin was sounding from the Hôtel de Ville, and the crowds again ran thither, demanding arms and ammunition. The electors, in despair, declared that they could not issue arms without the order of the provost of trades. "Then send for him!" cried the mob; and Flesselles, the provost, was sent for. He had just been sent for by the king to Versailles, but he felt the necessity of obeying the people first, for the crowd was thickly interspersed with the thieves which figured so prominently at the destruction of Reveillon's house, and which always seem to start out of the ground on these occasions. He was received with loud applause in the Place de Grève, and he was patronisingly polite. "You shall be satisfied, my children; I am your father." He declared that he would not wish to hold office except by the election of the people. (Fresh applause.) Flesselles assured the crowd that he had made a contract with a gunsmith for a large quantity of muskets; a thing, considering the shortness of the time since the disturbances began, wholly incredible. Yet he promised them twelve thousand that day, and more the next. He demanded who should be their general. Some of the electors proposed La Fayette, some one, some another. The people grew rabid with impatience; they wanted arms, not arguments. The famishing multitude, hearing that there was a great hoard of corn at the monastery of St. Lazare, rushed away, broke in, found corn enough to load fifty carts, which were sent to the market, and there distributed. They seized sixty barrels of gunpowder on the Seine; attacked the Garde Meuble, and seized the arms there, which, however, were old and nearly useless. They grew impatient, and demanded that Flesselles should inform them where the thirty thousand stand of arms which the intendant Berthier had had made were concealed. He promised to discover, and send them to the Hôtel de Ville. About five o'clock in the evening, a number of carts were seen traversing the Grève, with large chests, marked "Artillery." Behold the expected muskets! they cried. The chests were broken open, and they were discovered to be only chests of old rags! There was a terrible cry of rage, and exclamations of treachery. Flesselles stood confounded; but some one near him, to extricate him from his perilous situation, declared that there was a great and concealed dépôt of arms at the monastery of the Celestins, the Chartreux. The crowd hastened thither; the monks had none, and the fury now rose to a tremendous pitch. To avert sanguinary consequences, the electors gave orders for the manufacture of fifty thousand pikes, of which thirty-six thousand were made in as many hours. During all this night, however, Paris was in the hands of the mob, who tore up the pavements and carried the stones into the houses, to be dropped

on the heads of the military, should they enter the city; dug deep trenches, and threw up barricades. All round the Hôtel de Ville carriages were stopped, wagons intercepted, and travellers were waiting permission to proceed on their way. The powder seized on the Seine was brought to the Hôtel de Ville; there it was distributed amid circumstances of the most imminent peril to the place and all in it. The abbé Lefebvre d'Onnesson, a man of the highest courage, charged himself with the task of distributing the powder to the furious crowd. During eight-and-forty hours he remained on an actual mine. The insensate claimants fought and struggled for the combustible material amid the light

man found in arms, and wearing this cockade, without having been enrolled in this body by his district, was to be apprehended, disarmed, and punished. And thus arose the national guard of Paris.

During these proceedings, the national assembly was sitting at Versailles in the utmost agitation. On the morning of the 13th, Mounier had risen and censured the dismissal of the ministers, and had been zealously seconded by Lally-Tollendal, who had pronounced a splendid panegyric on Necker, and recommended an address to the king for his recall. M. de Virieu, a deputy of the noblesse, proposed to confirm by an oath the proceedings of the 17th of June; but Clermont-



PRISON OF THE BASTILLE, PARIS.

of lanterns and candles, and one drunken fellow sate and smoked on the open casks of powder!

Whilst these scenes were going on all around, and the city was menaced every moment by troops, by the raving multitude, and by whole squadrons of thieves and assassins, the electors were busily employed in organising a city-guard. But, previous to entering on this task, it was necessary to establish some sort of municipal authority more definite and valid than that of the electors at large. A requisition was then presented to the provost of trades (*prévôt des marchands*) to take the head. A number of electors were appointed his assistants. Thus was formed a municipality of sufficient powers. It was then determined that this militia, or guard, should consist of forty-eight thousand men furnished by the districts. They were to wear not the green, but the Parisian cockade, of red and blue. Every

Tonnerre declared that unnecessary, as the assembly had sworn to establish a constitution, and, he exclaimed, "The constitution we will have, or we will perish!" In the midst of this discussion came the news of the rising of the people of Paris, on the morning of the 13th, and an address was immediately voted to the king, beseeching him to withdraw the foreign troops, and authorise the organisation of the civic guards. The duke de la Rochefoucauld said, the foreign troops in the hands of despotism were most perilous to the people, who were not in any one's hands. The address was sent, and the king returned a curt answer, that Paris was not in a condition to take care of itself. The assembly then assumed a higher tone, asserted that the present counsellors of the king would be responsible for all the calamities which might take place, and declared itself in permanent session, that is, that it would sit day and night till the crisis was



ATTACK UPON THE BASTILLE BY THE REVOLUTIONISTS OF PARIS.

over. It appointed M. de La Fayette vice-president, in the place of the aged bishop of Vienne, who was not capable of so much exertion.

The court itself was not less agitated. It declared that the duke of Orleans had stirred up this *émeute*, and the fact of his bust having been carried in procession gave a colour to the charge. But the duke himself had hastened to Versailles, and pretended that he had no concern whatever in the business. He was requested to remain in the palace, and having, as they thought, the author of the insurrection under their hands, the court was more at ease. Alarming tidings continued to reach Versailles through the night. The assembly having adjourned for a short time, met again at five in the morning on this the 15th of July. As if raised above all temporary perils, it at once appointed a committee to proceed with the constitution. The members of this committee were Talleyrand, the bishop of Autun; the bishop of Bordeaux, Messrs. Lally-Tollendal, Clermont-Tonnerre, Mounier, Sieyès, Chapelier, and Bergasse. Intelligence more and more alarming continued to arrive. It was rumoured that the king would quit the place the following night, and the assembly would be left to the mercy of the foreign regiments. It was even mentioned what members of it were to be secured. It was said that the prince, the queen, and the duchesse de Polignac were walking in the orangery flattering the officers and soldiers, and causing refreshments to be distributed amongst them. There is little doubt that a grand plan of a *coup-d'état* had been arranged. Paris was to be attacked on the ensuing night, that between the 15th and 16th of July, at seven points. The troops had been advanced for the purpose. Paper money had been prepared. The barracks of the Swiss guards had been stored with ammunition, and the governor of the Bastille had furnished them everything that could possibly be spared.

But the court had hesitated too long. The people had taken the start of them, and now came sounds which paralysed the court party with consternation.

The prince de Lambesc was seen galloping up the avenue at Versailles at fullest speed; the roar of cannon came from the side of Paris—the people had attacked the Bastille! A second deputation had been dispatched to the palace entreating the king to withdraw the troops from Paris; no answer had been received, and a third was sent. As it was on its way the answer to the former one came, saying the king had ordered the troops to withdraw from the Champ de Mars; and having heard of the formation of the civic guard, had appointed officers to it. The third deputation held on its way, and the king appeared much agitated, and declared that the orders to the troops could not have produced the calamities the deputies reported. On receiving this answer the assembly adjourned for a short time, and in the evening the news of the events of the 14th arrived.

On the night of the 13th, numbers of the populace crowded about the Bastille. From that hour there were heard in different parts of Paris cries of "To the Bastille! down with the Bastille! to the Bastille!" The Bastille, the old state prison of Paris, standing near the Faubourg St. Antoine, had long had throughout Europe a horrible name. It had not been at all the prison of the

people, yet they had learnt to detest it as the gloomy instrument of royal despotism. The traditions of the horrible fortress were such as made the flesh creep and the blood run cold. It had been the living tomb of whomsoever had excited the jealousy of the monarchs by their freedom of sentiment, or had offended by their aspiring too boldly the paths of their passions or desires. The word of an envious courtier, or a revengeful priest, or a haughty mistress, had been able to plunge into its dungeons in a moment the noblest hearts of France age after age. The mysterious story of the man in the iron mask had made the Bastille a word of horror even in the furthest wilds of Siberia. The tale of Latude, plunged into its dungeons at the instance of the king's mistress, madame de Pompadour, who had been there for five-and-thirty years, who was liberated only by the indefatigable and heroic exertions of another woman, and who was yet living, and had told the awful tale in his memoirs, had caused a universal curse to issue from the hearts of the French people. As the inhabitants of the Faubourg St. Antoine and of the Marais saw its ponderous towers daily standing aloft in their view, they cursed it. These towers, six feet thick at their summits, and from thirty to forty feet at their bases, had resisted the efforts of the great Condé to storm them. These towers rose above dungeons which had heard the groans and maledictions of thousands of sufferers, who never escaped to reveal their miseries. The fortress was surrounded by three courts, with their deep moats crossed by drawbridges. The giant walls of these courts presented solid masses without windows, having only narrow loop-holes in the towers from which the garrison could fire on any assailant. At the feet of these ponderous walls, deep, as it were, in pits, in profound shadow, and with nothing exposed to view but the inexorable nakedness of the walls, were the prison chambers of the prisoners, their very senses oppressed by the Titan solidity around them. The battlements of the towers were cut for the accommodation of cannon, which could sweep the whole Faubourg St. Antoine and the Marais, and when from behind the solid parapet, the gunners could attack in perfect security. On the face of the prison wall was a clock, supported by two figures of captives in chains, reminding the prisoners of their own condition, and recalling to them the creeping slowness of time. Besides the cannon on the towers, it had an arsenal in one of the courts, with cannon loaded with case-shot. On the towers also were kept six cart-loads of paving-stones, cannon-balls, and masses of iron, to cast down on the heads of assailants.

Such was the place which the people now meditated attacking. The idea was not new. The demand for its destruction appeared in the instructions of the deputies when first sent to the states-general, and it had been growing. Fortunately for the people, the greater part of the ammunition and balls had been removed to the Swiss barracks, and it contained only a garrison of thirty Swiss and eighty-two invalids. The governor, De Launay, has been painted by some historians as a mild and amiable man; but such is not the testimony of the best French historians. He is described as hard, stern, and avaricious. That, besides his pay of sixty thousand livres, he managed to amass yearly as much by his rapine; that he supported

his household at the cost of the prisoners, had reduced their food, and made a profit on their wine—which, in fact, was but vinegar, and on their few miserable articles of furniture; that the only spot where the prisoners could get a breath of free air and a gleam of sunshine, a small garden on a bastion, he had let to a gardener, and had shut them out of it. "This base and avaricious soul," says Michelet, "had that which sunk its courage: he knew that he was known; the terrible memoirs of Linguet had made De Launay famous throughout Europe. The Bastille was detested, but the governor was detested, too, personally; and when, at length, he heard the terrible cries of the people, he felt that they were as much for him as for the monstrous old dungeon, and his heart sank within him."

And now scarcely was midnight passed on this eventful 14th of July, when the throngs increased rapidly around the Bastille, and the cries grew fiercer, "Down with it!" "Let us storm it!" There were suddenly a number of muskets discharged at the sentinels on the towers. De Launay, with an officer, ascended to the battlements; he heard only the distant hum of the city, and descended again. The populace had run off to the Hospital of Invalides, to seize the thirty thousand muskets there. When they had demanded them the day before, Bezenval had coolly replied that he would write to Versailles about it. Bezenval had then no fear. He had sent the governor, Sombreuil, a strong detachment of artillery, and he could take any assailing mob in flank, with his regiments of the Ecole-Militaire. But since then he had found that the French troops would not fight against the people; they were actually going off in numbers to join them, and the Germans and Swiss were not numerous enough to engage with the whole excited city, aided by the soldiery. At five o'clock in the morning a man entered, pale and agitated, bidding him in God's name, to make no resistance; the barriers were all burst, the people were coming for the arms, and to endeavour to prevent them would only cause torrents of unavailing blood to flow. Before nine o'clock, twenty thousand men were in front of the Invalides; the city solicitor at their head, the lawyers' clerks of the parliament of Paris in the crowd, in their old red robes; several companies of French guards, and the curé of St. Etienne-du-Mont actively marshalling the throng. Sombreuil entreated them to wait till he received his answer from Versailles, but the leader replied they had no time to lose; the crowd rushed in, and carried off twenty-eight thousand muskets and twenty pieces of cannon.

De Launay had made all necessary preparations, charged a dozen long guns on the towers with balls of a pound and a half each, disposed his little force to the best advantage. At an early hour, the committee at the Hôtel de Ville dispatched a deputation to him, requesting him to draw back his guns, promising that, if he did not fire, he should not be attacked. But this was promising for a party over which the authorities at the Hôtel de Ville had no power. As their deputation quitted the Bastille, a very different kind of man entered. This was Thuriot, a deputy of the district of St. Louis de la Culture. Thuriot was a man violent, audacious, destitute of human respect, unconscious of fear or pity. He was the very genius of this fiery revolution.

Twice we find him starting forth on its bloody career: once to condemn the Bastille, once to denounce Robespierre; and each time with mortal effect. Thuriot would admit of no refusal. He entered, and told De Launay that he came to summon the Bastille to surrender in the name of the people and of France. De Launay appeared confused, even terrified. He told Thuriot that he had hauled back the guns, as he had been desired; but Thuriot, desirous to spy out the strength or weakness of the place, insisted on entering the prison, and ascending to the towers. Arrived there, Thuriot saw the guns were actually drawn back, and he demanded of the garrison that they should not fire on the people. The invalides readily promised, the Swiss were silent. As they gazed from the battlements, a hundred and forty feet high, what a scene presented itself! The streets, the squares, the garden of the arsenal, all swarming with people, and the population of the Faubourg St. Antoine advancing in one black mass. The governor turned pale. He seized Thuriot by the arm, crying, "What have you done? You abuse the character of a deputy; you have betrayed me!" They stood together on the tower; De Launay had his sentinels at hand, Thuriot appeared in his power; but the immovable man said, "Monsieur, one word more, and I swear that one of us shall go headlong into the fosse!" At that moment, a sentinel approached Thuriot, saying, "For God's sake, monsieur, show yourself. The people are impatient of your delay; they are advancing to attack us." Thuriot looked over the battlements, and the people, observing him, raised a deafening shout.

As Thuriot quitted the Bastille, he said to the garrison, "I shall report at the Hôtel de Ville, and the people, I trust, will send a civic guard to keep the Bastille with you." But, whilst he was gone on this errand, the crowd grew first impatient, then furious. They advanced impetuously against the first drawbridge. Two men mounted the roof of the guard-house, and, with axes, cut the chains of the bridge, which fell down. The mass of assailants rushed forwards towards the second bridge, but were met by a discharge of musketry, which did deadly execution amongst them, and brought them to a stand. The firing proceeded at once from the towers and from the loop-holes below. A number of the assailants fell, whilst only two of the muskets fired by the people during the whole day took effect. One only of the Swiss was killed.

The muskets were already arriving at the Hôtel de Ville. A deputation was dispatched, with Fauchet at its head; but, amid the firing and the smoke, they were neither heard nor seen. A second followed, headed by the solicitor of the city, and accompanied by a flag and a drum. The soldiers on the towers displayed a white flag, and reversed their arms. The firing by the people ceased, and they followed the deputation into the court, when they were suddenly assailed by a murderous fire, and several men were killed at the side of the deputies. It is supposed that this came from the Swiss, who, being below, had not seen the white flag hoisted by the invalides. The people were seized with an inexpressible rage. They believed that they had been drawn into the court insidiously to be murdered, and they vowed that they would make a bridge of their dead bodies for others to advance over them to the attack. At this crisis, the people found

themselves supported by two columns, one of workmen and citizens, the other of French guards; the first was headed by Hullin, a watchmaker of Geneva, who had quitted his trade, and become huntsman to the marquis de Conflans; the other by Elie, an officer of fortune, of the queen's regiment. At their arrival the people had just brought three cart-loads of straw, and had burnt the barracks and the kitchens.

But again they were at check—what to do next? There were constantly coming in rumours that they were about to be attacked by all the troops in Paris; and the probability of this attack was increased by a letter of Besenval's which had been seized, in which he bade De Launay to hold out to the last moment, as he was ready to march to his assistance. It was, indeed, the day on which the court had concerted to attack Paris in all quarters at once; but Besenval found the troops not to be depended on, and no attack was made. On hearing Besenval's letter to De Launay read, however, the people considered that they were betrayed, and sent to the Hôtel de Ville to demand the head of Flesselles, the provost of trades. Scarcely was this message dispatched, when nine of the French guards arrived, together with wood, fagots, oil of turpentine, and other combustibles, to complete the burning of the gates of the inner court. There—where there were several offices and habitations—the mob surprised a young lady, the daughter of an officer of the garrison, and there was a cry that it was the daughter of De Launay. They seized her, and determined to burn her before the fortress, if the garrison would not surrender. The shrieking maiden was tied down upon a mattress and straw piled around her. Her real father, who was on one of the towers, seeing her situation, was on the point of throwing himself off, when he was hit by two musket balls and killed. The poor girl fainted, and would soon have been roused from her unconsciousness by fire, when a young man in the crowd, who knew her, rushed forward, and, at the peril of his own life, saved her.

De Launay, who had watched this terrible scene from above, now gave orders to fire on the assailants with grape. This drove them back to some distance, but they soon came on more furious than ever. De Launay looked in vain for the promised succour from Besenval or Broglie, and seeing the ever-increasing and ever more raging thousands around, he lost his head, was seized with despair, and resolved to blow up the old prison, and a great part of the old town near it. Six hundred and thirty-five barrels of gunpowder were deposited in the magazine. Seizing a match, he ran to cast it into an open barrel, and thus send into the air the horrible old fortress, himself, and garrison. With it must inevitably have been destroyed all the quarter of the Bastille, all the Marais, and a great part of the Faubourg St. Antoine. Two uncommissioned officers stopped him by crossing their bayonets. He then attempted to kill himself, but was secured. His head was wholly gone—he was no longer capable of issuing an order.

Meantime, at the Hôtel de Ville, a fierce contention was going on. The populace demanded the head of Flesselles, the prévôt des marchands. The mob, says the venerable Dussaulx, the translator of Juvenal, who was present, were like savages. Sometimes they listened in silence; then again a terrible murmur, like dull thunder, rose from the

mass. Many spoke and cried out together; more were satisfied by the novelty of the scene. The noises, the cries, the news, the alarms, the letters that were seized, the discoveries, true or false, that were made; so many secrets revealed, so many men led to the tribunals of justice; the very senses and reason were confounded. The prévôt and the electors remained, as it were, between life and death, often stooping with their faces to the earth.

At half-past five a cry went through the Grève, in front of the Hôtel de Ville. A great noise, at first far off, arose, advanced, drew near, with the rapidity and the hubbub of a tempest. "The Bastille is taken!"

In the hall of the Hôtel, already full, entered, at a rush, one thousand men, and ten thousand pushed behind. The wainscots cracked, the benches were overturned, the barriers were dashed into the tribunal, the people there were forced upon the president. All armed, but in an extraordinary fashion; some of them nearly naked, others clad in all colours came on the fiery crowd. One man was borne on the shoulder of others, and crowned with laurels; it was Elie, surrounded by the spoils, and the liberated prisoners of that old prison-house. One young man carried, on the point of his bayonet, the impious and thrice-accursed regulations of the Bastille. An ancient prisoner carried the keys of that diabolical dungeon, huge, coarse, and worn by ages of the sufferings of men. The national assembly ordered these articles to be placed in the archives of France, beside the law which broke the power of tyrants.

The Bastille had surrendered almost immediately after the governor had been seized with despair, and a desire to kill himself. The French guards began to cannonade the fortress; the captain of the Swiss, who might undoubtedly have held out much longer, saw that no rescue came, and that prolonged resistance would only lead, in the end, to sanguinary vengeance, he therefore hoisted a white flag. The captain of the Swiss demanded to be allowed to capitulate, and to march out with the honours of war; but the furious mob cried out, "No capitulation! no quarter! The rebels have fired upon the people!" The Swiss captain then said that they would lay down their arms, on condition that their lives should be spared. Hullin and Elie gave their promise. Then the gates of the old pandemonium were thrown open, and the furious and triumphant mob burst in. They were raging, blind with excitement, and drunk with danger and triumph. It was difficult for those who had promised protection to the garrison to afford it. The vengeance of ages—ages of murders and long miseries—was concentrated in that moment, and the mob would have massacred the whole of the surrendered soldiers. The authority which had promised safety was but of an hour's date, supported only by two little bands of volunteers and French guards, and what was that against one hundred thousand men, in the paroxysm of victorious power? The Swiss, for the most part, were spared, several, however, were wounded and insulted; but the chief vengeance fell on the invalids who had fired on their countrymen. They were many of them wounded, and were only saved from death by the guards.

The people then rushed on with a mad desire to exterminate the Bastille; they smashed with stones the two

figures of captives in chains supporting the clock; they mounted to the towers, and struck and insulted the cannon in their fury; many seized the battlements with their hands to tear them down, but only tore their own fingers; others descended to the dungeons to deliver the prisoners, but there they found that, under the mild Louis XVI., the Bastille had ceased to be what it had formerly been; instead of hundreds of captives, as was expected, there were found only seven, of whom three were forgers, or falsifiers of bills of exchange—noted scoundrels. Two of the prisoners had become superannuated; one, alarmed at the noise, put himself in an attitude of defence; he was astonished when those who dashed in his door declared that he was free. Another, who had a beard reaching to his waist, demanded how Louis XV. was, imagining that he still reigned; and when his name was asked, said he was the major of Immensity!

The crowd then commenced its march towards the Hôtel de Ville. They were met in the Rue St. Antoine by an enormous mob, who, having taken no part in the combat, were, however, determined to do something, and insisted on massacring the prisoners. One they succeeded in killing in the Rue des Tournelles; another on the quay. The wives of these followed with dishevelled hair, and those who discovered their husbands amongst the dead, cried for swords or knives to kill the assassins.

It was in vain that Hullin and Elie with their bands did all in their power to check the bloody fury of the mob. They seized one of the Swiss, an old soldier, named Begnard, one of those who had prevented De Launay assassinating himself. He was wounded with a sabre in two places, and had his hand cut off. The furies stuck the bleeding hand on a pike, and carried it in triumph before the old man, whom, however, they put out of his misery by hanging him and one of his countrymen before the Hôtel de Ville. They insisted on hanging twenty-two of the invalides whom they had made prisoners; but the guards tore them away from them. The unfortunate De Launay suffered a worse fate. He was dragged to the Place de Grève, surrounded by the roaring crowd. Hullin endeavoured to defend him, and, seeing that De Launay was conspicuous by having lost his hat, Hullin heroically put his own upon his head, and received in consequence some blows intended for him. If he could but have got him up the steps and into the Hôtel de Ville, he knew that he would have been saved; but the crowd knew that too, made a furious push at him, threw him down, trod upon him, and the next moment had his head on a pike.

The doom of Flesselles came next. No sooner was De Launay killed than the mob cried out for the provost. In vain did Flesselles cry out that he was not to blame—he had been deceived. They insisted that he should go to the Palais Royal to be judged; but on his way his brains were blown out by a pistol-shot from a fellow in the crowd.

Such was the destruction of the Bastille. It had been a den of monstrous crimes for ages; and yet but one of thousands of such hells of despotism scattered over Europe. It was, however, the most infamous of them all; perhaps we could hardly expect it to fall without some great demonstrations of vengeance; but the bloody character of the French mob only too prominently showed itself there.

The conquerors of the Bastille the next day, astonished at their own deed, were in momentary terror that the royal authorities would endeavour to seize them, and the ring-leaders hid themselves. They little knew the deadly terror with which they had inspired the very power that they dreaded. M. Moreau de St. Mery alone stood firm at the Hôtel de Ville. The day before, when the mob threatened to storm the Hôtel de Ville, he brought out many barrels of gunpowder, and declared that sooner than they should invade the place he would blow it up. He now remained at his post when others had fled, and issued all the necessary directions for the preservation of order. One of the first things had been to send word to the national assembly of the fall of the Bastille. The assembly received the astonishing news about midnight, and immediately adjourned. The news flew through the place. The court had been amusing itself with the idea of a mere rabble taking a place which had stood for ages, and which the great Condé had besieged in vain. The news of its fall came as a thunder-clap. The king, who had not been so confident, was gone to bed. The duke de Liancourt, grand master of the wardrobe, by virtue of his office, went to his bedside, awoke him, and told him the amazing fact. "What!" exclaimed Louis, "is it, then, really a rebellion?" "Say, rather, sire," replied the duke, "a revolution!"

The assembly was again sitting, and dispatched another deputation to inform him of the ominous event. "Tell him," cried Mirabeau, "that the foreign hordes by which we are surrounded were, yesterday, invited by the prince, the princesses, and by the favourites of both sexes, to a banquet; that they were caressed, exhorted to put down the people, and were stimulated by presents; that in their drunken songs these men vowed the destruction of the national assembly; that in his very palace the foreigner predicted, in his drunken songs, the subjugation of France, and that the French aristocracy applauded, and danced to their barbarous music. Such was the prelude to the massacre of St. Bartholemew. Tell him that his illustrious ancestor, Henry IV., allowed provisions to enter Paris at the moment in which he was besieging it; but that his councillors now are turning back the flour which commerce is sending to famishing Paris."

The king agreed to visit the assembly in the morning; and he went, attended by his two brothers. He addressed them in a kind and conciliatory tone. He said, "You have been afraid of me; but, for my part, I put my trust in you." This avowal was received with applause, in one of those bursts of sentiment, so sudden, and so soon over, which mark French history one moment with tearful emotions, and the next with savage bloodshed. The deputies surrounded the monarch, and escorted him back to the palace with tears in their eyes. The queen, from a balcony, saw this enthusiastic procession. She stood with the little dauphin in her arms, and her daughter holding by her dress; and herself, greatly moved, was hailed, for the moment, also by the senators. For a moment all seemed to be forgotten; it was but for a moment; the next day the court had resumed its hauteur and its distrust, the people their implacable hatred of royalty and aristocracy.

The assembly sent a deputation to Paris to congratulate

the municipality on the late auspicious event, and to announce the reconciliation of the king and the deputies; Bailly, La Fayette, and Lally-Tollendal, were in the deputation. Lally made a speech, which so carried away his excitable hearers, that they crowned him with a wreath of flowers. He took it from his own head, and put it on Bailly's. Bailly would have taken it off, but the archbishop of Paris held it where it was. Nor was this the only honour done to Bailly; the death of Flesselles had left the posts of provost and commandant vacant. The duke d'Aumut had declined the appointment of commandant of the city militia; and, on the spot, the electors made Bailly provost, with the title of mayor of Paris; and Moreau le St. Mery, pointing to a bust of La Fayette which the Americans had sent in memory of his aid in their revolution, the eyes of the electors were at once turned upon it, and they saluted him as commandant. A *Te Deum* was voted, and the assembly proceeded in a body to Notre Dame. La Fayette and Bailly, arm-in-arm, the archbishop of Paris, attended by the French guards, and the new national guards, all walking in pairs, and in the highest state of self-congratulation, went to the cathedral. After the ceremony, the new mayor was conducted to different parts of the town, to be presented to the people, and there was much rejoicing in the city. Of course there was a great rush to examine the dungeons of the Bastille, and especially to look at the great stone in the deep dungeon in the centre, with its monstrous iron ring and chain. But, amid the rejoicings of the people, they were alarmed by the rumour of vast magazines of gunpowder deposited in the vaults under the city, which was built over stone quarries, and that the whole was about to be blown into the air by the aristocrats. A thorough search was ordered; nothing was found, and the next day, the 16th of July, another order was issued by Bailly, and the new municipal body, for the utter demolition of the Bastille. On the other hand, the court was equally alarmed at the Parisians; there were constant rumours that the people of Paris were marching to Versailles. The count d'Artois, and the great friends of the queen, the Polignac family, hastened away from France, being the first of that numerous current of emigrants that fled from their country as their only hope of safety. The princes of Condé and Casti, marshal Broglie, and others, quickly followed them, and got safe to Brussels.

The condition, not only of Paris, but of all France, was enough to justify the fears of the aristocracy. Emissaries from the capital, after the destruction of the Bastille, spread themselves into every province, carrying with them the same spirit of insurrection. At Lyons, Metz, Caen, Rouen, and other places, the people rose, destroyed the custom-houses, fought with troops, but more generally fraternised with them. In Brest, Cherbourg, St. Lô, and other places, they seized the magazines of arms and ammunition; and the tricolour flag, now formed by adding the two colours of the city of Paris, red and blue, to the white one of the king, was everywhere hoisted. It was no longer a people in insurrection, but a people universally armed and in power. In many places, as in the Lyonnais, Dauphiny, Burgundy, Upper Auvergne, the peasantry chased away the aristocracy, burnt their chateaux, and plundered their estates.

Paris was rejoiced to hear that Broglie and the new

ministry had suddenly resigned, that the king was going to recall Necker, and was himself coming to pay a visit to his good people of Paris. When the rumour had taken proper effect, Bailly, in the capacity of mayor, proceeded to Versailles, and invited his majesty to visit Paris, which, notwithstanding the terrified dissuasions of the queen and the court, Louis resolved to do. Accordingly, on the day on which the princes quitted Versailles to escape from the kingdom, Louis, accompanied by two hundred deputies and a vast throng of people, set out for his turbulent capital. The queen and his family parted with him in agonies of tears, scarcely hoping to see him again alive. The body-guard attended him to the bridge of Sevres, where they halted to await his return. Bailly received the king at the gates of Paris, and, on offering to him the same keys which had been offered to Henry IV., said, "Sire, that good king had conquered his people; at present, it is the people who have re-conquered their king." After a long speech, followed by other speeches and ceremonies, he passed through the gates, and found himself surrounded by a double file of the new national guards, each file three deep, and extending all the way to the Hôtel de Ville. Behind and around these new guards, or militia, were calculated to be assembled two hundred thousand people, many of them armed, too, with muskets or pikes. The cries which he heard were not "Vive le Roi!" but "Vive la nation! Vive le tiers état!" In the dense mass, he observed not only monks, but women shouldering muskets. The deputies walked after him through the armed lane. There were guns also fired, less for joy, it would seem, than for destruction. The balls whistled close past the royal coach as it passed the Place Louis Quinze; the marquis de Culières had his hat struck by one, and a lady not far off was killed. On alighting at the Hôtel de Ville, Bailly presented him with the tricolour cockade, which he had no option but to accept and place on his hat. He thus ascended the stairs under an arch of swords crossed over his head, as it was said, as a mark of honour, but more obviously as a mark of subjection to the national weapons. On reaching the hall, Louis requested the swords to be sheathed, and made a short and conciliatory speech. He was addressed, in reply, by Moreau le Saint-Mery and Lally-Tollendal, who declared that this was the happiest day that Paris had ever seen, when its king came into it as the regenerator of the national liberty, the restorer of the public rights, and the father of his people. A statue of Louis was voted in honour of the event, to be placed on the site of the Bastille—an erect which never took place. Louis, having recognised the national guards, the appointments of Bailly and La Fayette, and all the new arrangements, was conducted to an open window, with the tricolour cockade in his hat, at sight of which the crowds burst into stunning clamours of applause and hailed him as the citizen king. Poor puppet of a king! what humiliations were yet in store for him! After this he was permitted to return to his carriage, which he found covered with tricolour ribbons, and to take his departure. Right thankful was he once more to catch a sight of his own guards, posted on the bridge of Sevres, and to be received with rapturous emotion by his family, the queen throwing herself into his arms, in a transport of joy at his safe

return. Easy and complying as was the temper of Louis, he felt deeply the degradation of the part that he had been made to play. For a time, all endeavour by the court to resist the popular tendencies appeared crushed by terror. The king consented to the recall of Necker; M. de Liancourt, a friend of the king, was appointed president of the assembly, in the place of Bailly; and the nobles, who had hitherto absented themselves from the sittings, now

meeting at the Hôtel de Ville, civil, judicial, military. The judges at first, doubting their own powers, referred accused persons to its tribunal; the national guard had its head-quarters there. And thus the electors, divided into several committees, were labouring incessantly in all sorts of duties. Bailly himself was greatly engrossed by the committee in distributing provisions, in purchasing corn, and sending it to the most distressed quarters. This was often



THE FIRST DAY OF LIBERTY. SCENE IN PARIS, 1789, AFTER THE CAPTURE OF THE BASTILLE.

attended and voted. Thus was the assembly apparently amalgamated, and the revolution completed.

But it was in reality far from such completion. Nothing could be as yet more unsettled than the condition of Paris. Every class was asserting its own independence, and organising itself for dictating to every other class. As the national assembly had assumed a great authority, the assembly of electors did the same in the city; and almost every trade and description of people did the same in their own quarters. The shoemakers, tailors, bakers, domestic servants, &c., met at the Louvre, in the Place Louis XV., in the Champs Elysées, and deliberated on public affairs, though the assembly of electors repeatedly forbade them. These gave great embarrassment to the rulers at the Hôtel de Ville, but the meetings at the Palais Royal gave far more. At the same time, the electors found all kinds of authorities

met by the famishing people, and carried off before it reached its proposed destination. The committee sold corn at a loss, that the bakers might sell bread cheap; but the scarcity was not relieved in the city by this means, for the country people flocked in and bought it up. The condition of the people was as miserable as ever, for there was no confidence in the trading world, and all kinds of articles of subsistence were kept back.

The situation of La Fayette, at the head of the national guard, was as harassing and unsatisfactory as that of Bailly, at the head of the municipality. La Fayette, who had a real passion for liberty, but still more personal vanity, and no great courage, was always thrusting himself before the public eye, enjoying extremely his popularity, but finding it very hard to steer his way respectably betwixt king and people. He professed to desire earnestly to preserve the

monarchy, and yet every atom of his influence depended on his pleasing the mob. Hence he often appeared in dilemmas that no man of great self-respect could tolerate; was suspected by the court from the first, and finally suspected and rejected by the people. He had now to contend with all sorts of rumours, and all the caprices of an ignorant and triumphant multitude. He found himself called upon every hour of the day to endeavour to suppress the madness of the multitude released from all legal restraint, and thirsting for blood and vengeance, as French mobs have thirsted in all ages. Every day he saw himself unable to prevent the commission of the most terrible deeds, though at the head of fifty thousand nominal soldiers. In fact, had La Fayette resolutely striven to reduce these mad crowds to order and decency, and had his city militia supported him, he would have become, in one week, the object of the mob's most bloody hatred. For his own credit, he ought to have resigned; but what then would have been the consequences? Who should take his place? Much as he has been blamed for continuing in a position in which he could do little, the question arises whether a less popular man would not have done still less, or a sterner one have led to still more sanguinary results.

The treatment of Messrs. Foulon and Berthier will exemplify the lawless fury of the Paris mob, and the unenviable position of both Bailly and La Fayette. Foulon, who had formerly been an intendant, and a councillor of state, had been named as one of the ministers to succeed Necker. He was a man of a hard and rapacious character, said to be the most unpopular man in France. When the people were clamouring for bread, he was reported to have said the *canaille* might eat hay; that grass and thistles were good enough for them. The populace determined that he now should not escape them. He had fled and concealed himself in the village of Vitry, on the road to Fontainebleau, and had given out that he was dead. But the secret of his being still alive was not well kept by his servants. He was seized by the syndic of the village; and, with a truss of hay on his back, a collar of nettles round his neck, and a bouquet of thistles on his bosom, he was kicked and cursed all the way to Paris, and to the Hôtel de Ville. Bailly proposed that he should be tried, but the people cried out, "Hang him!" Bailly sent for La Fayette and the national guard to protect him; but it was in vain. La Fayette declared that he would not permit the prisoner to be executed without trial; that without law there was no liberty. But, spite of law, or liberty, or La Fayette, the sovereign mob dragged the old man out—he was in his seventy-fifth year—and hanged him on the memorable lamp-post in the Place de Grève, at the corner of the rue de la Vannerie. The son-in-law of Foulon, Berthier de Sauvigny, was equally detested by the people. He was at once a debauched libertine and a tyrant to the people. Hard, active, and courageous, he was a scion of a race of solicitors, or petty judges; was, like Foulon, a minister of three days with Bréglie; and had shown himself particularly active in collecting troops, arms, and preparing cartridges for the subjection of Paris by the court. Like his father-in-law, he had fled, on the capture of the Bastille, to Compiègne. He was taken, and brought to Paris in a chaise, which for leagues had been pursued by the infuriated

people, and his life had been preserved only by the most determined efforts of the guards. When he arrived at the Hôtel de Ville, the mob cried, "Finish with him! The Faubourg St. Antoine is coming! The Palais Royal is coming! they will have his head." To prevent the rabble seizing him, Bailly ordered the national guards to surround him, and make away with him to the Abbaye prison; but the desperate mob set the guards at defiance, tore him from them, and would have hanged him; but Berthier, strong and courageous, snatched a musket to defend himself, and the next moment was transpierced by a hundred pikes. The ferocious mob tore out his heart, cut off his head, and carried them in triumph to the very table of the magistrate at the Hôtel de Ville.

La Fayette, thus shown that he was utterly impotent to restrain the very wildest atrocities of these brutal Parisians, now declared that he would resign; and a man of a deeper and more manly nature would have done it pre-emptorily, but La Fayette was a genuine Frenchman—light, vain, and greedy of notoriety—and being entreated by Bailly, and the national guard, and the sickle people, who promised after to obey him implicitly—which they never did—he remained.

The same popular despotism which destroyed Foulon and Berthier on the 22nd of July, recalled Necker to a momentary gleam of power. Almost at the very moment of this bloody tragedy, Necker met at Basle the Polignac, whom he had left high in court favour at Versailles. Tallyrand it was who informed him that the people were insisting on his return to office. He set out and traversed France, amid the shouts and caresses of the people. It was a journey of triumph—a popular ovation of the most enthusiastic kind. His most discerning friends had in vain warned him to decline all return to office, for that France was in a condition that defied all government. But to no purpose. Necker—vain as La Fayette—believed himself the only man who could save France. He arrived at Versailles on the 28th of July, and was received by the assembly with enthusiasm. On the 30th he proceeded to Paris amid the acclamations of the people, who strewed flowers in his path, covered him with wreaths and bouquets, and shouted with all their might "Vive Necker!" "Vive le ministre du peuple!" He shed tears of emotion, and thought how easy it would be to govern so amiable a people. At the Hôtel de Ville the flatteries were renewed. Necker was seated on the bench beside the chief magistrate, Bailly, and was complimented in speeches as the destined saviour of his country. His wife, his daughter, De Staël, and many other ladies, were present to witness his triumph. He was hailed as the tutelary angel of France. The very next day the tutelary angel was abandoned, and all his roseate dream of glory and beneficence was gone!

The baron de Besenval, who had commanded the troops in Paris, was in prison. Necker demanded his pardon, the more so because Besenval had always been his opponent. He demanded pardon for Besenval, and an amnesty for all other offenders. The assembly at the Hôtel de Ville immediately applauded such magnanimity, such tenderness, and passed a resolution *pardoning all their enemies!* Necker returned in tears of joy and in triumph to Versailles; and the

very next morning the national assembly, instigated by the districts, passed a resolution declaring the motion of the Hôtel de Ville null, and that the baron de Besenval must be detained. It was fortunate for Besenval that he was not liberated, for he would have been assassinated, such was the animosity of the multitude against him; but, fortunately for him, he was ordered to be kept in safe custody at Bric-Compte-Robert, where he was seized. But Necker was lost, as Bailly told him he would be, if he recommended an amnesty. The districts had not merely sent to the assembly at Versailles, warning them against sanctioning the amnesty, but they menaced more bloody work than ever if the amnesty were not annulled. The assembly complied, and Necker was no longer the hero of the mob, but detested as a traitor for procuring the amnesty. This was the profound statesman who thought he alone could save the country; this was the amiable people whom he thought he could so easily lead. Never was popular idol lifted so high, and debased so low in a single day! Bailly had both warned Necker of the consequences, and refused to sign the decree for an amnesty when voted. He knew the people better than Necker. He knew that they would never rest till they had satiated their vengeance on their old oppressors. He declared it useless, dangerous, and unconstitutional. Necker ruined himself by his act, which was in appearance humane, but which would have been more so, because more effectual, had he, instead of a free pardon, called for a proper tribunal to try every one before condemned. As it was, Mignet says very truly, "He unchained the people against himself, without obtaining anything, and let loose the districts upon the electors. From that moment he began to wrestle with the revolution, which he believed he could master, because, for a moment, he had been the hero of it. But a man counts for very little in a revolution which moves the masses; the movement either drags him on, or leaves him behind; he must either precede it, or fall. Never was there a time that made more evident the subordination of men to things. Revolutions employ many chiefs, but when they give themselves up to it, to one alone." This could only be eventually stopped by a man of arms.

The great event of the reduction of the Bastille, and the disturbed state of Paris since that great day, the 14th of July, had suspended the activity of the national assembly, but now these very events stimulated it to renewed action. Consternation had seized the court and the aristocracy; they were ready to make enormous sacrifices to avoid utter spoliation; but the assembly, too, was in augmented fear of the people, and it was divided in itself. The chief advocate of the aristocracy there was a young captain in the queen's dragoons, named Cazales; the abbé Maury was the great defender of the church; the national party was split into several factions. Mounier, Lally-Tollendal, Malouet, and others were advocates of a constitution resembling that of England, consisting of a house of commons, a house of peers, and the king as the ultimate umpire on all great questions. They went with Necker. A set of young men, Barnave, an advocate of Grenoble, Duport, a young councillor to the parliament, and the two Lamethes, were for a far more democratical constitution—only one chamber; the people as almost everything; the king was not, even in their view, to

have a veto on the acts of the chamber. The popular chamber was to legislate, the king to execute. Mirabeau was a party in himself. He mixed with all parties and learned all their objects; but he still, in reality, stood alone—sometimes agreeing with one party, sometimes with another; sometimes opposing both, but always denouncing the aristocracy, whom he hated for their rejection of him; but he was always for maintaining the monarchy. He hated the brutal and ignorant tyranny of mobs as much as that of nobles; but he tolerated the excesses of the people, that through them he might destroy the aristocrats. His genius, his ambition, his vices, and his poverty were hurrying him towards an unknown future; but while floating towards his own destiny, he controlled more than any other man the destinies of France.

It was time that the assembly should settle something, for everything in town and country was unsettled and running fast towards universal anarchy. The people of Paris had shaken off their fetters, and the impulse thus given had acted on all the country. Strange rumours were spread, as supposed, from the coteries in Paris, to induce the people everywhere to arm themselves. It was declared that bands of lawless men were traversing the country, treading down and cutting down the corn before the harvest, so as to produce universal famine. These brigands were expected everywhere, and seen nowhere; but the result was the one desired—the people had everywhere armed themselves. With arms in their hands, they now put in practice all that their atheistic philosophers and novelists—the Voltaires, Rousseaus, Diderots, &c.—had taught all France. They refused to pay all feudal obligations; they turned upon the landholders, burnt down their mansions, ravaged their fields, and made, in razing their houses, an especial quest after all title-deeds, to prevent the possibility of future reclamation of property. An accident furnished a pretext for indulgence in the most diabolical cruelties towards these ancient possessors of the soil. The lord of Quincey, the sieur de Mesmai, one of the judges of the parliament of Besançon, gave a fête in the grounds of his château; the peasantry were assembled there, and enjoying their dances, when a barrel of gunpowder exploded and killed several of them. A cry was immediately raised that it was designed, and the story soon ran, with ample exaggerations, all over the country. De Mesmai proved, by the testimony of numbers of persons there, that the explosion was purely accidental; but the mischief was already done. The château of De Mesmai was reduced to ashes, his estate ravaged, the houses and property of his neighbours soon suffered the same fate, and the calumny, bearing terror and destruction, spread with the wings of hatred and vengeance. The work of destruction ran riot throughout Burgundy, Franche Comté, Dauphiny, Champagne, Alsace, Brittany, and other provinces. The plunder and destruction were attended by all the horrors which cruelty, lust, and devilry could invent and perpetrate. The details of these horrible ferocities are too vile for language. The mobs—as French mobs in all ages have been—were excited to a frenzy of ferocity and obscenity which hell itself could not surpass. The proprietors, men, women, and children, were tortured, to compel them to give up their title-deeds, and for the mere enjoyment of cruelty,

in every form of insolence and horror which distinguished the first *Jacquerie*. In most places the aristocracy fled, if possible, and left all they had to the ravagers; but in others they united, and repelled and extensively slaughtered their assailants, as in the *Maconnois* and *Beaujolais*. But the national assembly, which had not uttered a word of condemnation of the barbarities of the people, instantly sent orders to stop the retaliation of the landholders. The assembly dared not incur the resentment of the people. "They had," says Dumont, "triumphed by means of the people, and could not be severe against them. They had put themselves under the necessity of either fearing the noblesse, or of making the noblesse fear them. They condemned for decency's sake, but they managed and conciliated the mob for policy."

Whilst these abominations were enacting, the assembly was discussing a declaration of the rights of man. The Americans had preceded their constitution by such a declaration, and *La Fayette* insisted that France must do the same. *Jefferson*, who was still there, strongly recommended it; and the assembly, on the 4th of August, voted that such a declaration should be drawn up, and should head the constitution, which now also was on the anvil. The deputies were already deep in a slough of metaphysical arguments on this question when the committee appointed to inquire into the provincial outrages and the best mode of putting an end to them brought in its report. *M. Leguen de Kerengal*, a landowner of *Bretagne*, appeared in the tribunal in the dress of a farmer, and drew a frightful picture of the feudal system. He was followed by *Lapoule*, a deputy of *Franche Comté*, who amplified the statements of *M. Kerengal*, descriptive of the detestable and oppressive customs of the aristocrats sanctioned by feudal usage. A sudden fit of generosity seemed to seize the nobles in the assembly—which, in fact, was a fit of terror—for they had come to the conclusion that no protection was to be expected from the assembly against the fury and cupidity of the people. They saw that the assembly was the slave of the people; that the army had fraternised with the people; and that they were at the mercy of the merciless populace. Their burning mansions, their violated wives and daughters, their murdered children, their own terrible experience—some of them having been suspended for whole days in wells, or forced to yield their title-deeds with bayonets or scythes at their throats—were all too vivid in their memories or their imaginations; every one was in a hurry to be first to sacrifice these feudalities to save their houses and their acres. Never was such a scene of frenzied, impetuous, wholesale renunciation of rights witnessed since the world began. These aristocrats, who had refused all concession to demands most reasonable till they had roused the people into masters in the shape of furies, now stood up clamorous to strip themselves of all honours and privileges in a feigned paroxysm of generosity!

The viscount de Noailles and the duke d'Aiguillon declared that it would be wicked and absurd to employ force to quiet the people. They must destroy the cause of their sufferings, and all would be accomplished. The nobles hastened to renounce their privileges. They crowded round

the table to emunerate what they surrendered. The commons, having nothing of their own to give up, surrendered the privileges and charters of towns and provinces. Some offered up their pensions; and one deputy, having nothing else, surrendered his personal convenience, pledging himself to devote his energies to the public welfare. The whole assembly was in a ferment and fever-heat paroxysm of renunciation, such as could only be witnessed in France. *Lally-Tollendal*, unable to approach the tribunal, sent up a note to the president. "Everything is to be apprehended from the enthusiasm of the assembly. Break up the sitting!" He knew very well that in these fits of emotion, which seize Frenchmen, the reaction is always proportionate. A member, running to him, grasped his hand, and said, "Procure us the royal sanction to our sacrifices, and we are friends." *Lally* moved that the king should be proclaimed the restorer of French liberty, which was carried by acclamation; that a *Te Deum* should be performed for this joyful event; and the assembly broke up about midnight in a bewilderment of rapture and wonder at its own deed. The assembly had, on this memorable night, decreed nothing less than—

The abolition of all serfdom.

The right of compounding for the seigniorial dues; and abolition of seigniorial jurisdictions.

The suppression of exclusive rights of hunting, shooting, keeping warrens, dovecotes, &c.

The abolition of tithes; the equality of taxes.

The admission of all citizens to civil and military employments; the abolition of the sale of offices.

The suppression of all the privileges of towns and provinces.

The reformation of wardenships; and the suppression of pensions obtained without just claims.

That was the work of one night! There was reform enough for the legitimate performance of years. To such an extent had this French sentiment carried the assembly, that the duke of Liancourt proposed that a medal should be struck to commemorate this glorious sitting of the 4th of August; and the marquis of Goury, that a national fête should be established for all ages on that day; and both were carried by acclamation. But with the light of day came reflection, and numbers of the deputies felt like men recovering from a wild intoxication, in which they had given away their privileges without any guarantee for the retention of their property. There remained now to carry these resolutions into formal decrees, and those who had been so lavish of their possessions began to show no little reluctance to confirm their first impulses. They had made no stipulations for the redemption of any of the rights surrendered by an equitable payment, and now, when put to the vote, the inexorable majority, which had nothing to lose, paid no regard to arguments or prayers. Then the assembly proceeded to abolish altogether personal services, and many quit-rents into which personal services had been changed. It abolished such tributes imposed upon land as were the relics of servitude, but made redeemable perpetual rents, which were the price for which the nobles had formerly ceded a portion of their lands to the cultivators. It abolished seigniorial courts. These were stoutly defended as property; but it was replied

that all these things, however indefensible, had become property. When the right of hunting was put to the vote, those who had so freely yielded it now contended that it would be most dangerous to yield the right, because it would put arms into the hands of the whole population; but this afterthought availed nothing.

The redemption of tithes was stoutly contested. The bishops of Nancy and of Chartres, the night before, had spoken like primitive apostles; that they were ready to give up everything, and trust to God and the people for what was necessary for the simple subsistence of preachers of the gospel. They did not foresee how soon the gospel itself would be renounced; but, to-day, there was a strong demand from the clergy that the tithes should be redeemable. Garat, a public journalist, declared that the state would in reality redeem them by charging itself with the maintenance of the ministers of religion. The abbe Sieyes, who had been from the first so thorough a reformer, who had written and spoken so admirably on the rights of man, and had attacked so vigorously the exclusive rights of crown and nobility, was now seen, much to the surprise of his followers, to flinch when his own turn came. He was the recipient, as the vicar-general of the good bishop of Chartres, of rich emoluments, and he declared that to touch tithe would be a sacrilegious robbery. "You wish," he said, "to be free, and you know not how to be just!" The sentence was received with derisive applause by numbers, for it applied so completely to the whole progress of the revolution, which went on confiscating property and rights with more regard to revolution than justice. But the abbe's epigrammatic sentiment did not save the tithes. "My dear Sieyes," said Mirabeau, "you let loose the bull, and now you complain that 'he gives you a touch of his horns.'" He showed that, even were the imposition just, the imposition of it on a part only of the public, the landed proprietors, was most unjust; that, as religion concerned all, the support of it should be incumbent on all. The curés, who had no tithes, voted to a man against them, and they were abolished, but were to be levied till the state allowance to the clergy was settled. On the 11th, all the articles were presented to the monarch, who accepted the title of Restorer of French liberty, and walked in procession to the *Te Deum*, with Chapelier, the president of the assembly, at his right hand. But Louis was far from pleased with these wholesale demolitions of feudalism. He procrastinated in giving his sanction to them, and endeavoured to show that many of them were rash, ill-considered, and mischievous; but the assembly stood firm, and he was constrained to confirm them.

He hoped, however, that such extreme concessions would satisfy the people, and put an end to the disturbances. "But, unfortunately," observes Thiers, "a nation never knows how to resume with moderation the exercise of its rights." He might have added, especially the French nation. So far from this, the people everywhere seemed to regard the proceedings of the assembly as a justification of all their past, and a sanction of all future, outrages. The most atrocious and wholesale violence continued to be perpetrated all over the kingdom. The people still continued to burn the chateaux, and to lay waste woods, parks, and copses, at pleasure. The fields and forests swarmed with rustic sportsmen, who did not

content themselves with killing deer and partridges, but committed plunder of all kinds; and were so reckless in the use of their firearms that it was dangerous to travel along the highways. Fresh statements were laid before the assembly of the fearful state of the country, and of the fatal accidents that occurred. Paris continued as disorderly as the country. On the night of the 6th of August a fierce mob broke into the Hôtel de Ville to murder the marquis de la Salle and others, for being suspected of sending gunpowder out of the capital. The marquis was warned in time, and got out of Paris; but a fellow had already mounted the fatal lamp-post with a lantern and a rope, showing what would have been his fate had he been taken. La Fayette found his guards scattered by the mob; and, in spite of his popularity, they would not take his word for the victim being away till they had searched the hotel from cellar to garret. Like Sieyes, La Fayette found it easier to stir up a revolution than to guide or check it. Other scenes of like character succeeded; in fact, the mob was the ruling power of Paris and of France.

Amid all this confusion, Necker appeared in the assembly demanding supplies, for his coffers were empty. The assembly had met, first, at the suggestion of Necker, to propose some means of creating a revenue; but no sooner had it met than it commenced a struggle with the whole government, which it sought to annihilate, and the struggle was still going on. With the whole country in a state of anarchy and mob rule, how were taxes to be levied? That was the simple question. No matter how able might be the minister of finance, or how ingenious his plans, there lay the difficulty; the revenues could not be drawn from a people which was master of the government itself, and was much fonder of destroying estates than of paying taxes or rents. The whole course of events, since the revolution had broken out, had been to increase the demands on the treasury, and decrease the supplies. Corn had been bought, and sold at a great loss, to obviate famine; the abolition of the gabel, or duty on salt; refusal to pay taxes, the destruction of crops, and driving away of cattle; smuggling on the coast; the destruction of town barriers, and, therefore, of town dues; the burning of the registers, and the murder of the clerks, had made, and kept the public treasury empty. But all this time government expenses were going on, and Necker now demanded a loan of thirty millions of louis. The loan was granted; nothing was so easy; but the interest was reduced to four and a half per. cent, as if moneyed men would lend to such a government at any rate of interest, however exorbitant. Necker had the order for the loan, but it was easy to see that his difficulty was in no way diminished; he would never have the money.

This farce enacted, the assembly fell again to finishing the declaration of the rights of man. Much time was wasted in compiling such fine sentiments as that "Every man is born free and equal." The Americans had done that before, and then proceeded to show how hollow was the fabric, by declaring that negroes were not free, and could not be equal with white men. Mirabeau, heartily ashamed of the whole fustian composition, proposed that they should omit the word rights, and say, "For the interest of all, it has been declared," &c. But the assembly, believing the

document very grand and sublime, would not abandon the word rights. Malouet and others pointed out the inevitable mischief of proclaiming to the uneducated people the dogma of utter freedom and equality, but in vain; the declaration was passed, and the people soon showed in what sense they understood it, and, carrying it to the extreme application, proceeded to destroy all ranks, properties, and principles, on the authority of the assembly; and would, in time, have

aristocracy. It was decided that there should be no second chamber. Then came the question, whether the king should have a veto on decrees sent up to him from the assembly, or only the function of promulgating them, as the executive power. It was soon seen that not a shred of power would be left to the crown; that all would be absorbed into the assembly, and used not independently by them, but at the dictation of the sovereign people. The people were declared to be all



M. NECKER. FROM AN AUTHENTIC PORTRAIT.

reduced France to a desert, scattered with dead men's bones, had not a military dictator stepped in and stopped their imagined right to do just whatever they pleased.

From the rights of man the assembly passed to the constitution, and entered on the important question, whether there should be two legislative chambers or only one. Mounier, Lally-Tollendal, Rochefoucauld, Liancourt, and a few others, including Necker, were for a second chamber, like the English house of peers. But the absurdity of an upper house, after the declaration of the perfect equality of all men, was too preposterous. Barnave, Duport, and the Lamethes, were opposed to more than one chamber, and Mirabeau was of the same opinion, from his hatred of the

free and equal, and why should they be hampered by the resolutions of even their own deputies? They were resolved to rule not merely through the assembly, but over the assembly. The very proposal to give the king a veto roused all France. The Palais Royal was in a fiery ferment. There, Camille Desmoulins, and the old marquis St Huruque, who had been imprisoned for family quarrels, were indignant at the very idea of a veto. They declared that the national guard was becoming an aristocracy: La Fayette, a Cromwell. It was necessary, then, to go to Versailles, and call both the king and the assembly to account. On Sunday, the 30th of August, they met, and accused Mounier, menaced Mirabeau, and set out in march



THE PEOPLE DRIVING FOULON FROM VITRY TO PARIS.

to Versailles. La Fayette pursued them with the national guards, and forced them to come back. But this only the more exasperated the people. The whole of town and country was buzzing like a hive at swarming time, with the excitement against the veto. They imagined that it was only another name for absolutism. They dubbed the king *Monsieur Veto*. Many of them believed that the veto was an abominable tax of some kind; others, an enemy that ought to be hung on the lamp-post. "Dost thou know," asked one countryman of the other, "what the veto is?" "No, not I." "Well, then, thou hast thy basin full of soup; the king says to thee, 'Spill thy soup,' and thou art forced to spill it."

On the 31st, Mounier, in the assembly, denounced a deputation which had reached him from the Palais Royal, menacing him for supporting the veto, and stating that twenty thousand men were about to march, to compel the enemies of the people to silence on the veto. Mirabeau also read letters, of a most menacing nature, addressed to him. The assembly ordered the arrest of St. Huruge, who had written some of these letters, and the question of the veto was continued. Mirabeau had long before declared that, without the king had a veto on the acts of the assembly, he would rather live in Constantinople than in Paris, and he now maintained the same doctrine; but on the proposal being made that the royal veto should not be absolute, but merely suspensive, Mirabeau conceded to this compromise; and the suspensive veto, to be limited to two sessions, was passed by six hundred and seventy-three votes against three hundred and fifty-five for the absolute veto. The king and the ministers were not particularly averse to the suspensive veto, for they trusted that if a measure were suspended two years, it would not often be revived.

The next questions were the hereditary transmission of the crown and the inviolability of the royal person. These were passed without division; but, on the inviolability of the heir presumptive being proposed, it was rejected, as giving to a disloyal heir immunity in any attempt against the reigning prince. Mirabeau, to ascertain what was the strength of the party of the duke of Orleans in the assembly, proposed that there should be a clause providing that none but a Frenchman should succeed to the throne, nor even be appointed on a regency, as that might open the way to the relatives of the royal family, Spanish or Austrian, and expose the country to foreign domination. There were loud outcries at these words, and Mirabeau noticed carefully the opposers of his motion, for he was certain that they preferred, in case of a regency, an Austrian or Spanish prince to the duke of Orleans. He did not press his motion, for he had attained his object; but he had won by it the firm persuasion in the mind of the public that he was a partisan of the duke, which, in fact, he was not. Mirabeau was familiar with Orleans, as he was with men of all parties, because he was thus enabled to penetrate often into their opinions and designs; but he was properly of no party. The duke was rich, and Mirabeau extremely poor and extravagant; consequently, it was readily believed that he was paid by Orleans; but, on the contrary, Mirabeau continued as poor as ever till his connection with the court.

In the midst of this constitution-making, famine was

stalking through the country, bankruptcy was menacing exchequer. The first loan of thirty millions had proved a total failure; a second of eighty, according to a forecast of Necker's, was equally a blank. "Go on discussing," M. Degouy D'Arcy, one day, "throw in delays, and the expiration of those delays, we shall no longer live! I have just heard fearful truths." "Order! order!" exclaimed some. "No! no! Speak!" rejoined others. A disorder rose. "Proceed," he said to M. Degouy, "spread no alarm. What will be the consequence? We shall give up our fortune, and all will be over." M. Degouy continued: "The loans which you have voted have produced nothing; there are not ten millions in the exchequer!" There was a wild hubbub. The speaker was surrounded, and reduced to silence. Necker appeared. He confirmed the statements of M. Degouy. He reproached the assembly for doing nothing for the finances for five months. He represented that people, alarmed by the state of the country, had concealed vast sums of money; foreigners, for that reason, had held back from the loan; travellers had ceased to venture into it; and emigrants had carried their money away with them. The circulating medium had been much reduced by these means that there was not enough for daily use. The king and queen had been obliged to send their plate to the mint; the treasury was empty, and members began to wonder where their daily pay was to come from. Necker declared that loans were unattainable; that it was a stern necessity that one-fourth of the income of every individual, except the poor, should be at once raised and contributed to ward off national bankruptcy. A committee was appointed to examine this plan, and, in five days, reported its full approval.

Meantime, the distresses of the country, as detailed by the minister, had produced a fit of patriotism. French sentiment was touched, and a deputy proposed that every one should offer something at once to his country. The deputies laid down the money in their pockets; those who had no money took off their buckles from their shoes. All were entered in a register, and, vanity aiding sentiment, people flocked in with silver spoons and forks, gold rings, and other ornaments, so that the assembly looked rather like a jeweller's or pawnbroker's shop than a manufactory of laws. The women of the town, from Paris and Versailles, brought a large proportion of their peculiar earnings, which were accepted without scruple, for, indeed, the very rich, though honourable, after all, were not very liberal. One landowner gave a whole forest. Necker gave one hundred thousand livres: but still the fund was but moderate, and the fit was speedily over. Then Mirabeau called on the assembly to pass the demand of Necker without delay of examination. As Necker had been recalled as the only man who could save the country, Mirabeau now ironically insisted that the assembly should agree literally to his plan, and, if it succeeded, should let him have the glory of it. Mirabeau knew that it could not succeed, and that Necker, for whom he had a great contempt, would only expose his incompetence by being permitted to follow his own schemes. There were those who penetrated his object, and M. de Virieu exclaimed: "You murder the minister's plan; you crush him under the whole weight of responsibility!" Mirabeau admitted that

he had rather that Necker should show himself a driveller than the assembly should proclaim a national bankruptcy by hesitating to vote the necessary supplies. He then painted the horrors of a national bankruptcy; he represented it as a ruinous tax, which did not reach all, but fell only on some, and crushed them to death; as a gulph into which living victims might be thrown, but which could neither be filled thus, nor made to close again; "for," he observed, "we owe none the less, even after we have refused to pay." Then, raising his voice to a terrible pitch, "The other day, when a ridiculous motion was made at the Palais Royal, some one exclaimed, 'Cataline is at the gates of Rome! and you deliberate!' but, assuredly, there was neither Cataline, nor danger, nor Rome; but, to-day, hideous bankruptcy is here, threatening to consume you, your honour, your fortunes—and you hesitate!"

The assembly, electrified at the picture which he drew, rose with shouts, and voted the tax. But of what avail? The so-called rich, on whom the burden would chiefly fall, were no longer rich. Their houses had been burned, their estates ravaged; they could truly state their incomes as almost nil; those who had plundered them were not ready to tax to this extent their booty; and this grand scheme failed, as Mirabeau and every thinking man knew from the first that it must. To proclaim that the country was on the verge of bankruptcy was the certain way to induce every man to conceal his money with double diligence.

With the necessities of the government, the necessities of the people kept pace. The whole country was revolutionising instead of working; destroying estates instead of cultivating them. Farmers were afraid of sowing what they might never reap; trade and manufactures were at an end, for there was little money and no confidence. The country was not become unfruitful, but its people had gone mad, the inevitable consequence was an ever-increasing famine. This, instead of being attributed to the true causes, was ascribed by the mob-orators to all kinds of devilish practices of the court and the aristocracy. Danton, Marat, Desmoulins, in journals and speeches, propagated the most absurd stories. One orator exclaimed, "Three days ago the king got that *veto suspensif* , and already the aristocrats have bought up all the suspensions, and sent all the corn out of the kingdom." The ignorant audience declared, "Ah! that is it! nothing but that!" Others said the queen was sending all the corn to the Austrian army, to encourage them to invade France; others that the government agents had thrown vast quantities into the Seine. Necker, in his despair, applied to Pitt to send over twenty thousand sacks of English flour. Pitt coolly declined to send it, on the plea of need of it at home, of the prospect of a deficient harvest, &c.; this refusal at such a moment excited a deep feeling of resentment amongst the French. Yet it was nothing more than the French government might have expected after its conduct towards England in her struggle with her American colonies. Nevertheless, at the same time, Necker refused the offer from marshal Bouillé of the corn laid up for his troops at Metz.

The authorities at the Hôtel de Ville appointed purveyors to hunt out corn, and compel the owners to sell it at a fixed

price. This only made dealers the more careful not to bring their supplies into the city. The state of the people became desperate. The national guards were all under arms to prevent their gutting the bakers' and flour dealers' shops and warehouses. But they could not prevent them at St. Denis seizing and hanging the mayor. Bailly employed seventeen thousand men in digging trenches on Montmartre, and exerted himself wonderfully to procure flour for them; but it was reported that Bouillé, who had already corn enough for his army, and who, spite of Necker's refusal, was delivering part of it for popular consumption, was seizing and laying up all he could find; and, finally, that the king, and queen, and royal family were about to fly to Metz to join Bouillé, and there, joined by the Austrians, to raise the standard of civil war. And in this last piece of intelligence they were correct. This was actually in preparation, and, had the king been half as energetic as the queen, would have been already accomplished. D'Estaing, the admiral so much employed in the West Indies, and on the coast of America during the war there, was now commander of the national guard at Versailles. D'Estaing learnt the secret from La Fayette, and wrote to the queen, detailing the whole communication. He implored an interview to counsel her majesty on the importance of the subject; but the queen passed lightly over the matter.

But the court was soon alarmed by the report that the old French guards intended to march from Paris to Versailles, and, after removing the body-guard and the Versailles national guard, to do the duty at the palace themselves, in order to prevent the royal family escaping to Metz. These French guards had deserted the king's service, and had become incorporated with the national guard of Paris, under the name of Centre Grenadiers. La Fayette, on the 17th of September, wrote to St. Priest, one of the ministers, to assure him that there was no truth in this report, and therefore no danger; but La Fayette placed a detachment of soldiers at the bridge of Sevres to prevent any such march, and managed to stop the French guards. But D'Estaing, to whom La Fayette's letter was communicated by St. Priest, did not feel satisfied, and proposed to bring the regiment of Flanders to Versailles, and the assembly being applied to for its sanction, declared it was no business of theirs; and thus, neither encouraging nor discouraging the measure, it was sent for. It arrived on the 23rd of September; and, at the sight of the long train of tumbrils and wagons that followed, great alarm seized both the people of Versailles and the assembly. Mirabeau, who, by a word, could have prevented the coming of the regiment, now denounced it as dangerous. News flew to Paris that a counter-revolution was preparing, and that the foreigners would be marched on the city. All this terror of one single regiment showed a disposition to feign alarm, rather than the real existence of it; but the court committed the great folly of administering fresh reasons for jealousy. The officers of the life-guards showed a most lively desire to fraternise with those of the Flanders regiment, and the courtiers were equally attentive to them. The officers of the Flanders regiment were not only presented at the king's levee, but invited to the queen's drawing-room, and treated in the most flattering manner. The gardes du corps gave a

grand dinner to welcome them; and, what was extraordinary, they were allowed to give it in the theatre of the palace. This took place on the 2nd of October. The boxes were filled by people belonging to the court. The officers of the national guard were amongst the guests. After the wine had circulated some time amongst the three hundred guests, the soldiers, both of the Flanders regiment and of the other corps, the company, with drawn swords, and heated by champagne, drank the health of the royal family; the toast of the nation was rejected or omitted. The grenadiers in the pit demanded to be allowed to drink the royal healths, and goblets of wine were handed to them, and they drank the health of the king, the queen, the dauphin, and the rest of the royal family amid mutual shaking of hands and loud shouts of "*Vive le Roi! Vive la Reine!*" The band of the Flanders regiment struck up the very expressive and celebrated song of Blondel when seeking his captive king, *Cœur de Lion*—

O Richard! ô mon roi!
L'univers t'abandonne—

"O, Richard! O, my king! all the world abandons thee!" The whole company caught the royal infection. They vowed to die for the king, as if he were in imminent danger. Cockades, white or black, but all of one colour, were distributed; and it is said the tricolour was trodden under foot. In a word, the whole company was gone mad with champagne and French sentiment, and hugged and kissed each other in a wild frenzy. At this moment a door opened, and the king and queen, leading the dauphin by the hand, entered, and at the sight the tumult became boundless. The cries of "*Vive le Roi! Vive la Reine!*" were redoubled; "*O Richard! ô mon Roi!*" and "*Peut-on affliger ce qu'on aime?*"—"Can we afflict what we love?"—were played, amid tears and sobs from every side. Numbers flung themselves at the feet of the royal pair, and escorted them back to their apartments.

The following morning the life-guards gave a breakfast to the officers of the Flanders regiment, and similar mad scenes took place. They were afterwards admitted to the presence of the queen, who said she had been delighted with the dinner of Thursday. All this was little less than madness on the part of the royal family. They knew that the army at large was disaffected to royalty, and of what avail the drunken follies of two regiments! If they really sought to escape to Metz, it could only have been done by the utmost quiet and caution. The Flanders regiment could have guarded them thither. But now the certain consequence must be to rouse all the fury of Paris, and bring it down upon them. This was the instant result. Paris, in alarm, cried, "*To Versailles!*" On the night of the 4th of October the streets were thronged with excited people; the national guards were under arms everywhere, and maintained some degree of order. On the morning of the 5th the women took up the matter. They found no bread at the bakers', and they collected in crowds, and determined to march to the Hôtel de Ville, and demand it of the mayor. They seized on any weapons that came to hand—broomsticks, old muskets, bludgeons, or cutlasses. A girl seized a drum and beat it before them. Thus drumming and shouting, they collected an ever-increasing number on the way from the Faubourg St.

Antoine to the Place de Grève, where they found a detachment of the national guards posted before the Hôtel de Ville. The guard presented bayonets, and bade them keep off; but, crying that they would see Father Bailly, they rushed on, throwing volleys of stones; and the guard, not prepared to kill women, opened, and left a passage to the hotel. This virago army burst into the hotel; but, finding none of the authorities sitting, they ranged over the whole house, and, finding some clerks just jumping out of bed in their fright, they called for bread, seized the books and papers on the bureau, swearing that they would burn them all, for the commune were only fit to be hanged, and Bailly and La Fayette before all the rest. That their words were not mere bravados they showed by seizing the abbé Leferre, who had distributed the powder so boldly on the night of the attack on the Bastille, and hanging him to a beam; but leaving him there, he was fortunately cut down before he was dead.

The women had refused to allow the men to join them, declaring that they were not fit for the work they were going to do; but numbers had followed them, better armed than themselves, and they now assisted them to break open doors where they obtained seven or eight hundred muskets, three bags of money, and two small cannon. As they were proceeding to make a bonfire of the papers, which would probably have burnt the whole place down, the commander of the national guard gave up the matter in despair; but one Stanislas Maillard, a riding-messenger of the municipality with more address, called out to them to desist; that there was a much better thing to do—to march at once to Versailles, and compel the court to furnish bread, and that he would be their leader. He seized a drum and beat it; the women cried lustily, "*To Versailles!*" Some ran to the tower of the hotel and sounded the tocsin. The bells soon began to ring out from every steeple in Paris; the whole population was afloat; and men and women, armed with all sorts of weapons, followed their new leader, who had been one of the heroes of the Bastille, and he marched them to the Champs Elysées. There he arranged his motley and ever-increasing army: the women in a compact body in the middle, the men in front and rear. Horses, wagons, carriages of all kinds, were seized on wherever they were seen; some of these were harnessed to the cannon, and then Maillard, drumming at their head, put his army in motion, and on they went towards Versailles, stopping every carriage that they met, and compelling even ladies to turn again and accompany them.

Meantime, La Fayette and Bailly, summoned by this strange news, had hurried to the Hôtel de Ville, where they found the national guards and the French guards drawn up and demanding to be led to Versailles. The French guards declared that the nation had been insulted by the Flanders regiment—the national cockade trampled on; and that they would go and bring the king to Paris, and then all would be well. Bailly and La Fayette attempted to reason with them, but they, and thousands upon thousands of armed rattle again collected there, only cried, "*Bread! bread! lead us to Versailles!*" There was nothing for it but to comply. At length, La Fayette declared that he would conduct them there. He mounted his white horse, and this second army

about three o'clock in the afternoon, marched in the track of the amazons who had already reached Versailles.

Unfortunately for the king, the national assembly had just submitted to him their votes on the constitution and the declaration of rights, and that very morning the king had returned an equivocating answer. The assembly expected a simple and entire confirmation of their decrees; but Louis had been advised to seem to acquiesce, and yet not really to do it. He signified his assent to the constitutional articles, and found excellent maxims in the declaration of rights; but he considered that such important matters demanded fuller consideration before being ratified, and that they could not be properly decided till the constitution was complete. He declared that he would never consent that the resolutions of the assembly should be valid without the entire sanction of the executive power in the hands of the monarch. This was certainly bringing the matter to an issue, and there could be no doubt what would be the result. Had the king been prepared for a *coup-d'état*, that would have been prudent language; but, as it was, with the whole of Paris in insurrection, and the bulk of the troops in league with the people, this conduct, at this moment, was the height of folly. It must produce an instant collision, which royalty, there and then, had no ability to sustain. The assembly would have compelled the king's consent of itself; but, as it happened, all Paris was marching to support it.

No sooner was the king's answer read, than there arose a loud murmur and agitation. Robespierre said it was not for the king to criticise the assembly; and Petion reminded the assembly of the dinner to the life-guards. In the midst of the angry debate, Mirabeau received the news of the mob's proceedings, and, hastening up to Mounier, the president, said, "Paris is marching on us. Pretend to be unwell; run over to the palace, and tell the king to accept purely and simply;" but Mounier, who disapproved of nearly every article in the constitution, and who was of all things adverse to centring the whole power of the nation in one chamber, replied, "Paris is marching on us! Well, so much the better. Let them come and kill us all—all, you understand; and then affairs will go on all the better." Mirabeau, who was disappointed in not being able to frighten Mounier, said, "That is a fine thing to say," and returned to his seat.

The debate continued till three o'clock in the afternoon, when the assembly declared that Mounier should go to the king and demand his instant and full acceptance. Mounier was in the act of rising to proceed on his mission, when Maillard, at the head of his amazon army, demanded admittance. He was desired to enter, and the whole posse of women, wet, draggled, jaded, but armed with clubs, muskets, and broomsticks, rushed after him, demanding bread. Maillard, obtaining some degree of silence, spoke in their behalf. He said that for three days the people of Paris had had no bread; that they were desperate and ready to strike; that, so far from the assembly assisting the people to bread, there were those amongst them who were bribing the millers not to grind corn; that Juigné, archbishop of Paris, had written a letter to a miller to this effect, and that the people were well informed of those things, and knew the

names of the guilty ones. He was informed that the abbé Gregoire had been charged to denounce this letter, and he was desired to treat the assembly with proper dignity. Maillard replied that they were all equals, all citizens, and the women shouted in support of him, "Yes; we are all equals—we are all citizens!" The women and the mob generally outside, who were standing in drenching rain, caught these cries, and repeated them frantically.

Mounier was ordered then to proceed on his mission to the king; but no sooner did he issue from the door, than thousands of women surrounded him, and insisted on accompanying him. He selected six to follow him, but many more joined them. "It was on foot," says Mounier, "in the mud, and under a violent storm of rain. The Paris women intermixed with a certain number of men, ragged and ferocious, and uttering frightful howlings. As we approached the palace, we were taken for a desperate mob. Some of the gardes-du-corps pricked their horses amongst us, and dispersed us. It was with difficulty that I made myself known, and equally difficult it was to make our way into the palace. Instead of six women, I was compelled to admit twelve. The king received them graciously; but, separated from their own raging and rioting class, the women were overcome by the presence of the king, and Louison Chabry, a handsome young girl of seventeen, could say nothing but the word 'Bread!' She would have fallen on the floor, but the king caught her in his arms, embraced and encouraged her; and this settled completely the rest of the women, who knelt and kissed his hand. Louis assured them that he was very sorry for them, and would do all in his power to have Paris well supplied with bread. They then went out blessing him and all his family, and declared to those outside that never was there so good a king. At this the furious mob exclaimed that they had been tampered with by the aristocrats, and were for tearing them to pieces; and, seizing Louison, they were proceeding to hang her on a lamp-post, when some of the gardes-du-corps, commanded by the count de Guiche, interfered and rescued her." One Brunout, an artisan of Paris, and a hero of the Bastille, having advanced so as to be separated from the women, the guards struck him with the flat of their swords. There was an instant cry that the guards were massacring the people; and, the national guards of Versailles being called on to protect them, one of them discharged a musket, and broke the arm of M. de Savonnières, one of the life-guards. The firing on the life-guards by the national guards then continued, and the life-guards fled off, firing, in return, as they went. The mob, now triumphant, attempted to fire two pieces of cannon, which they turned upon the palace; but the powder was wet, and would not go off. The king having, meantime, heard the firing, sent the duke of Luxembourg to order that the guards should not fire, but retire to the back of the palace.

The mob then retired into Versailles in search of bread, which Lecointre, a draper of the town, and commander of its national guards, promised to procure them from the municipality. But the municipality had no bread to give, or took no pains to furnish it, and the crowds, drenched with rain, sought shelter wherever they could for the night. The women rushed again into the hall of the assembly, and took

possession of it without any ceremony. The women who could not find room there, joined the men, who made fires in the streets, and relieved their hunger and wretchedness as well as they could by cursing and singing revolutionary songs. Some of them made a seat of the corpse of one of the life-guards who had been shot, and they cut up his fallen horse into steaks, and devoured them half raw; whilst others danced like maniacs round the fire! The king had been holding a council; and Mounier had waited till ten o'clock for his answer, in great impatience. During this period, several carriages had attempted to leave the palace, the object being to see whether the mob would allow them to pass, in which case it was intended to send away the queen and the children; but the carriages were all stopped and sent back, showing the utter hopelessness of such an enterprise. Often, before this, and still earlier in the evening, the whole royal family might have got away, but Louis had not the spirit for any such movement. At ten, Mounier received the king's acceptance, pure and simple, of the constitution, and returned to the hall of assembly. There he found the deputies had retired for the night, and the women were amusing themselves with holding a mock assembly; a dame de la Halle, or market woman, of a great size, occupying Mounier's own presidential seat, having her hand-bell before her, and from time to time ringing to command silence, as she had seen Mounier do it. Between eleven and twelve o'clock, some of the members were collected and took their places as well as they could amongst the women. Mounier then commenced to tell them the king's answer. This was received with satisfaction; and, as a new army was advancing from Paris, with La Fayette at its head, it was resolved to remain sitting, and they resumed the discussion on the constitution. But the women cried out: "What good will that do us? The thing we want is bread! Leave off the fine talk, and give us that!" "There was," says Dumont, "in one of the galleries, a fishwoman, who exercised a superior authority, directing the tongues and motions of about one hundred other women, who waited for her orders when they were to scream, and when to be silent. She called out familiarly to the deputies below: 'Who is that talking down there? Make that babbler hold his tongue! That is not the question! The question is, bread! Let our gossip, Mirabeau, speak; we like to hear him!'" &c.

Soon after midnight, the roll of drums announced the arrival of La Fayette and his army. An aide-de-camp soon after formally communicated his arrival to the assembly; that they had been delayed by the state of the roads; and that La Fayette had also stopped them to administer to them an oath of fidelity to the nation, the law, and the king; that all was orderly, and that they had nothing to fear. La Fayette soon after confirmed this by leading a column of the national guards to the doors of the assembly, and sending in this message. The assembly, being satisfied, adjourned till eleven o'clock the next day. La Fayette then proceeded to the palace, where he assured the king and the royal family of the loyalty of his guards, and that every precaution should be taken for tranquillity during the night. On this the king appeared to be at ease, and retired to rest.

Much and severe censure has been passed on La Fayette

for his conduct during the whole of these transactions, which have been adopted by some of our own historians, but, on carefully considering all the evidence, we cannot but regard it as wholly groundless. La Fayette did all in his power to prevent the French guards and the national guards of Paris from going to Versailles; but when these revolutionary troops would go, no commander could stop them; and it was certainly much better for La Fayette to accompany them, and do all he could to protect the royal family. It is clear, that without his presence there would have been a savage conflict between the life-guards and the Flanders regiment, and the national guards of Paris and the mob. La Fayette had long thought, as he tells us, that it would be better for the king and the assembly to be in Paris. On his arrival, we see that he tranquillised both the assembly and the court. He then endeavoured to take upon himself the guard of the palace; but this was not permitted. The life-guards and the Swiss guards surrounded the palace by the order of the court, and La Fayette took possession of the outer part, none of which were forced, or even attacked. He procured lodgings for his drenched and fatigued troops, and ordered patrols to be placed about the town. He continued up all night attending to these duties; and, having seen a battalion of soldiers placed before the hotel of the life-guards to protect them from any insults of the people, he went to the hotel de Noailles, just by the palace, and, getting a little refreshment, went to bed at five o'clock. As all appeared perfectly quiet, and as he had been up twenty-four hours, nothing could be more reasonable than this, all guards being duly at their posts. Scarcely had he lain down, however, and before he was asleep, he heard a terrific noise, and, instantly rising and throwing on his clothes, he found that the mob was attacking the palace. The greater part of the populace, tired of singing and eating horse-flesh, had rushed towards the palace. They found the gate open, and, streaming into the court-yard, also found a door not secured, and entering, ascended a staircase. Had La Fayette been permitted to guard these outlets to the palace this would not have occurred; but, from some unknown cause, the life-guards had been dismissed in the night, and then recalled, and many of them had never resumed their stations. La Fayette hastened to the palace, and found several of the life-guards surrounded by the mob, and at the point of being murdered. Whilst engaged in rescuing them, one of the canaille attempted to fire at him. He coolly ordered the man to be seized and brought to him, and the mob at once seized him, and dashed out his brains on the pavement. He then hastened into the palace, and found his grenadiers already there, defending the entrance, and vowing that they would die in defence of the king.

But, meantime, the populace had penetrated nearly to the queen's bed-chamber, the life-guards fighting them step by step, but, being few in number in that passage, they were forced backward. One of them, named Miomandre, shouted "Save the queen!" Two ladies of the bed-chamber, one of them the sister of madame Campan, had been too much alarmed to go to bed, but had sat at the queen's door. At the soldier's cry, the ladies rushed into the queen's ante-chamber and bolted the door. They roused Marie Antoinette, crying



MARCH OF THE WOMEN TO VERSAILLES.

"Fly to the king!" They hastily wrapped something round her, and she fled towards Louis's chamber. Scarcely had she found the king and the children, when the mob was heard endeavouring to burst open her door, and demanding the heads of the life-guards. Two of the guards had already been dragged down into the marble court, and savagely beheaded by a brutal fellow called Jourdan Coupe-Tête. Fourteen other gardes-du-corps were wounded, and some of them were prisoners in the hands of the populace.

At this moment La Fayette arrived, followed by a body of the old French guards. These knocked at the door of the apartment where the royal family was, and cried, "Let us in. The French guards have not forgotten that you saved their regiment at Fontenoi!" The door was strongly barricaded with furniture, but Louis bade the life-guards remove the barricade and open the door; and the French guards rushed into the arms of the life-guards, changed hats with them, and both kinds of guards cried "Vive le Roi! la nation, et les gardes-du-corps!" At the sight of La Fayette and his grenadiers, the court all expressed their satisfaction, and madame Adelaide, the king's aunt, clasped him in her arms, exclaiming, "General, you have saved us!"

But, at this very moment, the populace were howling in the marble court below, the *poissardes*, or fish-women, uttering the most revolting expressions against the queen; and the mob shouting, "To Paris! to Paris!" A council was held to consider this demand. La Fayette would not attend it, lest he might be said to have influenced its conclusions. It was decided to go; and this decision was communicated to the crowd below by flinging pieces of paper down with this written upon them. Shouts were raised on this being understood, and Louis then showed himself on the balcony. There were confused cries of "Vive le Roi!" "Vive la nation!" but far more of "Le Roi à Paris!" La Fayette appeared on the balcony with the king, and, returning into the room, he said to the queen, "Madame, what will you do?" She replied, "I know the fate that awaits me; but it is my duty to die at the feet of the king. I will go where they go!" "Come with me, then," said the general, and he led her out upon the balcony. At her appearance, with one of her children by the hand, the uproar became terrible. Dreadful menaces were uttered, and the cries of "Point d'enfants!" (no children.) The queen put the child back into the room, and stood there with her arms crossed and her large blue eyes raised to heaven. "I mixed in the crowd," says the writer of the "Memoirs of Lavalette," "and beheld, for the first time, that unfortunate princess. She was dressed in white; her head was bare, and adorned with beautiful fair locks. Motionless, and in a modest and noble attitude, she appeared to me like a victim on the block. The enraged populace were not moved at the sight of woe in all its majesty. Imprecations increased, and the unfortunate princess could not even find support in the king, for his presence only augmented the fury of the multitude."

La Fayette tried what his popularity and his example might do. He approached her, and taking her hand, he knelt and kissed it. At this sight, the strange but fleeting sentiment of the French was excited, and the mob cried, "Long live the queen! Long live La Fayette!" At this spectacle, Louis said, "Will you not do something for my

guards?" The populace were furious against them; but La Fayette took one of them, led him upon the balcony, clasped him in his arms, and put upon him his own shoulder-belt. The populace again cheered, and ratified this second reconciliation.

The king had repeatedly sent to inform the assembly of his intention to go to Paris. They had not paid him the respect to wait on him; but, at the last moment, they passed a resolution that the assembly was inseparable from the person of the king, and appointed one hundred deputies to attend him. Amongst them was Mirabeau. It was about one o'clock when the king quitted Versailles, amid a general discharge of musketry, falsely, on this occasion, termed a *feu-de-joie*. The king and queen, the dauphin, and the little daughter, monsieur, the king's brother, and madame Elizabeth, the king's sister, went all in one great state coach. Others of the royal household, with the ladies of honour, and the one hundred deputies, followed in about a hundred vehicles of one kind or other. A considerable band of the mob had set out before, carrying the heads of two of the life-guardsmen, on pikes twelve feet long. La Fayette sent after them a strong detachment of the army, to prevent their return; he also issued orders for disarming the brigands who were carrying the heads. This was at length accomplished, but not till they had played most hideous manoeuvres with them. They stopped for a moment at Sevres, and compelled a barber to dress the hair of these two gory heads. "I have often asked myself," says the writer of the "Memoirs of Lavalette," "how the metropolis of a nation so celebrated for urbanity and elegance of manners—how the brilliant city of Paris could contain the savage hordes I that day beheld, and who so long reigned over it. Can base passions alter the features so as to deprive them of all likeness to humanity? These madmen dancing in the mire, and covered with mud! The group that marched foremost, carrying on long pikes the bloody heads of the murdered life-guardsmen! Surely Satan himself invented the placing of a human head at the end of a lance! The disfigured and pale features, the gory locks, the half-open mouths, the closed eyes—images of death added to the gestures and salutations which the executioners made them perform, in terrible mockery of life—presented the most frightful spectacle that rage could have imagined. A troop of women, ugly as crime itself, swarming like insects and wearing grenadiers' hairy caps, went continually to and fro, howling barbarous songs."

Before the king's carriage marched a still more numerous army of *poissardes* and of abandoned women, the scum of their sex, drunk with wine and fury. Several of them were astride upon cannon, celebrating by the most abominable songs all the crimes which they had committed or witnessed. Others, nearer to the king's carriage, were singing allegorical airs, and, by their gross gestures, applying the insulting allusions in them to the queen. Carts laden with corn and flour, which had come to Versailles, formed a conveyance, escorted by grenadiers, and surrounded by women and market factors, armed with pikes, or carrying large popular boughs. This part of the *cortège* produced, at some distance, the most singular effect; it looked like a moving wood, among which glistened pike-heads and gun-barrels.

In the transport of their brutal joy, the women stopped passengers on the road, and yelled in their ears, while pointing to the royal carriage, "Courage, my friends! we shall have plenty of bread now, for we have got the baker, the baker's wife, and the baker's boy!" Behind his majesty's carriage were some of his faithful guards, some on foot, some on horseback, most of them without hats, all disarmed, and exhausted with hunger and fatigue. The dragoons, the Flanders regiment, the Cent Suisses, and the national guards, preceded, accompanied, and followed the file of carriages. "I was an eye-witness," says Bertrand de Molleville, "of this distressing spectacle—this melancholy procession. Amid this tumult, these songs, this clamour, interrupted by frequent discharges of musketry, which the hand of a monster or an awkward person might have rendered so fatal, I saw the queen retain the most courageous tranquillity of mind, and an air of inexpressible nobleness and dignity. My eyes filled with tears of admiration and grief."

This scene lasted for eight hours before the royal family arrived at the Place de Grève. The mayor, Bailly, received them at the barrier of Paris, and conducted them to the Hôtel de Ville. So soon as they had passed the barrier, the numerous procession were joined by the whole levianthan mob of Paris, calculated at two hundred thousand men! It was night, and the crushing and shouting throngs prevented the royal carriage from more than merely moving all the way from the barrier to the Place de Grève. At the Hôtel de Ville, Moreau de St. Mery addressed the king in a long speech, congratulating him on his *happy* arrival amongst his people—his loving children of the capital. The poor tired and dispirited king replied that he always came with confidence amongst his people. Bailly repeated the words in a loud tone to the people, but omitted the words "with confidence," whereupon the queen said, with much spirit, "Sir, add *with confidence*;" so Bailly replied, "Gentlemen, in hearing it from the lips of the queen, you are happier than if I had not made that mistake." The king was then exhibited on the balcony to the mob, with a huge tricolour cockade in his hat, at which sight, in French fashion, the monkey-tiger mass hugged and kissed each other and danced for joy. It was eleven o'clock at night before the poor miserable royal captives were conducted by La Fayette to their appointed prison—for such it was, in fact—the great palace of their ancestors, the Tuileries, which had been uninhabited for a century, and had not been prepared for their reception. There they were left, after this most harassing and alarming time, in those huge, desolate rooms, with their more desolate hearts. The Parisian national guards were posted around the palace, and La Fayette, as their commander, was made responsible for the royal persons. The nobles were anxious to have the king conveyed to some fortress, that they might exercise despotism in his name. The popular party, on the other hand, wished to hold him safe amongst them, as the certain pledge of the accomplished constitution. Hence the aristocrats, in their chagrin, styled La Fayette a gaoler; but he was a gaoler for the preservation of the constitution and the crown. The fickle people had not yet conceived the idea of their own sublime sovereignty.

From the moment that the nobles separated from the

king they began to disperse into the provinces and abroad. The day of the king's entrance into Paris was the first day of this emigration of the noblesse; and the first day of emigration was the commencement of the utter ruin of the aristocracy. They had been the most ready to propose such measures to the king; now that they were separated from him, they fell away like so many branches lopped from a tree. They had no principle of cohesion in themselves, and continued not to stand together and do battle for their own cause, or the cause of the monarchy, but to disperse more and more. As in England, the moment that Charles I. was put down they lost all power, and sank into utter insignificance, so here. Their strength consisted in wielding the kingly power in the royal name; that gone, they had no power. The world saw it, and despised them. The chief emigration of the nobles was to Turin, where the count D'Artois had taken refuge with his father-in-law. They were continually endeavouring to rouse insurrection in the southern provinces of France. The queen trusted more to Austria, and the king hoped for salvation, but he did not know whence. Such was the condition of the court, which was closely watched by the revolutionists.

The revolutionary party was from this moment triumphant. The leaders of it, however, were much divided amongst themselves. The duke of Orleans had a party which would gladly have seen him substituted as a sort of protector for the king; but a protector very much in their own hands. This was the party of the Palais Royal. But the rest of the revolutionists had no faith in the duke's abilities or principles. It was said that he and Mirabeau understood each other—and that was more true than those persons intended. Mirabeau knew and despised Orleans, though he continued to talk familiarly with him. Mirabeau, though detesting the aristocracy, because they had rejected him, and resolved to destroy them as a class, was a firm monarchist, and used the people to maintain his power to save the throne. He had an immense ambition, and trusted one day to become prime minister—a second Richelieu. At the very time that the public thought Mirabeau and Orleans in league, Mirabeau was struggling with a frightful poverty and state of debt which Orleans could at once have removed, and would, had there been such alliance. On the other hand, La Fayette and Mirabeau were agreed as to the maintenance of the monarchy, and both of them cultivated the favour of the people to enable them to save the throne; but they agreed in no other point. Mirabeau despised La Fayette for his vanity and his sentimental notions, and called him Cromwell Grandison, an admirable title; but, at the same time, Mirabeau was envious of the immense popularity of La Fayette, and La Fayette had no faith in the principles of the debauchee Mirabeau. La Fayette and Bailly were the heads of the monarchical, and yet constitutional party. This party was always a little in advance of the revolution, and rested chiefly on the middle class, whilst addressing and flattering the masses in order to guide them. Mirabeau, La Fayette, and Bailly applied themselves to this class, and were, the one its orator, the other its general, and the third its magistrate; though Mirabeau was, in reality, apart from La Fayette and Bailly, who were the real heads of the middle class. The 14th of July—the day of the fall

of the Bastille—had been the triumph of the middle class, though it was won by the very lowest. The constituent was its assembly; the national guard its armed force; the mayoralty its popular power. There was another party equally monarchical, differing essentially from Mirabeau, in that it would maintain a reformed aristocracy, in a second chamber. The heads of this party were Mounier, Lally-Tollendal, Duport, Barnave, and Alexander Lamethe. Duport planned their measures, and Barnave and Lamethe supported them in the assembly. Such now was the state of parties. On the royal side were the emigrants, the queen looking to Austria, and hoping to escape to the army under Bouillé, in the Austrian Netherlands; the king with no determinate views; and Necker struggling to carry on the government, but, as a statesman, wholly incompetent to the crisis. On the revolutionary side, ranged, in various ranks, and with various views, Mirabeau, La Fayette, Barnave, Lamethe, &c.; and beyond them the vast mass of the lowest people, incited by such men as Robespierre, Marat, Danton, Desmoulins, and others, soon destined to assume a more hideous and gigantic shape.

The assembly having received repeated assurances of the tranquillity of the city, and that they could exercise perfect independence of vote, removed to Paris, and had taken up their sittings for the time in the abandoned palace of the archbishop of Paris. But in this locale it showed but as a fragment of its former self. There was a great diminution of the noblesse and the clergy, who had withdrawn after the scenes they had witnessed, and especially the last. Mounier, Lally-Tollendal, the abbé Maury, and Cazalès, a captain of dragoons, but one of the most eloquent men of the assembly, had disappeared. Cazalès and Maury had retired soon after the 14th of July, but they soon resumed their places again; but Mounier and Lally-Tollendal never more. Mounier retired to his native Dauphiny, horrified at the sanguinary scenes of the 5th and 6th of August. He assembled the states of the province, but a decree of the assembly caused it to be dissolved without resistance. Mounier, however, had henceforth lost the confidence of the people; and, being suspected by the assembly of fresh designs against it, he was compelled to quit France, and became a teacher of French in Germany. He wrote a book "On the Causes which have prevented the French becoming a free People," in which it has been well observed that he omitted the chief, if not the only, cause—the character of the nation. Lally-Tollendal sought safety in England, and there published a "Letter to a Friend," in which he also enumerated the causes of his abandoning that revolution of which he had been so effectual a promoter. "I was no longer able," he wrote, "to endure the horror I felt at the sight of that blood in Versailles—those heads—that queen nearly assassinated; that king carried off as a slave, entering Paris in the midst of his assassins; that cry of 'All the bishops to the lanterne!'" at the moment the king was entering his capital with two prelates of his council with him: that musket which I saw fired into one of the queen's carriages, and then M. Bailly calling that a glorious day; the assembly having coolly declared in the morning that it was incompatible with its dignity to go and surround the king; M. Mirabeau observing, with impunity, in that assembly, that the vessel of the state, far

from being impeded in its course, would rush forward more rapidly than ever to regeneration; M. Barnave laughing with him whilst streams of blood were flowing around us; the virtuous Mounier miraculously escaping from twenty assassins who were anxious to make an additional trophy of his head. These were they which made me swear never more to set foot in that cavern of anthropophagi, where I had no longer strength to raise my voice; where, for the last six weeks, I had raised it in vain. I, Mounier, and all virtuous men, were of opinion that the last effort we had to make for the public welfare was to leave that assembly. A man may brave death once—he may face it many times when his courage can be of use to his country—but no power under heaven, no public or private opinion, shall condemn me to suffer uselessly a thousand deaths a minute, and to perish of despair and rage in the midst of triumph and curse, which I have been unable to prevent. They will persecute me; they will confiscate my property; but I will dig the earth for my bread, and will see them no more!"

These noble and honourable men have been blamed for their desertion of the cause of the revolution; but what reason could be advanced for this contrary to that which they gave? Their efforts were useless, and history confirms this assertion by showing that, had they remained, it would only have been to perish under the guillotine, as so many of their compeers did, in the general and mutual butchery which followed.

La Fayette, spite of the scenes of the 5th and 6th of August, which had driven away these patriots, spite of his having seen himself compelled to follow the ferocious and almost cannibal mob, still blinded by his vanity, flattered himself that he could divert the storm of the revolution. Two days after the bringing of the king to Paris, Governor Morris, the American, who was watching the revolution as a spectator, and therefore saw more of its tendency than the actors themselves, wrote to La Fayette to warn him against aiming at too much by his own exertions, and to induce him to try and unite the greatest number of men of talent and virtue in the affairs of government, and in defence of the king and constitution. He warned him that the men he was proposing to put into the ministry—Malesherbes, as keeper of the seals, and La Rochefoucauld as minister of Paris—though virtuous men, were incapable of the duties of those offices. There was one man of talent against whom he warned him, on account of his bad character, Mirabeau; but he assured him that he must have talent, and must not expect altogether faultless possession of it. He afterwards wrote to him a letter of very excellent advice. With a remarkable foresight, he told him what would be the fate of the assembly and of himself, unless great and immediate measures were used. But could any measures have prevented the frightful course of the revolution, urged on by such a people? "I am convinced," he said, "that the proposed constitution cannot serve for the government of this country; that the national assembly, late the object of enthusiastic attachment, will soon be treated with disrespect; that the extreme licentiousness of your people will render it indispensable to increase the royal authority; that, under such circumstances, the freedom and happiness of France must depend on the wisdom

integrity, and firmness of his majesty's councils, and, consequently, that the ablest and best men should be added to the present administration." He added that the moment was critical, and, if not seized, would produce the most irreparable mischiefs. For himself, he warned him to keep out of the ministry, but to keep himself to his command, which was almost more than enough for one man. "Your present command," he said, "must, of necessity, engross your time, and require undisputed attention, and, in consequence, you must fail in the duty either of minister or general." After showing him the embarrassments such a double appointment must inevitably bring, he added, "The jealousy and suspicion inseparable from tumultuous revolutions, and which have already been maliciously pointed against you, will certainly follow all your future steps, if you appear to be too strictly connected with the court. The foundation of your authority will thus crumble away, and you will fall, the object of your own astonishment." How wise must these counsels have appeared to La Fayette years afterwards, when he was overwhelmed with calumnies, and driven from his country for his best exertions! Now, La Fayette seems to have taken the advice so far as to refrain from being in the ministry, but ever after growing distant to the adviser.

The party of the duke of Orleans was strongly suspected of having excited the late march to Versailles, with the design of getting the king into their hands; some said to have the king assassinated, and out of the way. This party of the duke was always one of the mysteries of the revolution, much talked about, but little or nothing known of it. The duke had, indeed, his particular knot of friends, amongst whom was the marquis de Sillery Genlis, the husband of madame de Genlis, the well-known novelist; and Laclea, who was the duke's secretary, a man of infamous character, and author of a most infamous and obscene book, "*Liaisons Dangereuses*;" and other men of a like stamp. This man probably flattered Orleans with the idea that, were the royal family exiled or deposed, he, as next of blood, would succeed; but that the duke or his party contemplated or did a tithe of the things attributed to them, is wholly unproved. On every occasion when a mob was raised, or a monstrous thing done, it was whispered about that it was through the agency of the duke and his party. Because he was rich, and had shown himself ready to take the side of the people, it was believed that the duke's money was employed to fire and stimulate all the agents and incendiaries of mischief. There is no doubt that the duke was an unprincipled debauchee, and would have been ready enough to reap advantage at the expense of the royal family; but there is no ground for believing that he or his party had the power or ability to concert and do a hundredth part of what was continually attributed to them. Orleans, having a bad reputation, and being wealthy, and a stickler for the revolution, may be said to have been the stalking-horse of all its movements: the truth being, that there needed no other Orleans than the ignorance, ferocity, and lawless passions of the French mob to accomplish all the horrors that were perpetrated. At this time, Mirabeau was said to be in league with Orleans, and to have been seen at the attack on Versailles, at four o'clock in the morning, in the

thickest of the mob, with a sabre in his hand. Others declared that he had been recognised in the marble court, in a great riding-coat, and with his hat slouched over his face, directing the mob the way to the staircase leading to the queen's chamber. These stories were, no doubt, merely myths, but were believed for a time. It was said that it had been agreed betwixt them, that Orleans should be lieutenant of the kingdom and Mirabeau minister. La Fayette, though probably aware of the falsehood of these rumours, yet regarded the duke of Orleans as dangerous to the royal cause, and, if in nothing more, yet in giving occasion to so many reports, and thus furnishing pretexts for disturbances. He therefore resolved to have him away from Paris. He had an interview with him, and insisted on the necessity of his withdrawing from the kingdom for a time. The king, who was equally desirous that Orleans should absent himself, pretended to be forced into the measure, and wrote to the duke, saying it was absolutely necessary for him or La Fayette to withdraw; that the people would not consent to La Fayette retiring, and therefore he must; and he gave him a commission to England. The duke's friends, incensed at being deprived of their head, went to Mirabeau, and entreated him to denounce the force thus put upon Orleans by La Fayette. Mirabeau was about to consent, for he hated La Fayette, but his friends showed him the folly of meddling in the matter, by which he would, more than ever, be charged with being in league with Orleans. Mirabeau, therefore, remained silent, and the next morning, hearing that Orleans had agreed to go, exclaimed, "The fool is not worth the trouble that is taken about him!" Orleans withdrew to England.

Mirabeau, disgusted, like Mounier, Lally-Tollendal, and others, with the excesses of the people, had too much personal ambition and necessities too pressing to withdraw from the conflict. He must have his pleasures and the means of procuring them, and, though he would not sell himself to the duke of Orleans, or to any party contrary to his principles, he was ready enough to sell his services, in accordance with his own views, for a very good price. The court was aware of this, and took measures to secure him. Hopes were held out through certain persons that, if he would give all the support that he could by his eloquence in the assembly to the king, he might become minister. Mirabeau listened eagerly to these hints. These proposals were equally acceptable on account of his ambition and his need of money. As a minister, deprived of his opportunities for oratorical display, Mirabeau would have been ruined for ever; for there is every reason to believe that he would have made as indifferent a minister as he was eminent as an orator. He was an orator by nature, but he had not the careful calculation and the many qualities necessary for a successful minister. The court, however, soon made advances, and Mirabeau immediately projected the abrogation of the bill which excluded ministers from the assembly.

The first act towards the introduction of Mirabeau into the service of the court was put in motion by Malouet, a friend of Necker, who introduced Mirabeau to the minister. Mirabeau met Necker with the full expectation that he was to receive some proposal from him; but either Necker was

not fully instructed in the object of the introduction, or did not feel disposed, on closer acquaintance, to contribute to Mirabeau's elevation. He made no overture, and Mirabeau retired, indignantly muttering, "The minister shall hear of me." But the court now employed a more adroit agent. This was a foreign prince, connected with men of all parties. Mirabeau made it clearly known that he would make no sacrifice of principles; that, in fact, it would be ruinous to himself to do so, and useless to the king; but that, if the government would adhere to the constitution—which was

Mirabeau endeavoured to procure the alteration of the law excluding ministers from the assembly. The popular party immediately took the alarm; the motion of Mirabeau was rejected, and Lanjuinais seized the opportunity to push the restriction further, and to make it illegal for any existing deputy to become minister. Mirabeau saw that the measure was aimed directly at him, and proposed, as an amendment, that the restriction should apply to no deputy but himself. This extraordinary mode of showing the assembly that he understood the drift of the proposal, did not prevent the



M. MIRABEAU. FROM AN AUTHENTIC PORTRAIT.

every way the best thing for both court and people—Mirabeau would stanchly support these objects, and through them the security and best interests of the crown. He made it, at the same time, plain that, for him to be able to do this effectively, he must be placed at his ease; his debts must be paid, and he must receive a handsome salary. It was therefore arranged that his conditions should be accepted, and that his pension should be twenty thousand francs, or eight hundred pounds a-month; but these terms were not finally settled till a few months later, that is, at the commencement of the year 1790.

Meantime, while still appearing to oppose the court,

passing of the decree, and thus Mirabeau had only more completely closed the way to his ministry, except by the forfeiture of his place in the assembly, which was to ruin himself utterly with the people; in fact, the object of his attempt in the assembly becoming soon known, did him infinite mischief with the public. The idea of his becoming minister could not be endured. It appeared to the people as treason against their cause, and Mirabeau fell greatly in consequence, in their opinion.

The assembly now settled at Paris, and strengthened in its popular unity by the flight or retirement of so many aristocrats, prosecuted the formation of the constitution



LAFAYETTE PRESERVING THE LIFE OF THE QUEEN.

with increased rapidity. All the financial schemes of Necker had failed. The state was destitute of funds; but it could not be considered bankrupt, for it had large assets not only in the right of taxation, but in crown and church lands. The assembly had abolished the feudal system; it determined now to sell the church property, and give salaries instead to the clergy. It is remarkable that the proposition came from a churchman and a bishop—from Talleyrand, bishop of Autun—but what a bishop! Talleyrand was of an old and illustrious house, and had already displayed the shrewdness and sagacity which afterwards led him to the highest place in the diplomacy of the age, and terminated in his receiving rank as a prince, after having been alternately bishop, representative in the assembly, and merchant in America. Mirabeau had already discovered his profound talents, and his instinctive insight into character, and had foretold his diplomatic eminence. Talleyrand was the only bishop ever appointed by the choice and at the request of the clergy of France. Notwithstanding his high birth, Louis XVI. hesitated to make him a bishop; but the general assembly of the clergy made a direct request to the king, and the then abbé of Perigord became the bishop of Autun. Little did the clergy foresee what he would do. The outcry of the clergy at Talleyrand's proposition was wild and fierce. The abbé Maury denounced what he termed this sacrilegious robbery with all his eloquence, and warned the aristocracy that it was but the prelude to their destruction. Talleyrand, on the other hand, proved the justice and propriety of the measure, and showed the great advantages that would result from it to the state. The clergy made a vigorous resistance, but in vain; Talleyrand, Thouret, and Mirabeau demolished all their arguments, and the assembly, on the 2nd of December, decreed the appropriation and sale of all ecclesiastical property. From that moment the hatred of the clergy, hitherto partly concealed, in the hope of preserving its wealth, broke forth in full display against the new régime. Salaries were appointed to the curés, which were not to be less than twelve hundred francs, with a parsonage and garden. All conventual vows were declared null, the property of all monastic establishments confiscated, and the inmates were to be pensioned. Political pensions were also reduced to a low standard, and many abolished.

Another churchman, the abbé Sieyès, then proposed a very important topographical alteration. This was to abolish the ancient names and boundaries of provinces which were associated with old feudal principles, and with laws, privileges, and customs contrary to each other, and to the new ideas and constitution. This was to annihilate all the ancient demarcations of the provinces, and re-divide the kingdom into departments, which should all have the same laws, the departments being subdivided into districts, and the districts into municipalities. Each of these divisions was to be governed by their councils, which were to be elective, and subordinate one to the other. The department was to make the assessment of taxes upon the districts, the districts on the municipalities or communes, and the communes on individuals. This was carried, and was one of the many benefits conferred by Sieyès on his country through the revolution. Some of our historians have represented Sieyès

as a formal dreamer and fanatic; but the historians of France entertain a very different opinion of him. Miguet says, "Sieyès was one of those men who, in ages of enthusiasm, found a sect, and in ages of intelligence, exercise the ascendancy of a powerful understanding. Solitude and philosophic speculation had ripened it for a happy moment. His ideas were new, vigorous, various, but little systematic. Society had in particular been the object of his observation; he had followed its progress, and decomposed its machinery. The nature of government appeared to him less a question of right than a question of epoch. Although cool and deliberate, Sieyès had the ardour which inspires the investigation of truth, and the fearlessness to insist on its promulgation. Thus he was absolute in his notions, despising the ideas of others, because he found them incomplete, and, in his eyes, embodying only half the truth, which was error. Contradiction irritated him; he was little communicative; he would have wished to make himself thoroughly understood, but he could not succeed with all the world. His disciples transmitted his system to others—a circumstance which gave him a certain air of mystery, and rendered him the object of a sort of adoration. He had the authority which complete political science bestows, and the constitution could have sprung from his head all armed, like the Minerva of Jupiter, or the legislation of the ancients, if, in our times, every one had not wished to assist in it, or to judge of it. Nevertheless, with some modifications, his plans were generally adopted, and he had in the committee far more disciples than fellow-labourers."

The assembly determined next the franchise, and all political rights of the citizen. These were included in the simple payment of one silver mark on arriving at the age of twenty-five. This payment made, a man of full age was qualified to vote for a member of any body, from the commune to the national assembly, and he was equally eligible as a candidate. Such was the basis laid for all political action; and the nobles and clergy now exercised their liberty in obstructing the business of the assembly. They supported the military commandants against the people, the slave-traders against the negro slaves; they opposed the admission of protestants and Jews to the enjoyment of equal rights. We cannot give a more lively picture of the state of parties in the national assembly, and of the conduct of the clergy, at the close of the year 1790, than that drawn by M. Ferrières: "In the national assembly there were not more than about three hundred really upright men exempt from party spirit, not belonging to any club, wishing what was right, wishing it for its own sake, independently of the interest of orders or of bodies, always ready to embrace the most just and the most beneficial proposal, no matter from what quarter it came, or by whom it was supported. These were the men worthy of the honourable function to which they had been called, who made the few good laws that proceeded from the constituent assembly; it was they who prevented all the mischief which was not done by it. As for the nobles and clergy, they aimed only to dissolve the assembly, to throw discredit on its operations; instead of opposing mischievous measures, they manifested an indifference on this point which is inconceivable. When the president stated the question they

quitted the hall, inviting the deputies of their party to follow them; or, if they stayed, they called out to them to take no part in the deliberation. The clubbists, forming through this dereliction of duty a majority of the assembly, carried every resolution that they pleased. The bishops and nobles, firmly believing that the new order of things would not last, hastened, with a sort of impatience as if determined to accelerate both the ruin of the monarchy and their own. With this senseless conduct they combined an insulting disdain, both of the assembly and the people who attended the sittings. Instead of listening, they laughed and talked aloud, thus confirming the people in the unfavourable opinion which it had conceived of them; and, instead of striving to recover its confidence and esteem, they strove only to gain its hatred and contempt. All these follies arose solely from the mistaken notions of the bishops and nobles, who could not persuade themselves that the revolution had long been effected in the opinion and in the heart of every Frenchman. By this impolitic obstinacy they forced the revolutionists beyond the goal which they had set up for themselves. The nobles and bishops then exclaimed against tyranny and injustice. They talked of the antiquity and legitimacy of their rights to men who had sapped the foundation of all rights."

Nor were their exertions confined to the assembly out of doors, but throughout the whole of the kingdom they maintained the inveterate opposition. The Breton Club, which, at the time that the king and the assembly had removed to Paris, had taken possession of the great hall of the convent of the Jacobins, in the Rue St. Honoré, and there assumed the name of the "Jacobin Club," was in renewed activity, and took every advantage of the schism betwixt the popular deputies and the clergy and nobles in the assembly. By this division, and their own daring, they soon subjected the assembly to the club, to the Palais Royal, and to the mob. The mob found that having the king in their keeping did not produce any increase of bread, and they continued as turbulent as ever. The discontented nobles and clergy fomented the discontent of the people. The officers of the army, who belonged to the aristocracy, were easily influenced, and violent quarrels took place betwixt them and the soldiers who belonged to the people; and the soldiers frequently gave up the officers to the mob, who murdered them. In the provinces the leaven of priestly and aristocratic influence produced demonstrations in the parliaments against the national assembly. Such was the case at Rouen, Nantes, Rennes, Metz, and other places. They deplored the ruin of the ancient monarchy, the restraint put upon the king, and the violation of the ancient laws. The king appeared to favour this policy. The queen complained that the king was not free, and that the life-guards were sent away from their proper duty, and that that was done by the national guards. La Fayette promised that the life-guards should be restored, and procured an order from the municipality for this purpose; but the king would not have the life-guards back, lest, as he said, they should be murdered; but, undoubtedly, from the true reason, that he wished to appear a captive.

The national assembly having laid their hands on the enormous church property, thought they should easily

dispose of it; but this was not the case. Probably, in the unsettled state of everything, capitalists thought there might yet be some reverse turn of the wheel, and that the church might again reclaim its own. At all events, there were few purchasers; but the greater part of those who farmed the church lands were both indisposed to purchase it, or to pay rent for it. Probably, like the capitalists at large, they feared that if they paid the rent to the assembly, the church might ere long be in a position to demand it a second time. Under these circumstances, the municipality of Paris ventured to bid for large quantities of these church lands. They had themselves but small funds, but they issued paper money in payment, to be redeemed when they should sell the lands. Provincial municipalities took the hint, and purchased in like manner, paying by local notes, which government circulated in payment of demands upon it—these demands for the coming year amounting to four hundred millions of livres. The government, also taking this hint, issued national notes, called assignats. They struck off assignats to the required sum for the year 1790, some four hundred millions of livres, and made the church property security for the repayment. Thus the seizure of the church property introduced the famous assignats. The abbé Maury, the determined and eloquent champion of the church, made a violent resistance to this measure, but in vain. The only effect was to make him so obnoxious to the populace, that he was obliged to carry loaded pistols whenever he appeared abroad for self-defence, and, indeed, many of the anti-popular members of the assembly did the same.

Under such circumstances closed the year 1789. The intense excitement which the rapid course of these French events had produced in England had nearly superseded all other topics of interest. At first, there was an almost universal jubilation over this wonderful revolution. The dreadful state of misery and oppression to which France had been reduced; the fearful exactions; the system of popular ignorance maintained by priestcraft; the abominable feudal insolence; the abuse of *lettres de cachet*; and the internal obstructions of customs and barriers betwixt one province and another, made every friend of freedom desirous of seeing all these swept away. The early progress of their destruction was hailed with enthusiasm in England. Even the retired and timid poet, Cowper, sang a triumphal note on the fall of the Bastille; but soon the bloody fury of the populace, and the domineering character of the assembly, which did not deign to stop at the proper constitutional limits, began to create distrust and alarm. Amongst the first to perceive and to denounce this work of anarchy rather than of reform, was Burke. In common with Fox, and Pitt, and many other statesmen, he had rejoiced in the fall of the corrupt government of France; but he soon began to perceive that the people were displaying the same ferocious character as in all their former outbreaks. "If," he wrote to M. Menonville, a moderate member of the assembly, "any of these horrid deeds were the acts of the rulers, what are we to think of the armed people under such rulers? But if there be no rulers in reality, and the chiefs are driven before the people rather than lead them; and if the armed corps are composed of men who have no fixed principle of obedience, and are moved only by the prevalence of some general inclin-

ation, who can repute himself safe amongst a people so furious and so senseless?" As he continued to gaze, he was compelled to confess that he saw no great and wise principles of legislation displayed by the assembly; but that it went on destroying without knowing how to rebuild in a manner likely to last, or to work any one any good. The whole of the constitution-making, which annihilated the royal power, which erected no second chamber, but absorbed all authority into the assembly, a mixed and heterogeneous body, he declared to be a bungling and monstrous performance. On the other hand, Dr. Price, Dr. Priestley, and numbers of equally enthusiastic men, saw nothing but what was animating in the progress of the French revolution. "The Revolution Society," including many of the highest names of the whig aristocracy, which was accustomed to meet on the 4th of November, to celebrate the anniversary of the landing of William III., and the English revolution of 1688, this year presented a glowing address of congratulation to the French national assembly, which was carried over by lord Stanhope and Dr. Price. Of course, they and the address were received with great acclamation by the assembly. The admiration of the French revolution spread over this country. Clubs were established, both in London and in the country, in sympathy with it, and the press became very Gallican and republican in its tone, and there was much corresponding with admirers of the revolution in France, especially with Thomas Paine, who had now transferred himself from America to this new scene of the proclaimed "Rights of Man," with a political fanatic destined to acquire considerable attention, calling himself Anacharsis Clootz, the orator of mankind, a Mr. Christie, and others.

We must open the year 1790 by reverting to the affairs of England, and of other countries having an influence on English interests. The parliament met on the 21st of January; and, in the course of the debate on the address in the commons, Fox took the opportunity to laud the French revolution, and especially the soldiers for destroying the government which had raised them, and which they had sworn to obey. Burke, in reply, whilst paying the highest compliments to the genius of Fox, and expressing the value which he placed on his friendship, endeavoured to guard the house and country against the pernicious consequences of such an admiration as had been expressed by Fox. He declared the conduct of the troops disgraceful; for, instead of betraying the government, they ought to have defended it so far as to allow of its yielding the necessary reforms. But the so-called reforms in France, he said, were a disgrace to the nation. They had, instead of limiting each branch of the government for the general good, and for rational liberty, destroyed all the balances and counterpoises which gave the state steadiness and security. They had pulled down all things into an incongruous and ill-digested mass; they had concocted a digest of anarchy called the Rights of Man, which would disgrace a schoolboy; and had laid the axe to the root of all property by confiscating that of the church. To compare that revolution with our glorious one of 1688, he said was next to blasphemy. They were diametrically opposed. Ours preserved the constitution and got rid of an arbitrary monarch; theirs destroyed the constitution, and kept a monarch who was willing to concede reforms, but who

was left helpless. Fox replied that he had been mistaken by his most venerated and estimable friend; that he was no friend to anarchy, and lamented the cruelties that had been practised in France, but he considered them the natural result of the long and terrible despotism which had produced the convulsion, and that he had the firmest hope that the French would yet complete their constitution with wisdom and moderation. Here the matter might have ended, but Sheridan rose and uttered a grand but ill-considered eulogium on the French revolution, and charged Burke with being an advocate of despotism. Burke highly resented this; he made a severe reply to Sheridan; and, instead of the benefits which he prognosticated, Burke, with a deeper sagacity, declared that the issue of that revolution would be not only civil war, but many other wars.

The whig party were in the greatest consternation at this sudden disruption of the union of the heads of their party. A meeting was held on the night of the 11th, at Burlington House, which did not separate till three o'clock in the morning. The result did not appear to have been very satisfactory, and the fears of the whigs were greatly augmented by finding Pitt, who had hitherto praised the revolution, now express the great obligations of the country to Mr. Burke, for the able warning which he had given against revolutionary principles. The king made no secret of his abhorrence of those principles. He considered the French revolution as the direct result of the American one; and, having come to the conclusion that he had himself erred by too much concession, he now censured the concessions of Louis XVI. as fraught with certain calamity. All this boded a decided resistance to the spirit of reform at home. There was a new schism amongst the organs of the press. Many of the newspapers still fostered in their columns the wildest hopes of universal advantage to the cause of liberty from the French revolution; but others adopted the opinions and views of Burke—and no few of the whig and Foxite papers were of this class. The effect of the alarm at the wild conduct of the French was speedily seen in the refusal to consider the repeal of the test and corporation act, which was brought forward by Fox, on behalf of the dissenters, and a motion for parliamentary reform, introduced by Mr. Flood. Both were strongly opposed, on the ground that this was not the time to make any changes whilst so riotous a spirit of change was near us, and was so warmly admired by many of our own people. Both motions were rejected by large majorities.

On the 10th of March, by a majority of one hundred and fifty-four against twenty-eight, the salary of the speaker of the house of commons was raised from about three thousand pounds, which it had hitherto been, through allowance and fees, to six thousand pounds—a very handsome income for sitting on a chair, and crying "order! order!" occasionally, especially as, besides this, the speaker, was, as a matter of custom, presented, on the commencement of a new parliament, with one thousand pounds for equipment-money, two thousand ounces of plate, and also annually one hundred pounds for stationery, and two hogsheads of claret. Addington, the son of Chatham's physician, who was now speaker, expressed himself as particularly gratified, as well he might.

On the 31st of March Dundas introduced the India

budget, and drew one of those incessant rose-hued pictures of Indian finance and Indian prosperity which this country continued to receive, spite of all warnings and all demonstrations to the contrary, till it was the other day compelled to take the government from the company, and with it a tremendous insurrection, and a debt of seventy millions sterling!

Dundas declared that we had now no rival in India, native or foreign, that we need in the least fear, though at the very time Tippoo Saib was forming a fresh league with the French, and was determined, if possible, to root the English out of India. He described the finances as in the most flourishing condition, and referred to a letter of Lord Cornwallis, the governor, lying on the table, for a promise of the utmost peace and prosperity. Rising in his imaginative flight, he declared that England had, according to every appearance, a long career of peace and prosperity before her. Never were prophecies of peace, either in India or in Europe, ever more empty and false. Francis rose and told a different story. He declared that the statements of Dundas were a most impudent imposture; that there was, in fact, no money return from India; that the company was increasing its debt rapidly, which, ultimately, would fall upon England—a great truth; that the letter of Cornwallis spoke only of *hopes* of the future; but described the present state of Bengal as most ruinous.

This flourish of trumpets by the chief commissioner of the board of control was succeeded by a similar one from Pitt, as it regarded the general affairs of the kingdom. He congratulated the country on the fact that, so far from the American war having injured the trade or the power of England, the fact was, that our shipping had increased considerably more than one-third since 1773, and we had been continually gaining strength even during the American war, and had relieved ourselves of a load of expense always incurred by the government of the states. This was an admirable argument for declaring all our colonies independent, if it meant anything; but Pitt went on seconding, and even surpassing Dundas in the prognostications of a long peace. What such ministerial speeches are worth, was shown on the 5th of May, only a month and five days since the prophecy of Dundas, and not three weeks since his own prophecy, by Pitt announcing that the peace was already disturbed with Spain. It appeared that the high prices obtained by the crews of captain Cook's ships, the *Discovery* and *Resolution*, at Canton, on his exploring voyages in the south seas, for the ill-selected, half-worn furs brought from the north-west coast of America, had attracted the attention of adventurers under the direct protection of the East India company. Mr. Mears, who had been a lieutenant in the royal navy, and a Mr. Tippin, were sent out in command each of a vessel. Tippin was wrecked on the coast of Kamtschatka; but Mears reached Prince William's Sound, and wintered there, opening a good trade with the natives. In the spring of 1788, he discovered Nootka Sound, a fine bay on the west side of a small island on the west coast of Vancouver's Island. There he formed a settlement, making a bargain with the chief for it. He went to Canton with furs, and was opening a fine trade, when the Spaniards came down on the settlement, seized four British vessels, but permitted two

United States' vessels to remain unmolested. The English crew were partly shipped in one of the American vessels to China, and partly suffered to depart in one of their own ships, after it had been plundered. The Spanish commander then settled himself in the new colony, and Spain set up a general claim to all coasts and islands, and the whole Pacific as far as China.

Pitt, on the day mentioned, announced these facts, and declared that his majesty had demanded satisfaction from the court of Spain for the insult to our flag, and for the usurpation of our settlement; but that considerable armaments were making in the ports of Spain. He called upon the house to address his majesty, imploring him to take all necessary measures for the vindication of our honour and our rights. Fox naturally expressed his surprise at this announcement, after the high assurances of such profound prospects of peace little more than a fortnight before. He, moreover, asserted, that not only were the ministers fully aware of all these circumstances at the very moment when the premier made these statements, but that he had himself been aware of them a considerable time before that. Pitt endeavoured to explain that *all* the circumstances were not known when he professed such confidence in peace; but these assertions were clearly as little true as the former, for the English government had received information from the Spanish government itself, so early as the 10th of the previous February. Notwithstanding, the house supported the government warmly in its determination to resist the enormous claims of Spain, and to compel her to make satisfaction. Lord Howe was desired to have a fleet in readiness, and the Spanish court having taken a high tone to Mr. Merry, our minister at Madrid, Mr. Fitzherbert was dispatched thither as our plenipotentiary. He arrived at Madrid in the beginning of June. At first, the Spanish court were very high, and applied to France for co-operation, according to treaty; but France, in the throes of the revolution, had no money to spend in such armaments, and, on second thoughts, Spain dreaded introducing French revolutionary sailors amongst their own. They soon, therefore, lowered their tone; agreed to surrender Nootka Sound, make full compensation for all damages, and consented that British subjects should continue their fisheries in the South Seas, and make settlements on any coasts not already occupied. Captain Vancouver, who had been with Cook as a midshipman in his second, and third, and last voyages, being present at his tragical death, was sent out in the following year, to see that the settlement of Nootka Sound was duly surrendered to England. He saw this done, the Spanish commander, Quadra, behaving in a very friendly manner; and he proceeded then, during the years 1792 and 1793, to make many and accurate surveys of the western coasts of North and South America, in which the Spaniards gave him every assistance. The English took formal possession not only of Nootka Sound, but of the fine island called after Vancouver, which is of equal extent with Ireland, and now become of such importance from the discovery of gold in the neighbouring territory of New Columbia. Pitt was highly complimented for his firmness and ability in the management of this business, though both the ministers and the people at large

regarded the assertion of our rights rather as a matter of national honour than of territorial and mercantile advantage. Time has shown that it is far more important in these latter respects than any of the actors in the dispute knew.

Whilst the negotiations on this subject were in progress, the house of commons passed a bill, confirming the grant made by the king of a pension of one thousand pounds a-year, for twenty-one years, on Dr. Willis, for his attendance on the king during his derangement. During the same period, too, Wilberforce, on the 27th of January, had obtained a committee of inquiry into the slave trade. Wilberforce, Clarkson, and the anti-slavery committees, both in London and the provinces, were labouring with indefatigable industry in collecting and diffusing information on this subject. The committee of the commons found strong opposition even in the house, and, on the 23rd of April, lord Penrhyn moved that no further evidence should be heard by the committee; but this was overruled, and the hearing of evidence continued through the session, though no further debate took place on the question.

The trial of Warren Hastings was still dragging its slow length along in Westminster Hall. On the 16th of February, which was the *fifty-fifth* sitting of the court, Mr. Anstruther went through the charge respecting the corrupt receipt of presents. Disputes immediately arose about the evidence proper to be admitted; the lords, as usual, retired to consult, and the counsel for Hastings threw in all the obstructions that they could, reading, at full length, enormous documents, and cavilling at every step. Burke, who saw, as everybody else did, that they were resolved on tiring everybody out, and quashing the trial, complained, on the 11th of May, to the house of commons. He "proposed that the house should take into its consideration the interruptions occasioned by the lords; and should also authorise the managers to insist only on such charges as should bring the trial speedily to an end." Major Scott, Hastings' unblushing champion, published a letter in a newspaper, charging all the delays on the managers. This was taken up as a breach of the privileges of the commons, and Scott was called to stand up in his place, and receive a reprimand from Pitt; which was done. Burke complained of the bribery, both of the press and of individuals, by Hastings, to blacken the characters of the managers, and get rid of the prosecution. He declared that not less than twenty thousand pounds had been spent on the press by Hastings for these purposes; and it was well known that major Scott himself had received from him another twenty thousand pounds for his bullying the managers, both in parliament and in the newspapers. Such were the infamous means by which Hastings sought to avoid a fair verdict on his crimes, and so effectual were they, that the court never got, this session, farther than the charge by Anstruther, and its summing up by Fox on the 7th and 9th of June. There were only thirteen days occupied in the trial during this session of parliament, and the court then adjourned to the first Tuesday in the next session. On Thursday, the 10th of June, parliament was adjourned by a speech from the throne, in which no mention whatever was made of the state of affairs in France.

In Ireland, the influence of the free notions of France was already become broadly manifest, and though it proceeded to no unconstitutional act, it wonderfully invigorated the resentment of the Irish against corruptions of government. These truly demanded reprehension and reform; but the government of Pitt was strong, and set both Ireland and reform at defiance. The marquis of Buckingham, the lord-lieutenant, was recalled, because he had not been able to repress the movement in the Irish parliament on the regency question. The earl of Westmoreland was sent in his place; but the parliament still showed its resentment as strongly as ever, and proceeded to delve vigorously into the sink of government corruption; and demand numerous corrections of abuses. Direct motions on the subject were made in both houses; in the peers by lord Portarlington, in the commons by Grattan, and, in truth, the ministerial abuses of the Irish government were disgraceful. Grattan, on the 1st of February, pointed out the increased number of commissioners of revenue, and moved that his majesty be addressed to inquire by whose advice this was. Next the increase of the pension-list came under discussion; then the granting of no less than fourteen government offices recently to members of the Irish commons. Lastly, was noticed the paltry withdrawal of lord Strangford's pension of four hundred pounds, which had been granted him at the request of the Irish house of lords, in consequence of his small income, because he had voted against ministers on the regency bill, at the same time that there were numbers of men who were not Irishmen, and had never done anything for Ireland or any other country, saddled on the Irish revenue in a variety of sinecure posts and pensions. All these motions, however, were rejected by large ministerial majorities.

Before returning to the progress of the French revolution—the most momentous of all modern events—we must pass a hasty glance over the affairs of the Netherlands and the north of Europe. On the accession of Leopold, the brother of Joseph, a sweeping change was made in Austrian policy. Leopold had ruled his dominions, as grand duke of Tuscany, with remarkable wisdom and benevolence. He had introduced many admirable reforms, and had abolished the punishment of death—a grand example to the other nations of Europe, and proved to be as sound as it was striking by its results. He now made haste to assure the Netherlands that all their grievances should be redressed, and their old charters and constitution restored. There had always been a considerable party in favour of the imperial government, and this party was now greatly increased by these assurances, which were relied on from the known magnanimous character of the emperor. A congress met at Reichenbach to endeavour to make a peace betwixt Austria and the sultan, and this was accomplished by the mediation of England, Prussia, and Holland. The ministers of the three powers who had brought about this peace of Reichenbach, next guaranteed to Leopold all the possessions of Austria in the Netherlands, on condition that he should restore all the ancient privileges and constitution. On the other hand, the democratic party had a congress of the United Belgian States, and this congress, infected by the French republican principles, declared still for independence. They were for

having a strange monstrosity of a government, combining all the political licence of France with the most thorough priestcraft of Rome, for there was, and probably is now, no country in Europe where the populace was, and is, so thoroughly under the spell of the catholic priests. Another party proposed to have the duke of Orleans as the grand duke of Flanders and Brabant, and Montmorin, the French minister, appeared to favour this scheme, from a desire to rid Paris of his presence. When the duke was banished, and came to

Dumouriez, Vandernoot and Vaneupen, the leaders of the revolutionary party, appeared regular adventurers and impostors, most grossly imposing on the people; the people to be most grossly ignorant and bigoted; and the army, though full of courage, yet destitute of good officers, money, clothing, and discipline. Dumouriez, therefore, shrewdly concluded that France had better make no present engagements with the Belgian reformers, but leave the destinies of the country to be decided by the congress at Reichenbach,



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England, this scheme fell to pieces, and La Fayette and Montmorin reverted to the idea of a republic in the Netherlands, which should form a barrier betwixt Austria and France, in case that Austria should attempt to invade France and crush the revolution, as appeared probable. Dumouriez was sent to Brussels to inquire into the real state of the Netherlands, as the Belgians had sent deputies to Paris to make certain overtures. The result of Dumouriez's inquiries was so extremely unfavourable that the French government gave up all idea of meddling in Netherland affairs. To

where the English, Dutch, and Prussian ministers had guaranteed the restoration of the government to Leopold, on the renewal of the ancient institutions.

The Pitt ministry continued to display a most blind and selfish policy as regarded the encroachments of Russia on the Turkish empire. The undisguised policy of Catherine was to press on her operations against Turkey till she had planted herself in Constantinople. No man having the least pretence to a statesmanlike sagacity could be ignorant of the calamitous consequences of having this semi-barbarous

and ambitious power thus aggrandised and extended from the Baltic to the Mediterranean—from Siberia to Greece; yet Pitt continued as selfishly inactive as if there were no danger at all, and the same blind policy actuated Holland and Prussia. The least support given by these powers at this time to Gustavus of Sweden would have effectually checked the Russian designs on the east, and have raised Sweden into a power capable of always acting as a dead weight on Russian aggression. By very little aid Gustavus would have been able to recover all the territories on the eastern side of the Baltic which had been wrested from Sweden by Russia, and would thus have kept a formidable power always, as it were, at the very gates of Petersburg. But Gustavus was left, with his brave heart but very circumscribed forces, to contend with Russia alone. He kept down his disaffected nobles by cultivating the interests of the people at large, and maintained a determined struggle with Russia. He sent over the prince of Anhalt with a small army of about three thousand men at so early a season this year that the ground was covered with ice and snow. The prince pushed on boldly towards Petersburg, and made himself master of the strong forts and defences at Karnomkoski, on the lake Saima, within two days' march of that capital. In April, they were encountered by ten thousand Russians under the command of general Ingelstrom, whom they defeated after a desperate battle, leaving two thousand Russians dead on the field. But the prince of Anhalt was killed, and the Swedes were not able, with such a handful of men, to advance on Petersburg, which was in fearful panic. But Gustavus was more successful at sea. He and his brother, the duke of Sudermania, fought the Russians with a very inferior force of ships off Revel, and afterwards off Svenskasund. A considerable number of English officers were serving in the Swedish fleet, amongst them one destined to rise to high distinction, Sydney, afterwards Sir Sydney Smith. After two days' sanguinary fight at the latter place, Gustavus beat the Russian admiral Chitschakoff so completely that he took four thousand prisoners, destroyed several of the largest Russian ships, and took or sunk forty-five galleys. Catherine was now glad to make peace, which was concluded at Wærela, near the river Kymen, but with very different results to what would have been obtained had Gustavus found that support which it was the obvious interest of the whole civilised world to afford him. He agreed that each power should retain what it possessed before the war, thus conferring on Russia the provinces torn from Sweden. Gustavus complained bitterly of his treatment, and with great cause.

During this campaign, Catherine had made great progress in her road to Constantinople. Suvaroff had reduced Ismael, a remarkably strong place, which was the key of the lower Danube, and the only obstruction of any importance to the Russian advance to the Balkan mountains and to Constantinople. This city had been taken by storm, after a most desperate defence, on the 25th of December, and when, with a little more resistance, the Russians would have been compelled to quit the field by the severity of the season. The carnage on this occasion was of the most frightful kind. The Russians themselves lost nearly ten thousand men, and the Turks thirty thousand people—men,

women, and children, who were indiscriminately butchered by the orders of Suvaroff, who said to his soldiers—"Brothers, no quarter to-day, for bread is scarce." Every horror possible in war, especially between barbarians, was perpetrated by the Russian hordes in Ismael, who were guilty of the most diabolical atrocities, such as burning of whole streets, mosques, and serais. Suvaroff ate down and wrote in Russian rhyme the words quoted by Lord Byron in "Don Juan," "Glory to God and the Empress, Ismael is ours." When Sir Charles Whitworth, the British ambassador, next saw Catherine, she said, in allusion to some strong remonstrances from England and Prussia, which took care not to go beyond remonstrances, which were cheap—"Since the king, your master, wishes to drive me out of Petersburg, I hope he will permit me to retire to Constantinople." That was a bitter and an ominous speech, could Pitt, the so much-lauded minister of England, have felt or perceived the real force of it.

Since the commencement of the year 1790, the agitation in Paris had become greater than ever. The soldiers of the national guard mutinied for pay. They assembled in the Champs Elysees to the number of a thousand, but La Fayette, so far from yielding to them, hastened to the spot with better-affected troops, dispersed them, bayoneted others on the spot, and took about two hundred prisoners. The spirited conduct had the effect of cowering the mutineers and their allies of the rabble, who on various occasions of late had appeared with arms concealed under their coats, and had thus compelled the municipal authorities to raise the red flag as the symbol of martial law. There were, at the same time, many rumours of plots against the assembly and the municipality, the supposed ringleader of which was the marquis de Favras. This marquis de Favras had served in the army in the Netherlands, and in Holland, at the time of the insurrection against the stadtholder. He was a man of dissipated habits, a gambler, and full of intrigue. The revolution had stopped his income, as it had done that of thousands of his order. He married the only daughter of the prince of Anhalt-Schaumburg; but his wife, it would seem, was a natural child, for he had been in Germany endeavouring to get her legitimatised, by which she would acquire a handsome fortune. He had been first lieutenant of Monsieur's guards, which gave him the rank of colonel. It was now communicated to La Fayette and Bailly, by a spy of the name of Houdart, that Favras was plotting to have them both assassinated, to carry off the king to Venice, for which he had twelve hundred horse ready. The mayor ordered his arrest, and he was consigned to the Chatelet for trial. The Chatelet had been erected into a court for the trial of all causes arising out of the revolution. This court was conducted on more liberal principles than the old ones. The accused were allowed counsel for their defence, and it was proposed soon to introduce juries. The baron de Besenval had been tried at the Chatelet for his conduct at the time of the assault on the Bastille, and had been acquitted. Favras was said to be the secret agent in this plot of his personages, and it was stated that he had received money from Monsieur. A letter, indeed, was found on Favras which favoured that belief. La Fayette showed this letter to Monsieur, who was so greatly affected by it, that he

determined to go to the Chatelet and clear himself. Accordingly, he appeared there, and read a very able defence, supposed to have been written by Mirabeau for him. In this Monsieur declared that he had been always a friend of the revolution, and referred the judges to his conduct throughout it; and these allegations were apparently quite true. The gist of the whole speech is couched in one remarkable passage: "As to my private sentiments, I shall speak of them with confidence to my fellow-citizens. Ever since the day that, in the second assembly of notables, I declared my views respecting the fundamental question which divided people's minds, I have not ceased to believe that a great revolution was at hand; that the king, by his intentions, his virtues, and his supreme rank, ought to be the head of it, since it could not be beneficial to the nation without being equally so to the monarch. In short, that the royal authority ought to be the rampart of the national liberty, and the national liberty the basis of the royal authority. I challenge you to produce a single one of my actions, a single one of my expressions, which has contradicted these principles, which has shown that, in what circumstances soever I have been placed, the happiness of the king and that of the people have ceased to be the sole objects of my thoughts and my views. I have, therefore, a right to be believed on my word. I have never changed my sentiments and principles, and I never will change them." Monsieur's speech was received with enthusiastic applause, and he was escorted back to his residence.

Favras was put upon his trial, and defended himself ably. Two men, one of whom was the same Houdart who had informed against him, deposed to the reality of the plot for the assassination of La Fayette and Bailly, but they could bring no other evidence of these facts, and there appeared no proof of the twelve hundred cavalry being in readiness, or of the Swiss and Piedmontese army being in motion. La Fayette requested that the part of the charge respecting himself and Bailly might be left out of the trial, but the court would not concede this. Favras demanded to know who was his original accuser: this, too, was refused. He called his own witnesses, and the court refused to hear them, and Favras justly denounced the court as no better than the inquisition. In fact, the whole proceeding was most arbitrary and unjust. No clear proofs of his guilt were adduced, and Favras ought to have been acquitted; but the populace had been exasperated at the acquittal of Besenval, and were furious for the execution of Favras. During the whole trial, crowds surrounded the Chatelet, crying, "*A la lanterne!*" and menacing the judges if they did not condemn Favras: and it is but too apparent that the judges, fearing for their own lives, dared not to acquit him.

In the midst of the trial, the king suddenly appeared in the national assembly. The statements of the witnesses on the trial had again roused the suspicions of the public as to the designs of the court, and he was advised that it would be well, by a decisive step, to dissipate these ideas. Accordingly, on the 4th of February, the assembly, on meeting, were surprised to observe arrangements for a royal visit. The steps of the bureau were covered with a carpet sprinkled with fleurs-de-lis; the arm-chair of the secretaries was lowered, and the president was standing beside the seat which he usually

occupied. Suddenly there was a cry, "The king is coming!" and Louis entered. The assembly rose, and received him with applause. Louis XVI., standing, read a long and very admirable address to the seated assembly. He referred to the exertions which had been made, not only during the sitting of the assembly, but previously in the parliaments, to allay the troubles which had fallen on France, and to supply the wants of the people. He begged them to remember that, ten years ago, and before a public call was made for a states-general, he had recommended such a step, and that, since the meeting of the assembly, he added, to use his own words, "I have seconded, by all the means in my power, that grand organisation on which depends the welfare of France; and I think it necessary to observe, that I am too attentive to the internal condition of the kingdom, my eyes are too open to the dangers of all kinds by which we are encompassed, not to be deeply sensible that, in the present disposition of minds, and considering the actual state of public affairs, it is requisite that a new order of things should be established, or the kingdom may be exposed to all the calamities of anarchy. No doubt," he added, "those who have relinquished their pecuniary privileges, those who will no longer form, as of old, an order in the state, find themselves subjected to sacrifices; but I am persuaded that they will have generosity enough to seek an indemnification in all the public advantages of which the establishment of national assemblies holds out a hope."

Louis added, "I, too, should have losses to enumerate, if, amid the most important interests of the state, I could dwell upon personal considerations; but I feel a compensation that satisfies me, a full and entire compensation, in the increase of the national happiness; and this sentiment comes from the very bottom of my heart. I will defend, therefore—I will uphold constitutional liberty, the principles which the public wish, in accordance with my own, has sanctioned. I will do more; and, in concert with the queen, who shares all my sentiments, I will early adapt the heart and mind of my son to the new order of things which circumstances have brought about. I will accustom him, from his very first years, to seek happiness in the happiness of the French, and ever to acknowledge that, in spite of the language of flatterers, a wise constitution will preserve him from the dangers of inexperience, and that a just liberty adds a new value to the sentiments of affection and loyalty, of which the nation has for so many years given such touching proofs to its kings!"

The manly sentiments of this speech were certainly followed by vehement applause, but, at the conclusion of this promise on behalf of the queen and the dauphin, the whole assembly burst forth in thunders of acclamation, all hands were stretched towards the king, and there were loud cries for the queen and the royal infant. Louis concluded by calling on all who still kept aloof from a spirit of concord that was become so necessary, to make a sacrifice to him of all the recollections that afflicted them, exclaiming, "I will repay them with my gratitude and affection!" and the assembly was in a rapture of delight. The king was conducted back to the Tuileries by the multitude, shouting and rejoicing.

The assembly voted thanks to the king and queen; and, as Louis had voluntarily vowed to uphold the constitution, it declared that it was fitting for the deputies to do the same. Every deputy, therefore, took the civic oath to be faithful to the nation, to the law, and to the king; and to uphold, with all his power, the constitution. The supplementary members, the deputies of communes, desired also to take the oath; the tribunes and galleries followed their example, and on all sides nothing was heard but the words, "I swear it!" The *Hôtel de Ville* followed the example of the assembly; all swore there, and so commune after commune throughout France did the same. Rejoicings were ordered, which appeared to be general and sincere. Here, then, surely was a foundation for a permanent harmony in any country except France. If the king was honest, if the people had any appreciation of sincerity, nothing could be so easy as the future progress of constitutional reform. But in this strange capital and country, a very few days had dissipated this ardent ebullition of sentiment; the court had fallen back into its old suspicions of the people, and the people into theirs of the court.

The trial of Favras went on, and he was condemned to be hanged in the *Place de Grève*, to show the equality of all men. Favras prophesied to his judges, that if life could be taken on evidence like that brought against him, no man would long be safe. But the fact appears plain that the judges did not dare to acquit him. The mob demanded his life; and the lives of judges who should dare to acquit him would not have been worth much. Favras was conducted to the *Hôtel de Ville*, and was hanged at night by torch-light, and amid the yells and jeers of the populace. He declared that his whole crime was that of receiving a hundred louis-d'ors to endeavour to dispose the public favourably towards the king; but there must have been more than this, for the queen expressed much uneasiness lest he should disclose particulars which would be dangerous to them in his last moments. He once, indeed, asked whether, if he gave the names of those with whom he had acted, he could be saved? but the answer was not satisfactory, and he said he would carry his secrets along with him. The rumour of these things deepened the suspicions of the court; and the folly of the friends of Favras dreadfully aggravated them. On the Sunday after the execution, "as the royal family were dining in public, and members of the officers of the national guards present, the widow and child of Favras were presented to Marie Antoinette. The queen was confounded; did not venture to take any notice of the widow and her son; and, as soon as dinner was over, hurrying to her private apartment, she exclaimed to madame Campan that they were undone; that the people would believe that the widow and child in deep mourning had been presented to her at her request, and that the royalists would censure her for not taking notice of them. Whilst, however, complaining that the folly of their own friends were ruining them, the queen privately sent relief to the widow, for Favras died poor.

Every day made the queen and her friends the more sensible that their only safety was in flight; and Marie Antoinette, had it depended on her, would soon have accomplished this escape. Plan after plan was passed, but the inertness of the king rendered them all abortive. At this very moment, an

excellent opportunity presented itself. The officer of the national guard on duty was secretly in their favour. All was made ready, relays of horses were provided, the queen had packed up her jewels; but the king continued playing at whist, and, at last, said he could not consent to be carried off. That high-spirited and beautiful woman must be dragged down to the block by her slug of a husband! As Louis would not escape, many of his friends thought he ought now to put himself heartily into the revolution, and do all in his power to secure the favour of the national assembly. On the contrary, the American, Gouverneur Morris, anxiously recommended that the king should remain quiescent, and let things take their course. He argued, and he wrote to the queen, urging this view of affairs, that matters were becoming so miserable for the people, that, ere long, they would grow sick of the revolution, and return to the king for his guidance and protection, when it would be in his power to form a proper constitution.

But no such salutary effects were to be expected from studied inaction on the part of the king. The assembly and the people were determined not to stop short of a complete and democratic revolution. They had no confidence in the court, and the court had none in them. The queen's party looked to Austria for support, and numbers of the courtiers were in correspondence with the count D'Artois and the royalist refugees, who were actively mustering forces and exciting disaffection in the south. Another great dependence of the court was on the marquis de Bouillé, who had the command of the army at Metz, where he extended his authority over a vast extent of frontier. Bouillé was firmly attached to the royal cause, and was ready to risk his life to serve it. But he had no confidence in his relative, La Fayette, the commandant of the national guard, whom he held to be too deeply committed to the revolution for them to work at all together. Whilst La Fayette, therefore, wrote earnestly to Bouillé to co-operate with him in support of the throne, Bouillé only returned a cold answer to La Fayette, of whom the queen, at least, was suspicious; for, when La Fayette urged the king and queen to go heartily into the revolution with the assembly, in order to be able to moderate it, they received his advice with impatience, though the king declared him an honest man.

So far, therefore, from the king being able to produce an advantage to himself by quietly waiting, he was losing influence every day by the jealousies which the partisans of the court excited in the assembly and the people. The party of the refugees was divided in itself. It had Calonne for its minister at Turin, but he was no more able to unite the court factions than he had been, when minister of the realm, to induce the nobles and clergy to submit to taxation. The high nobility insisted on none but foreign aid being employed for the recovery of the ancient power of the court, and this from their jealousy of the provincial nobles, and still more of the *bourgeoisie*. On the contrary, the petty nobles, and the citizens who had emigrated and made up the second party, were for calling out all the catholic and royalist population in France to put down the revolution, which was based partly on atheism and partly on protestantism, according to M. Fromont, who urged this plan upon them, and to renounce all reliance on foreign aid; they were

to stifle a strong passion by a still stronger; religious zeal was to stifle the republican mania. In fact, the catholic royalists had seen, with resentment, toleration conferred on the protestants, and they trusted to arouse the spirit of fanatic intolerance in their behalf. This party proving the stronger, the clergy, furious at the confiscation of their property, were only too ready to second these views. They took advantage, during the solemnities of Easter, to preach up persecution of the protestants, who had shown, as was, from a mere principle of gratitude, natural, a zealous support of the assembly and the revolution. In consequence of this bigot crusade of the clergy, and the active exertions of the emissaries of the refugees at Turin, there were popular outbreaks at Montpellier, Nîmes, Montauban, and other places in the south, and the rage of the catholics was turned against the protestants and the revolution. Charles Lameth complained, in the assembly, that the festival of Easter had been abused to excite the people against the new laws. The clergy started to their feet, and threatened to quit the assembly in a body if such a charge were admitted. Dom Gerle, a carthusian, proposed that the catholic religion should be declared the religion of the state. The clergy and a great number of catholic deputies raised a clamorous acclamation. The president adjourned to the next day. A vast crowd collected, and La Fayette thought it prudent to double the usual guard. A violent debate, amounting to an actual tumult, took place, but the motion was rejected. But the commotion in Paris was followed by an equal commotion in the provinces. The patriots attributed all these excitements to the instigations of the refugee court at Turin. The national guards turned out, and actual fights took place betwixt royalist and revolutionist parties. At Marseilles, the national guards drove the royalist officers out of the castle and forts, and made the troops swear to the constitution. At Valence, on the Rhine, the viscount de Voisins, the commandant, was murdered; all the old antipathies of those regions betwixt catholic and protestant were let loose, and the brother of Mirabeau announced in the assembly that civil war had begun, and that all the south was in flames.

It was from this state of warfare in the south, and especially in the valley of the Rhone, that the famous federations, destined to produce such decided influence on the revolution, took their rise. Fearing attacks from the fanatic catholics and their allies, the refugees, the municipal authorities, the national guard, and the people of Etoile took an oath to be true to the constitution and to one another towards the close of the year 1789. The neighbouring town of Montelimart immediately followed the example, and also made a federation with the people of Etoile. The practice spread all over the towns of the south, which swore, "in the face of God and their country," to be true to one another, to liberty, and to the national assembly, even unto death. The people of the country joined those of the towns, and from the south the federations spread northward, and towns federated with towns, districts with districts, departments with departments, till France was one universal federation. These acts of federation were celebrated by music and firing of guns. The national assembly and La Fayette applauded the movement. This close union of a whole armed nation, binding itself to support all the laws which the assembly had

made, or should make hereafter, presented an awful view of the overwhelming power of the assembly to those unfavourable to the revolution. Accordingly, there was an attempt made in April to put an end to the term of the present members. It was represented that the people were about to meet to elect their magistrates; that the term for which the deputies had been elected, which was in most cases only for one year, was near expiring, and that the people might as well be authorised to elect the new deputies at the same time. They had met in May, 1789, and it was now April of 1790.

The abbé Maury was chosen to introduce this motion. He said the new organisation of the kingdom was complete; the nation had assumed its sovereignty, and he asked by what right the assembly put themselves in the place of the nation, and prolonged powers that were but temporary. By what right they had invested themselves with sovereign attributes? It was replied that they continued to sit in a legislative capacity, and to complete the constitution; but Maury said that legislative and constitutional power were only the same, unless there was no other government in a country. If they were a sovereign convention, then they had only to depose the king, and declare the throne vacant. A vociferous indignation drowned the voice of the speaker at these words, and Mirabeau arose. "We are asked," he said, "since what time the deputies of the people have become a national convention? I answer, from the day when, finding the entrance to their seats encompassed by soldiers, they went and met in the first place where they could assemble, to save or to perish rather than betray and abandon the rights of the nation. On that day, the nature of our powers, whatever they were, was changed. Be the powers that we have exercised what they may, our efforts, our labours, have legitimated them. The adhesion of the whole nation has sanctified them. All of you recollect the expression of that great man of antiquity, who had neglected the legal forms for saving the country. Called upon by a factious tribune to say if he had observed the laws, he replied, 'I swear that I have saved the country!' Gentlemen," continued Mirabeau, "I swear that you have saved France!"

At this magnificent oath, says Ferrières, the whole assembly, as if under the influence of a sudden inspiration, closed the discussion, and resolved that the electoral body should not proceed to the new election of deputies. The scheme for putting an end to the present assembly was thus frustrated, but it was by a most dangerous and unwarranted assumption. The assembly had voted itself, in fact, independent of the people. Such things can be done only in revolutions, for at any other period they would constitute a revolution. It was thus that the Long Parliament of England acted; and the national assembly could only have done it from the consciousness that they should receive the full sanction of the people at large, which was equally bent on violating all forms and all rights but the right to establish their freedom in defiance of the schemes of the aristocracy.

But there was another power which threatened to transcend even the assembly in the favour of the most revolutionary of the populace, and this was the Jacobin Club, which sat almost constantly in the Rue St. Honoré, close

to the Grande Salle de Manège, or Riding School, to which the assembly had now transferred itself. This, as we have said, was founded on the Breton club, but it had now embraced determined revolutionists of all parts of France. The Lameths were at the head of it, but numbers of the most *outré* electors and of the members of the assembly itself were its regular frequenters. Robespierre was a constant attendant, and Mirabeau was as often at the club as at the assembly. The president had his *fauteuil*, and his hand-bell to ring for order, just like the president of the

who were accustomed to higher-seasoned politics and speeches. Soon after the establishment of the Feuillans they celebrated their foundation and the 17th of June together, that being the day on which the states-general declared itself a national assembly. They had a grand dinner in the Palais Royal, and amongst them were Sieyès, Talleyrand, Chapelier, count Mirabeau, the brother of the orator, Bailly, La Fayette, and general Paoli, the Corsican patriot. They sate with open windows, so that the people in the Palais Royal might hear the music and the speeches.

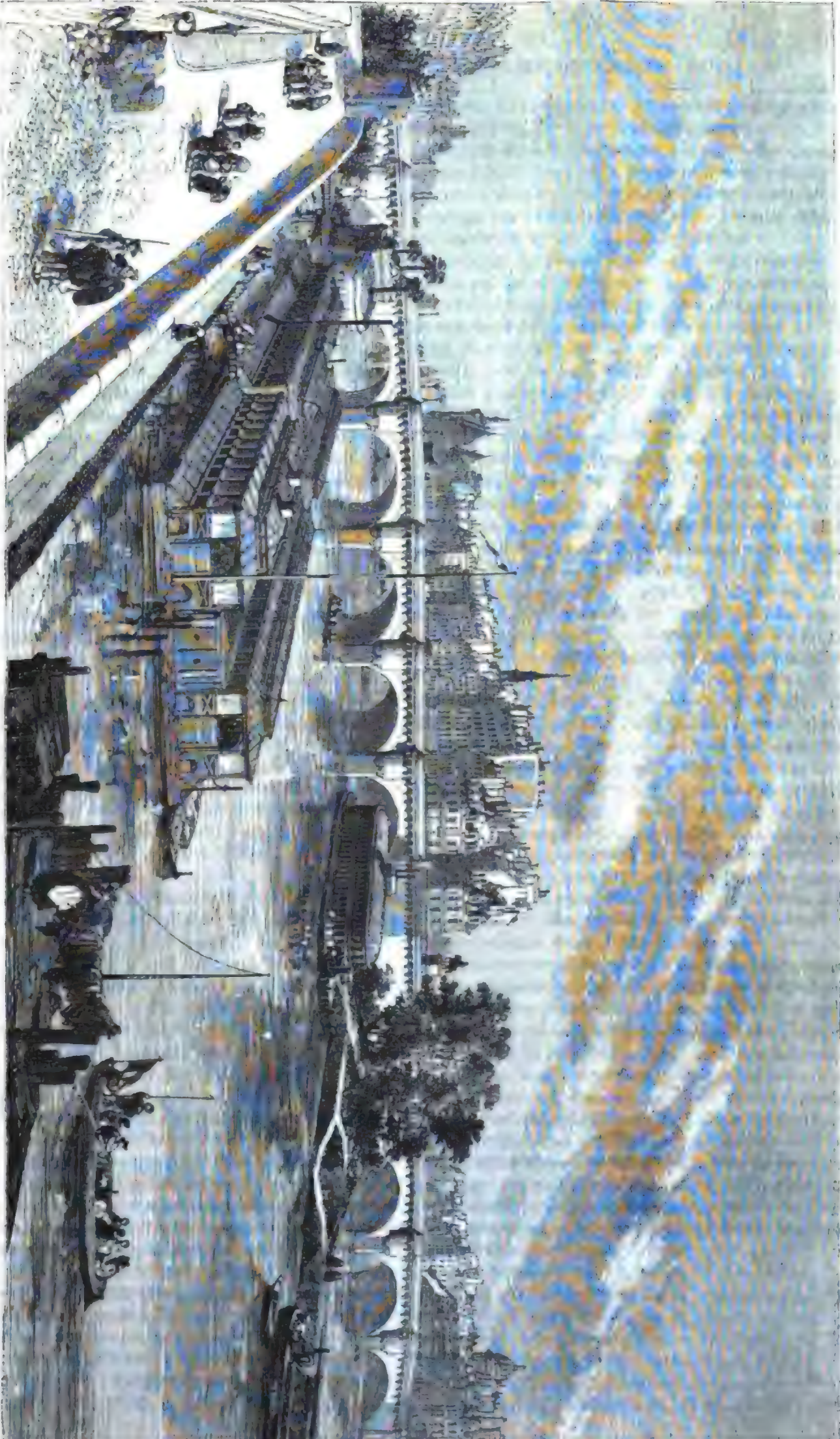


GENERAL VIEW OF THE ANCIENT CITY OF PARIS.

assembly, and the club had its journal to record all its transactions and its speeches. In fact, it was a self-elected and hotter assembly, acting as a spur to that body, and possessing more of the esteem of the mob, from whom it drew its animus. La Fayette and Bailly, to neutralise its formidable influence, established another club, called the club of the *Feuillans*, from sitting in the convent of the monks of that order. The members of this club were men whom La Fayette and Bailly deemed the most enlightened—that is, they were men of moderate and constitutional principles. But they sought in vain to win the favour of the multitude,

and they presented themselves on the balcony, and bowed to the people, and received a deputation of the *dames de la halle*. But all this would not do; the tone of the populace, which ruled the country, was far ahead of their politics, and the *Feuillans* died gradually out.

On the other hand, a still more fervid club than even the Jacobins grew and won the popular regard universally. This was the club of the Cordeliers, also taking its name from the convent of the monks of that order, where it sat. At this club, Desmoulins frenzied with revolutionary fire, Danton, at the commencement of the revolution a braves



MODERN PARIS : THE PONT NEUF.

barrister, but who had now, by his harangues in the Palais Royale, shown that he possessed a robust eloquence and great talents for agitation. He was of almost gigantic stature and frame, with a countenance nearly as ugly as that of Mirabeau himself, and a voice only exceeded in stentorian power by that of St. Hurugue, which was compared to the bellowing of a bull. He was, in fact, a coarser sort of Mirabeau, but far surpassing Mirabeau in the democratic fury of his temper and doctrines, and destined to become one of the most sanguinary wretches of the revolution, and to fall under the sentence of the only man who surpassed him in bloody prodigality, Robespierre. Besides Danton, there figured at the Cordeliers Paré, who was president, Danton being ex-president, Fabre d'Eglantime, a man who had been an actor, a literary man, a music-master, and other things, and was now, like Camille Desmoulins, a journalist, and destined to become firmly prominent, Dufournoy de Villiers, and others. The Cordeliers received deputations of women, and allowed them occasionally to address them as individuals. Desmoulins, in his newspaper, has preserved a speech made them by mademoiselle Theroigne, the courtesan who rode on the cannon to Versailles, in which she recommended the people of Paris to build a magnificent hall for the national assembly, and not allow the king to occupy the finest palace in the universe, and the assembly, on which, she said, the Supreme Being looked down with pleasure, to meet in a riding-school.

To reduce the power of the districts, the national assembly decreed that, instead of sixty districts, Paris should be divided into forty-eight sections, properly dependent on the municipal body, and sitting at the Hôtel de Ville; for the sixty separate district assemblies were becoming so many independent republics. Robespierre, Maury, &c., in the assembly, Danton, Desmoulins, and the other ultra-revolutionists in the clubs, violently opposed this change; but the measure was passed.

The attitude of foreign nations, who looked with great suspicion on the progress of the French revolution, and some reports eagerly propagated that the mutinies amongst the sailors in the ports of Toulon and Brest were the work of England—though the English minister denied the charge, and no such attempts on the part of England at this time have ever been discovered—led to the idea of equipping fifteen sail of the line. The management of such matters, as well as the declaration of peace or war, had always, as in England, been left to the crown and the executive; but when the king notified to the assembly his intention to equip these vessels, it led immediately to the discussion of the question whether this power should reside in the king or the assembly. The question was of great importance, and as being almost the only question of prerogative to be discussed, excited great interest, both within the assembly and out of doors. It was vehemently discussed at the Jacobin and the Cordeliers clubs; and, could they have decided, not a vestige of prerogative would have been left to the king. The debate continued in the assembly for six days, and every day the hall was surrounded by tumultuous mobs, so that La Fayette was obliged to keep all the national guards under arms in the neighbourhood of the Tuileries and the Salle de Manège. Robespierre contended

that the king was but the servant and delegate of the nation—*le commis et le délégué de la nation*; that it belonged to the supreme government, which was invested by the people in the national assembly, "to execute the sublime charge of the general will;" and that, if the power of the sword were taken from the king and given to the people, there would be an end of wars for ever.

But there was a second object in this debate scarcely less interesting to the revolutionary party than the main one—that of crushing Mirabeau by it. It was well known, as we shall soon have to show, that Mirabeau was now in the pay of the court, and that he would argue in favour of the royal prerogative. It was hoped that this would destroy his popularity; and the Lameths induced Barnave to argue for the investment of the assembly with this prerogative. All sides were watching for the eventful moment when Mirabeau should declare himself. On the sixth day he rose. He contended that wars were often unforeseen, and that it was necessary to act in a moment; the proper power to do this was the executive. So also in case of treaties; they were frequently necessary to be instituted suddenly, and conducted for a time with secrecy. This, too, made it more proper for the action of the executive, than of the deliberative power. But that, in both cases, the assembly should have the right to approve or disapprove, to continue or to stop, the war or the treaty. Barnave, as it was agreed, instantly rose on Mirabeau being seated. He declared that there would be an end of all liberty if Mirabeau's proposition was carried; that though the executive was bound to apprise the assembly of the necessity of declaration of war or of treaty, it belonged to the assembly to undertake either proceeding. Barnave was vehemently applauded, and was carried home on the shoulders of the mob; whilst Mirabeau was denounced as a traitor, who had sold himself to the court; and a pamphlet was issued, entitled "The Great Treason of Count Mirabeau." In this he was declared to have sold himself to the court for four hundred thousand francs a-year. All Paris was in a violent ferment; numbers of furious fellows told the deputies, as they entered the assembly the next day, that they had pistols ready loaded for Mirabeau, if he did not alter his tone.

But Mirabeau, confident of his power over the people, undauntedly mounted the tribune, declaring that he would descend from it dead or victorious. "I, too, have been carried in triumph, and yet to-day they are hawking through the streets 'The Great Treason of the Count de Mirabeau.' I needed not this example to learn that it is but a step from the capitol to the Tarpeian rock. Yet these strokes from below shall not stop me in my career!" He then declared that the whole difference betwixt his proposition and that of Barnave was a mere difference of words, for that he gave to the assembly the right of disapproving a war and requiring peace, and, although Barnave nominally argued for allowing the assembly to declare both, yet, in either case, the assembly was made the deciding power, and Barnave allowed it no more right than he did. He then flung back the charge of being in the pay of the court on his adversaries, as though he himself were most innocent. "Barnave," he said, "has boasted of those who share his opinions. I will boast of mine. They are those sound and

moderate men who talked to the French of liberty, when my base calumniators" [meaning the Lameths] "were sucking the milk of courts." He then turned the tables on Barnave. "Explain yourself," he said. "You have, in your opinion, limited the king to the notification of hostilities, and you have given to the assembly alone the right to declare the national will on that point. There I stop you, and recall you to your principles, which share the expression of the national will between the assembly and the king. In attributing it to the assembly alone you have violated the constitution. I call you to order. You answer not? I shall continue."

He continued, amid the loudest applause, to thunder against Barnave, and descended from the tribune triumphant. Barnave was not allowed to reply; but the assembly decided, in the moment of its fervour, on a modified motion by Chapelier, which was, in fact, the same as Mirabeau's. The disposal of the forces was left with the king, who was to notify the commencement of hostilities to the assembly, which then, on deliberation, was to assent or dissent, and the king was to accept its decision. But, though the matter was decided according to the idea of Mirabeau, the ultra-revolutionists out of doors continued to rave in the most murderous terms against him. Such men as Freron, in his paper, *L'Orateur du Peuple*, and Marat in his *L'Ami du Peuple*—men destined to a most ferocious notoriety—cried vehemently, "*Mirabeau à la lanterne!*" In fact, the people were become only too ready to suspend people from the *lanterne*. They complained that the chatelet was too slow in condemning people, and that they let people off that ought to be hanged. They therefore took justice into their own hands. They broke into the houses of aristocrats and priests who were adverse to the revolution, and would have hanged them, if they caught them. The abbé Maury was threatened. They attacked printers and booksellers who sold anything that did not agree with their notions. On one occasion they seized three thieves, and hanged them on the spot, saying it was no use sending them to the chatelet. La Fayette had enough to do to keep peace. Bailly issued an order severely condemning this usurpation of justice—or injustice—by the mob; but, at the same time, he appeared to excuse the French themselves, by assuming that vagabond foreigners were the instigators of these bloody actions.

The month of July was approaching, when it would be a year since the people had taken all power into its hands, and had exercised it through the assembly, and was with difficulty restrained from exercising it without assembly, court of judicature, or magistrate. The provinces and towns had set the example of confederating, and it was deemed proper that the 14th of July, the anniversary of the taking of the Bastille, should be celebrated by a grand fête, and by a grand confederation of the whole nation, by the deputies of all the national guards, and of all the corps of the army in the heart of Paris, in the Champ de Mars. The municipality ordered it, and the whole nation was in a ferment of delight. No sooner was this determined than certain members of the assembly resolved to carry the principles of revolution still further before this happy day arrived. Suddenly, on the 19th of June, M. Lambel, deputy from Villefranche de Rouergue, mounted the tribune, and moved that they abolish

all hereditary titles, and prohibit liveries. The motion was seconded by Charles Lameth, a man of noble birth, and La Fayette supported it, declaring, at the same time, that the motion was so consistent with reason and liberty, and so essentially necessary, that he did not believe it required any support, but he announced it with all his heart. Then arose a furious commotion. The nobles denounced the motion as madness, and destructive of the monarchy. The abbé Maury declared that nobility was constitutional; that, should they destroy it, monarchy must speedily follow. He was hooted and hissed, and clamoured down for a moment, but he stood his ground, and he shouted that nobility was older than the monarchy, that it existed amongst the Gauls, in Cæsar's time; that, so far from proceeding from feudalism, as they argued, it was two hundred years older than feudalism; but all was in vain. La Fayette snubbed M. Goupil, who proposed that the title of monseigneur should be left to the princes of the blood-royal. "What!" exclaimed La Fayette; "in a free country where there are only citizens and officers." The motion was passed amid a tempest of confusion; the marquis de Noailles exclaiming, "Let us no longer acknowledge any other distinctions than virtue, wisdom, and valour. We do not say marquis Franklin, count Washington, baron Fox, but plain Benjamin Franklin, George Washington, Charles James Fox." The decree being passed, that no titles of monseigneur, or count, or baron, or any other such term, should henceforth be borne, nor any man be condemned to wear livery, nor any coat of arms or escutcheon be used, it was sent off in haste to the king, who signed it as a matter of course, for he had made up his mind to sign everything proceeding from the assembly, knowing that it was useless to refuse, and that, if he refused to consent to the abolition of titles, there would soon be no title, nor office, even of king. Thiers says that La Fayette was favourable to any one being allowed to use the title if he liked, and that he sent in haste to the king to request him to delay signing the decree till this permission was annexed to it, but that Louis signed it without a moment's pause.

Thus, Mirabeau became plain M. Riquetti, La Fayette M. Motté, and the nobles were reduced to the use of names by which nobody knew them. Mirabeau, on being accosted by his real name by the reporters in the assembly, exclaimed hastily, "With your Riquetti you have puzzled all Europe for three days." The names of himself and others, as La Fayette, &c., continued, however, in use, from mere custom, in spite of the law, and the aristocracy, in their own circles, who persisted in addressing each other by their titular names.

Whilst the assembly was in the effervescence of this extraordinary act, and had, on the other hand, been decreeing that due honour should be done to the heroes of the Bastille at the coming fête of federation, a deputation was announced from the representatives of many foreign nations, praying to be admitted to a seat on this great occasion. This deputation was headed by one of the most singular mortals who had risen into notice on the reeling crest of this revolution, namely, Anacharsis Clootz. He appeared at the bar of the assembly, followed by a numerous train in the costume of Englishmen, and men of all countries of Europe, and not only so, but of Indians, Arabs, Chaldeans, &c.

These so-called foreigners, of so many nationalities, were, however, chiefly Parisian porters, thus masqueraded; and were introduced by Clootz as "The Embassy of the Human Race," to whom he declared the French revolution would extend the blessings of liberty and sound reason.

This Clootz, whose real name was John Baptist Clootz, was a Prussian baron, a native of Cleves, and nephew of the strange metaphysical writer, Pauw, canon of Xanten. He had been educated in Paris, and had imbibed all the new philosophy, with the enthusiasm for the Greek and Roman classics which accompanied it. Clootz became first deist, then atheist, and casting aside the names of John Baptist, he adopted the pagan and classical one of Anacharsis; and, in imitation of the Anacharsis of the abbé Barthelemy, he travelled into different countries to survey mankind. In England he had introduced himself to Burke, and Fox, and other reformers; and for some time remained a correspondent of Burke's, and he excited much attention by his lavish expenditure and strange opinions. By the time of the breaking out of the French revolution he was become essentially insane, and ready to play any wild part in it; and, like so many others, terminated his career under the bloody reign of Robespierre.

Being introduced to the assembly as M. the baron de Clootz, of Val-de-Grace, Prussian, and this to an assembly which had just abolished all titles in France, Clootz made a bombastic speech, in which he declared a number of foreigners, from all regions of the earth, demanded to participate in the glorious fête of liberty which Frenchmen were about to celebrate, to the consternation of tyrants all over the world. Clootz's speech—the rankest fustian—was applauded throughout by the most deafening acclamations from senate and galleries, and his request, for himself and his bedizened porters, was granted, on condition that they should tell to all the nations of the earth what they had seen when they returned to their native countries, which they might safely promise. This pitiable farce has been represented as sage and significant, by tending to alarm the despots of other countries with the fears of the same revolutionary leaven amongst their own subjects; but it was more likely to stimulate them to fall on France and endeavour to crush the nuisance in its birth-place, if it roused them at all. But, in fact, it was too contemptible. Thiers says, "Such scenes, which appear ridiculous to those who are not eye-witnesses, make a deep impression upon those who are." But, except upon Frenchmen, the impression, under any circumstances, must be that of astonishing absurdity.

Whilst the assembly was in the fervour of this extraordinary 19th of June, and the speech of the orator of the human race, Alexander Lameth drew the attention of the deputies to the equestrian statue of Louis XIV., which displayed him trampling on four figures in chains, representing, in allegory, Franche-Comté, and three other provinces which he had annexed to France. He declared that it was monstrous to leave these figures to insult the brave citizens of those provinces when they came to Paris, where every man now was free and equal. Maury opposed the measure, but it was carried directly by acclamation.

Forthwith all Paris was busy with preparations for the great fête of the 14th of July. The national assembly

appointed a committee to superintend the preparations, and this committee issued orders to all the departments for sending up one man from every two hundred of the national guards, to attend on that day, and represent the national guards of the whole kingdom. The next thing was to prepare the Champ de Mars, a great area, extending from the military school to the Seine. As it was feared that wooden stages for the spectators in so vast a scene, would break down, it was determined to remove the earth from the middle of the area to each side, so that the great mass of the spectators would stand on properly-sloping hills on each hand, and thus overlook all the actors and the ceremonies in the centre. Twelve thousand labourers worked day and night at this removal of earth, and yet it was feared that the operations could not be completed by the 14th of July. Then a great enthusiasm seized all classes, and crowds rushed to assist. Then a few thousand of the national guards attended every day in turns to labour at this national affair—churchmen, soldiers, gentlemen, elegant ladies, were seen digging or carrying earth. "The civic invitation," says Ferrières, "electrified all heads: the women shared and propagated the enthusiasm. Seminarists, scholars, nuns, enthusiasts, grown old in solitude, were seen quitting their cloisters, hurrying to the Champ de Mars, with shovels upon their shoulders, bearing banners adorned with patriotic emblems. The dishevelled courtesan is placed beside the modest matron; the capuchin draws the truck with the chevalier of St. Louis; the porter with the petit-maitre of the Palais Royal; the sturdy fishwoman drives the wheelbarrow filled by the hands of the delicate and nervous lady. Wealthy people, indigent people, well-dressed people, ragged people, old men, boys, comedians, *Cent-Suisses*, clerks, working and resting, actors and spectators, exhibited to the astonished eye a scene full of life and bustle. Moving taverns, portable shops, increased the gaiety of this vast picture. Songs, shouts of joy, the sound of drums and military instruments, that of spades and wheelbarrows, mingled with the voices of the labourers. As soon as the clock strikes nine, the mixed multitude separates into groups; every citizen joins the section of the city to which he belongs; the foremost bands begin to march off; and, by degrees, they all return into Paris, preceded by lighted torches, drums and fifes. From time to time they give vent to sarcasms against the aristocrats, and they go home singing, "*Ça ira! ça ira!*"

The day having arrived, and the plan of its proceedings being pre-arranged by the national assembly, and *Te Deum* having been sung the evening before in Notre Dame, at which the federates and the municipal authorities attended, and the catacombs beneath Paris having been searched—for there was a terrifying rumour that the aristocrats were intending to imitate the abortive scheme of Guy Fawkes, and blow up all the assembly and half of the patriots at once—at a very early hour of the morning the people hurried to the Champ de Mars to secure good places. Unfortunately, it was raining torrents. The federalists, ranged by departments, under eighty-three banners, set out at eight o'clock from the site of the Bastille. The deputies of the troops of the line and the navy; the Parisian national guards, in their blue uniform, with staves; bands of music, and colours of the sections bearing wreaths of oaks, inclosing the

words, "National Confederation at Paris, the 14th of July, 1790," opened and closed the procession.

The federalists passed through the rues St. Martin, St. Dennis, and St. Honoré, and proceeded by the Cours la Reine to a bridge of boats constructed across the river. They were greeted by the way by the acclamations of an immense concourse, which filled the streets, the windows of the houses, and the quays. Dripping with wet, the federalists danced *farandoles*, shouting, "Long live our brethren, the Parisians!" Wine, ham, sausages, were let down from the windows for them, amid cheers. The national assembly joined the procession at the Place Louis Quinze, it being then about ten o'clock, and walked between a battalion of the veterans and the boys from the military school; "recalling," says Thiers, "the memory of ancient Sparta," for the boys were armed like their fathers; and, on all occasions during the revolution, the French imagined themselves to be imitators of the ancient Greeks and Romans. The road leading to the Champ de Mars was one mass of people, shouting, clapping their hands, and singing, "*Ça ira!*" The Quai de Chaillot and the heights of Passy presented a long amphitheatre, brilliant and variegated with the gay dresses of ladies. La Fayette, mounted on his splendid white charger, rode about keeping order, the rain and perspiration trickling from his face. A man, pushing from the crowd, with a bottle in one hand and a glass in the other, cried, "General, you are hot! here, take a glass!" La Fayette took it and drank it off, amid the applauses of the people.

As the procession approached the Champ de Mars, they crossed the temporary bridge, which was strewn with flowers; amid the thunder of artillery they entered the scene of the festival, through a triumphal arch covered with flags and patriotic inscriptions. Meantime, more than three hundred thousand persons of both sexes, from Paris and the environs, assembled ever since six in the morning, sate on the turf seats, which formed an immense circle, drenched, draggled, sheltering themselves with parasols from the torrents of rain still falling; and, at every momentary cessation of it, adjusting their dresses, and endeavouring to be cheerful. In the centre of this amphitheatre was erected an immense altar, twenty feet high, called the altar of the country, constructed of wood like the triumphal arch, and adorned with flags, garlands, bas-reliefs, and inscriptions regarding liberty and equality. On this altar stood a catholic altar, with candelabra, crucifix, incense, and all the requisites for mass. It was one o'clock before the federalists had taken up their positions, and all the while it poured deluges. They then broke out into dancing *farandoles* again, and were joined by numbers of the younger citizens. Sixty thousand people, such a *corps de ballet* as never before was seen, were dancing in the rain, around the altar, whilst the vast multitude sang, "*Ça ira!*" The very umbrellas hoisted over the dripping multitude were calculated at above one hundred thousand!

At three o'clock, the king, attended by the queen, the dauphin, and a splendid court, issued from the military school, and took their places beneath a grand gallery facing the altar. In the centre of the gallery was a throne covered with violet velvet, and sprinkled with *fleurs-de-lis* in gold.

This was for the king, and at three feet distance, to the right, was another, of equal height and size, covered with light-blue velvet, and also sprinkled with golden *fleurs-de-lis*, for the president of the national assembly. Behind these were the seats for the queen, the dauphin, and the rest of the royal family. To the right and left sate the members of the assembly.

When the king took his seat, amid tremendous shouts of "*Vive le Roi!*" "*Vive la Nation!*" the sun broke through the clouds, and the rain ceased. The banners were unfurled, and the bands broke forth in one grand burst of music from eighteen hundred instruments. A bishop then advanced to perform mass: it was Talleyrand, a man who sneered at all religion, and yet had been selected to officiate on this singular occasion. Three hundred priests, in white surplices, girt with broad tricoloured scarfs, ranged themselves at the four corners of the altar. Talleyrand, the bishop of Autun, blessed the oriflamme and the eighty-three banners. At the elevation of the host, there was a general discharge of cannon; and then La Fayette dismounted from his white horse, and mounting the steps of the altar, followed by the staff of the Parisian militia, and the deputies of the army and navy, advanced to the front of the throne, where the king handed to him the form of the oath; and La Fayette then approaching the altar, laid his sword upon it, and read the oath; swore himself; and then, raising his right arm, all that vast assembly of soldiers and spectators raised theirs, and cried at one instant, "*Je le jure!*" "I swear it!" Four pieces of cannon proclaimed to France the taking of this oath; and all France, at this moment, in all its towns, and villages, and solitary houses, was supposed to join in the act, and cry, "We swear it!" The king then rose, and, stretching his right hand towards the altar, said, "I, king of the French, swear to employ the power delegated to me by the constitutional act of the state, in maintaining the constitution decreed by the national assembly, and accepted by me." The queen, taking the dauphin in her arms, held him up to the people, and said "Here is my son; he joins as well as myself in those sentiments!" This unexpected movement was repaid by a thousand shouts of "*Vive le Roi!*" "*Vive la Reine!*" "*Vive M. le Dauphin!*" The cannon thundered again; the sun shone forth brightly: the music played again with a tempest of sound. There was one universal ecstasy of kissing and embracing amongst the people. What a people!

In any nation of deep feelings and solid principles, after such a compact, such a glowing celebration of the constitution by throne and people, the results must have been the most fixed and permanent. The remaining work of reform must have been easy and prosperous. But all this was but another illustration of that fustian, fungous sentiment which flares up in French bosoms like a flash of loose gunpowder, or like alcohol thrown into the fire, which, in the very act of blazing, expires. The royal family withdrew about five o'clock; the drenched masses began to retire to their homes, and a few days found all parties fallen back into their old temper, distrustful of each other. "This touching festival of the federation," says Thiers, "was but a fugitive emotion. On the morrow all hearts still wished as they had wished the day before, and the war had recommenced."

"When the sun shone forth," says Ferrières, "on the close of this scene, it seemed as if it had pleased God himself to witness this mutual contract, and to ratify it by his presence. Yes! he both saw and heard it, and terrible calamities, ever since that day, have desolated France. Providence, ever

la Muette, not a mile from the Champ de Mars, and there five-and-twenty thousand persons sate down at tables ranged in the avenues of the park. But La Fayette was in danger of not reaching the place alive. He was surrounded by thousands of unknown men, who, on pretence of

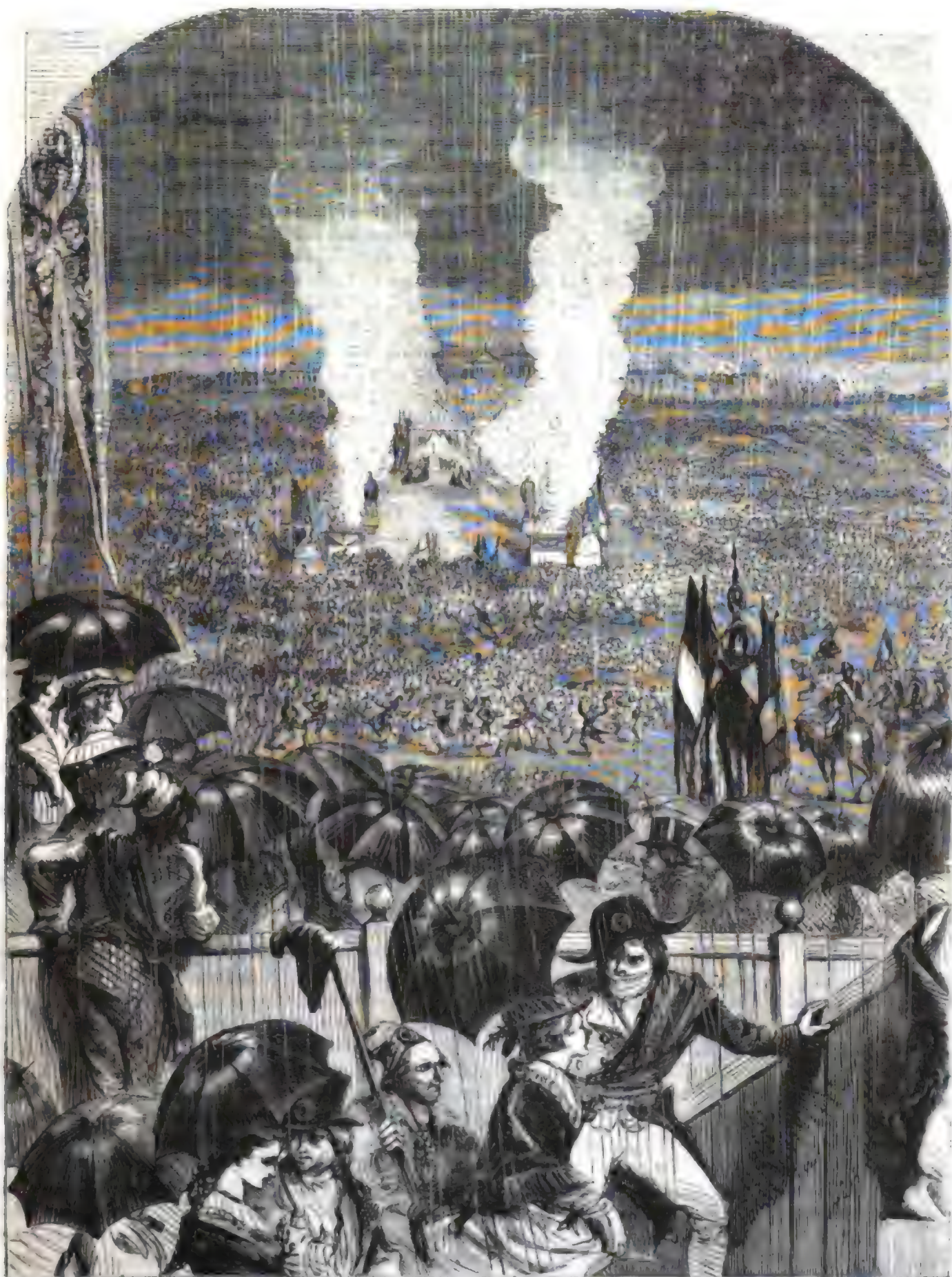


THE BOUDOIR OF A PARISIAN LADY IN THE LAST CENTURY.

active and ever faithful, punished the mutual perfidy. It has stricken both monarch and subjects who violated their oath!"

But these hollow amenities were not yet at an end. The municipality had ordered a grand dinner at the château of

bracing him in the enthusiasm of the day, pulled him from his horse, and he was actually smothering in the embrace of these Judas friends, when he was rescued by one of his aides-de-camp and a body of soldiers. Meantime, all Paris was one festal scene. The Champs Elysées were lighted



FÊTE OF THE FEDERATION IN THE CHAMP DE MARS.

by lamps hung in the trees, and by bonfires; and there, and on the site of the Bastille, there was dancing. Carriages were forbidden to drive about, that they might not interrupt the free enjoyment and circulation of the people by the noise of wheels, and clanking of horses' hoofs, and the continual cries of "*Gare!*"—"Take care!" The wealthy were expected to make themselves part of the people, and to move about on foot as they did. So long as the federalists remained in Paris, it was one continuous series of entertainments, dances, and rejoicings. Besides the ball on the site of the terrible old Bastille, now converted into an open square, there was a regatta, fireworks, a ball and refreshments in the *Halle au Blé*.

On Sunday, the 18th, La Fayette reviewed the federates in the Champ de Mars; on Monday, there was a large review, including, not only federalists, but troops of the line and marines, at which the king, the queen, and the dauphin, were present. The queen was particularly gracious, and gave her hand to be kissed by the federalists, and the kind words which she addressed to some of them, especially the young soldiers of Lorraine, deeply touched them, and awoke a spark of the ancient loyalty. Before the federalists quitted the capital, they went to pay their homage to the king. All of them testified the most profound respect, the warmest attachment. The chief of the Bretons dropped on his knees, and presented his sword to Louis, swearing that it should never be stained with any but the blood of his enemies. Louis restored him his sword, embraced him, and was deeply affected. "Sire," rejoined the Breton officer, "all the French, if I may judge from our hearts, love, and will love you, because you are a citizen king."

Let us see. These were but the mere phosphorous gleams of that strange thing, French sentiment, or the honest expression of the more loyal and better-natured few. The republican orators and journalists had witnessed this fête with gall and detestation. Everything like affection for the monarchy or the monarch irritated them to madness. Men, with all the tiger and the demon in their nature, and destined to wade through torrents of blood, and to extinguish one another in it—Carr, Danton, Marat, Camille Desmoulins, and Robespierre. Carr denounced them as an "idolotrous people, who saw only the king and La Fayette, and not their own importance." He abused them as the most despicable of slaves, because they assembled under the windows of the Tuileries, and shouted, "*Vive la Reine!*" Why, he demanded, did they not cry, "*Vivent les Polignacs!*" the queen's great favourites. "*Vive the Red-book of the Noblesse!*" "*Vive the Trianon!*" the queen's palace. "*Vive Lambesc!*" "*Vivent the protectors of the conspiracy against Paris!*" "*Vivent the iron railings of the Tuileries, with cannon-balls behind them!*" "*Vivent the authors of the project to carry the king to Metz!*" "*Vive the grant of twenty-five millions to the king!*" &c. He denounced "the mayor Bailly, and all the rogues and swindlers that manage French affairs! How shameful that gaudy throng set apart for the king in the Champ de Mars, who is nothing but the first servant of the people!" And then he added an undoubted truth, as it regarded the weathercock nature of Frenchmen, "Ah,

thoughtless citizens! Are you ignorant of the fact that liberty is not made for a vain and frivolous nation, without morals, without character, without principles, changing with every wind and every new doctrine? Let not your enemies, however, count upon your momentary enthusiasm. Whatever may be the form of oath which your lips have pronounced, your heart has only sworn to be true to the country, and to liberty and equality. Any other engagement into which you may have been surprised will vanish like a dream, and, at the first palpable treachery of the court and aristocracy, your audacity will be the spark to kindle the fire that is to consume them all!"

These rampant republicans, bent on reducing everything to one level, spoke of the king simply as Louis Capet, and the queen as Louis Capet's wife, and the dauphin as the boy Capet, and we shall see that they succeeded, ere long, in bringing everything down to a literal equality, lopping off heads as wantonly as a lazy clown lops off the heads of thistles or wild flowers with a switch, and concluding by having their own heads rolled into the same bloody dust. Recriminations and heart-burnings sprang out of this festival betwixt the court and the people, instead of mutual confidence. The aristocracy saw in it only a new and general compact against monarchy and against their own order. The court were accused of having granted a passage for the Austrian troops into the country of Liège; and St. Priest was accused of having favoured the escape of persons charged with counter-revolutionary principles; and, in its anger, the court ordered the prosecution of the authors of the disturbances of the 5th and 6th of October, the march to Versailles, and the forcible conveyance of the king to Paris. The two persons chiefly named were Mirabeau and the duke of Orleans; but Mirabeau was only named as a cloak; the real aim was to drive away the duke of Orleans, who had returned from England, and was more popular than ever. But Mirabeau, though in the pay of the court, would not be silent, as was wished, for he deemed that the accusations really proceeded from the aristocracy, who hated him. He ascended the tribunal, and defended both himself and the duke, exclaiming, as he pointed to the right side of the assembly, where sat the aristocrats, that it was there whence the mischief came; that they were the authors of these proceedings, and that the country would prepare a most implacable vengeance for them. The speech was received with vehement acclamations, and the assembly resolved that there was no ground of accusation whatever against these distinguished individuals.

But whilst the court was defeated in its attempt against the man whom they believed to have been at the bottom of the Versailles affair—namely, Orleans—the fête of the federation was scattering its fruits all over France. If the projectors of this fête—and La Fayette and the able Fanchet, who, in one of his sermons, told the people that it was the aristocracy who crucified the Son of God, both lay claim to the honour of suggesting it—if they had purposely sought by it to completely revolutionise the whole army, they could not have calculated better. Every regiment, not only of the provincial national guards, but of the troops of the line, and sailors from the chief ports, had sent their deputies to Paris to the fête. These were feasted, caressed,

and flattered, and thoroughly indoctrinated with the most boiling spirit of the revolution. They returned to their different districts as the French soldiers had returned from America, carrying the doctrine of the most unlimited equality and independence with them. In quick time, they had demoralised the whole army. Bouillé, the cousin of La Fayette, had taken indefatigable pains to keep his soldiers free from the infection, and steady to their oaths and their standards. But now he had to write in his memoirs: "This confederation poisoned the minds of the troops. On their return from the capital, they brought with them the seeds of corruption. These they instilled into their comrades, and in a fortnight, or at most a month, the whole army was in a state of the most terrible insurrection." Bouillé, who hated La Fayette, though his relation, did not hesitate to attribute the scheme of the federation to him, as a means of regaining popularity, which, he asserted, he was fast losing; and that he was desirous of throwing the army into the hands of the people, and of alienating them from their officers, who were of the aristocratic class. He regarded the fête of the federation as having destroyed the last prop of the throne, and he became all the more anxious that the royal family should make their escape from France. The queen was most anxious for it too, and believed that by the aid of Bouillé it might be readily accomplished; but she never could move her timid and apathetic husband to the necessary determination. In the month of May, before the fête of the federation had removed their best chances with the army, the queen had contrived an admirable plan for the escape of the whole family to Bouillé, but the king's dull inertia prevented it. She was then strongly advised to escape herself; but, though she felt quite assured what would be her fate if she remained, nothing would induce her to leave her husband and child. Her person was not safe for a day. Her attendants—and especially madame Campan, and her physician, M. Vicq d'Azyr—were apprehensive that she would be poisoned; but she replied—"No; they will not employ a single grain of poison: the Brinvilliers are not of this age; they will kill me by calumny." Her attendants took all possible precautions for her safety; she herself took none. Yet people, both with good and evil intentions, frequently managed to approach when the national guards were lax in their duty. Soon after the federation, the court was allowed to go to St. Cloud for the summer months; and a fellow of the name of Rotondo made his way to the part of the gardens where the queen spent much time with her children almost every day, in the hope of assassinating her. Fortunately, the day proved rainy, and the queen was not there. On another occasion, as the queen was working at her embroidery-frame near a window, and madame Campan, according to her custom, was reading to her, they heard a number of persons talking in a low voice under the balcony. On madame Campan looking out, she saw a few priests and old knights of St. Louis, and some young knights of Malta, with a group of country people, altogether about fifty, who had taken advantage of the absence of the national guards to endeavour to approach and catch a glimpse of the queen. Marie Antoinette immediately went out upon the balcony to gratify them; and they said, in a whisper—"Madame, be of good courage; good French

people suffer for you; they pray for you, and Heaven will hear their prayers. We love you, we respect you; we revere our virtuous king!" The queen burst into tears; and the women said, "See, she weeps! Poor queen!" But madame Campan, terrified lest this should be observed by any of the national guards, led the queen in, raising her own eyes to heaven as she did so, to denote the cruel necessity of caution. The group understood it, and said, "The lady is right. Adieu, madame!" and dispersed.

It was during this sojourn at St. Cloud that the effects of insubordination, produced by the fête of federation amongst the troops, had come to a crisis. The troops at Nancy, consisting of four battalions of the king's regiment, two battalions of Swiss of the Château-Vieux regiment, with a regiment of cavalry, had mutinied, had imprisoned their officers, and sent a deputation to the assembly to justify themselves. These deputies were very insolent, and were especially supported by the jacobin club. La Fayette, however, arrested the deputies, and the assembly issued an order that the mutineers should return to their duty, and the inhabitants of Nancy to obedience to the law, on pain of being treated as rebels. General de Malseigne and a member of the assembly were dispatched to bring the soldiers to order; and Bouillé was commanded to render him all necessary assistance, and to employ force, if necessary. On reaching Bouillé's head-quarters at Metz, Bouillé thought it best that Malseigne should go on to Nancy, and endeavour, in the first place, to bring the mutineers to reason by peaceable means. Malseigne proceeded boldly to Nancy, where he found that the troops had been joined by five or six thousand men of the neighbourhood, and deserters from other regiments. They had broken open the arsenal, and made themselves masters of five thousand muskets, with ammunition, and eighteen pieces of cannon, which they had loaded with grape-shot. They had exacted money from the authorities, burnt the decrees of the national assembly, and defied it in terms of contempt. They were intending to imprison the principal people of the town as they had done their own officers, and to ransack the city, and hang the chief men.

Malseigne proclaimed the decree of the assembly, and harangued the mutinous troops; but he was glad to escape alive to Luneville, where there were eight squadrons of cavalry; but these cavalry, when the soldiers from Nancy marched against them, delivered up Malseigne to them, and fraternised with them. When Bouillé learned this news, he set out for Nancy with about three thousand foot, and one thousand four hundred horse, principally Swiss and Germans, all that he could trust, whilst, in Nancy, he calculated that the revolted troops amounted to ten thousand. On his way, he was met by three deputations, one after another, to whom Bouillé declared the conditions on which he would accept a surrender—viz.: that the three regiments at the head of the revolt should deliver up the ringleaders, and themselves quit the town; that they should liberate Malseigne, whom, fortunately, they had not hanged, and their own officers, and deliver up the cannon. These terms they treated with contempt. Bouillé sent forward a proclamation, containing the same conditions, and, on arriving at the gates of the town, it was

announced to him that his terms should be agreed to. Malsbigne and the captive officers of the regiments were sent to him, and he saw the regiments marching out at the opposite gate; but no sooner did he attempt to enter the city, than the cannon, charged to the muzzles with grap, were fired on him; there was a murderous discharge of musketry from the windows of the houses, and the regiments turned back and joined in the battle. Bouillé was in a terrible dilemma; but he says he blindly committed himself to fortune for the result, and fought the insurgents with such fury, that they were compelled to give back. From half-past four till half-past seven o'clock Bouillé was cutting his way to the centre of the town. He had lost forty officers and four hundred men; but he had taken the cannon, and five hundred men prisoners, and was preparing to execute a more desperate vengeance, when the insurgents agreed to march quietly out of the place. He consented, on condition that they marched to different garrisons, which he named, at some distance from each other. Bouillé preserved the place from pillage; not a house was broken into, nor an inhabitant killed, except such as were met in arms. He liberated the five hundred prisoners who had fallen into his hands, two hundred of whom were soldiers, and three hundred inhabitants, and none of them were punished; but the Swiss, by the authority of the articles of war under which they served, tried their prisoners by court-martial, shot twenty soldiers, and condemned from fifty to sixty to the galleys, to which they were sent.

This extraordinary transaction took place on the 31st of August, and on the 3rd of September the king wrote an autograph letter to Bouillé, thanking him for his gallant conduct, by which, he said, he had saved France. Hearing, too, that Bouillé had had a favourite horse shot under him, he sent him a fine one of his own, which he had ridden, begging him to accept it for his sake. But, on the other hand, the jacobins, both in their club and the assembly, raised the most terrible outcries at this suppression of the insurrection. They declared that it was a massacre of patriots by the royalists and aristocrats for defending the liberties of their country. They denounced Bouillé as a traitor. Robespierre demanded that a fresh deputation from Nancy should be heard at the bar of the assembly, and this deputation declared that the soldiers had only risen to defend themselves and the town against the plots of the aristocrats; that many of them had been dismissed only to replace them by unpatriotic soldiers, who were in the interest of the aristocrats, and that these aristocrats and unpatriotic soldiers had attacked the people of the town before the garrison mutinied. But the assembly firmly persisted in asserting that such insurrection could not be permitted, or it would undermine the conduct of the whole army, and even La Fayette, who, in the opening of the revolution, had declared insurrection to be the most sacred of duties, now moved and carried a vote of thanks to Bouillé. Robespierre opposed these measures vehemently, and menaced the assembly with the possibility of seeing all the patriotic soldiers ranged on one side, and all those who had sold themselves to despotism and aristocracy on the other, under Bouillé. In fact, he menaced them with civil war. But the thunder of Mirabeau silenced this arch jacobin,

and not only were these measures passed, but a commission was sent to Nancy to try and punish the guilty, and to restore tranquillity. Bouillé received an extension of his command from the king. He now had military rule from the borders of Switzerland to the Saabre, comprehending the greatest part of the frontiers. As he had more reliance on the cavalry than he had on the infantry, he fixed his head-quarters on the banks of the Seille, which flows into the Moselle, because he had plains for the manœuvring of his horse, and meadows for forage, and was defended in his rear by impassable marshes. He was resolved to take no step against the constitution; but he deemed it of vital importance that the king should escape, and he held himself in readiness to aid him in the attempt. Had Louis possessed the spirit of his queen and this devoted general, he would, long ago, have been beyond the reach of the insulting enemies called "his" people.

Under the influence of La Fayette, Bailly, and the municipality, a day of mourning was resolved to be held at the Champ de Mars for the soldiers who had fallen in defence of the constitution. The galleries, the triumphal arch, and the altar of the nation, now converted into a tomb, emblazoned with inscriptions in gold letters and surmounted by cypresses, all these formerly festive objects were now covered with black cloth. The priests performed mass for the dead in albs and tricolor sashes. La Fayette, Bailly, and the authorities of the municipality were all there, and crowds of spectators, but the jacobins were absent, and their journals poured forth the fiercest diatribes against the city magistrates and all who were concerned in celebrating the obsequies of the heroes of order. Marat, who was becoming every day more truculent, declared that it would have been a great deal better if the money thus spent had been given to the poor. This modern Judas was so extremely sympathetic for the poor, when he had some particular scheme of vengeance in his head, assured the public that the soldiers who had been massacred at Nancy by Bouillé were the defenders of the poor. "The poor," he said, "are the only class that are patriots—the only ones who are honest. The *canaille* of the court say they are the refuse of mankind; but, in the eyes of the discerning and philosophical, they are the only sound portion of society. As for these new departmental governments and their municipalities patronised by the assembly, they are composed of nothing but the putrid remains of the old *ludæi*, who are carrying infection into the reign of liberty, and keeping up an understanding with the government by tricks and signs, like outpurses at a fair." And he then appealed to Divine Providence to take pity on his poor children, and to select his most exterminating curses for the race of municipal and aristocratical vermin, and to exterminate them. The reign of jacobinism was fast drawing on when such wretches as Marat and Robespierre should wallow in blood. This Marat, one of those monsters that out-monster all fiction, however rabid, was a native of Baudry, in Switzerland. He had studied medicine and anatomy, and perhaps, in such pursuits, had acquired his burning thirst for human blood. He was a quack vendor of medicines in Paris when the revolution broke out. He was also the author of a work called "Man; or Principles and

Laws," showing the material influence of soul and body on each other. On the commencement of the revolution, he began a paper called *L'ami du Peuple*, in which he vented his inextinguishable fury against all classes in the state except the veriest scum of the population, who read and admired his ferocious writings. In his person, Marat was as ugly and deformed as his soul was. His very aspect terrified children; and such was his cowardice that, whilst launching daily his denunciations against others, and when he became president of the convention, as he did, bringing their heads to the guillotin, he slept in a cave in the profoundest secrecy. All this, however, did not save him from the avenging dagger of Charlotte Corday.

Robespierre, another chief monster of this revolution, was the son of a barrister at Arras. He was educated at the college of Louis le Grande, in Paris, and, like his father, adopted the profession of law. He was sent from Artois to the national assembly as their deputy. For some time, his insignificant person, his weak voice, and defective vision, rendered him of little influence in the assembly; but by perseverance, and by assuming a character of mildness and humanity, and by defending the poor and denouncing corruption, he gradually won popularity, and was called "The Incorruptible." He was closely associated, however, with the jacobin club, and the bloodhounds, Danton and Marat; and, no sooner did he obtain the opportunity, than he showed himself to be one of the most sanguinary wretches that ever disgraced the name of man.

The assembly, pressed by exhaustion of the public revenue, again put a large quantity of the church property into the market, and issued eight hundred millions of assignats upon the strength of it. Talleyrand made an elaborate speech showing the certain consequence of so immoderate an issue of paper-money; its depreciation; the consequent hoarding of gold, and the direct rise of price in all articles of life. Mirabeau, on the contrary, supported the issue. Necker opposed the measure in vain, for Necker was now become a mere cypher with all parties. He never had the diplomatic genius which he believed himself to possess. He had won the favour of the people by being the means of calling together the states-general; but the king and his fellow-ministers had no confidence in him, and the jacobins and Cordeliers had long ago ruined his fame with the once idolising people. Danton and Marat had not hesitated to accuse him of corruption and public pillage. The mob, who once hailed him as the saviour of the country, now howled at nights under his windows, and menaced him with the *lanterne*. Necker seized this opportunity of being overridden by the assembly, in the matter of the second issue of the assignats, to tender his resignation, and to get away in safety to his native mountains. His resignation was accepted with pleasure; and Necker addressed a characteristic letter to the assembly to announce his departure. He assumed the same air of patriotic vanity which he had always worn. "I leave," he said, "as the guarantee of my administration, my house in Paris, my country house, and my funds in the royal treasury, which, for a long time, have amounted to two million four hundred thousand livres, and ask only to withdraw the four hundred thousand livres which the state of my affairs renders necessary."

The fact was well known that at that moment he could not have sold his property, and that there was no money in the treasury to pay him. It was well for him to be able to escape scatheless; and, obtaining a passport from Bailly, and another from the king, he set out towards Switzerland along the road which, so short a time previous, he had traversed amid the frantic plaudits of the people, and with the elating idea that he was destined to retrieve the finances and save the country. Now not a voice was raised to lament his departure, and he was not allowed to quit the country without a serious alarm. He had arrived at Arcis-sur-Aube, accompanied by his wife and four friends, when the national guard of the place arrested the whole party, and would not allow them to proceed until they had obtained the permission of the national assembly. Though Necker had passports from the municipality of Paris and from the king, he had not one from the assembly, and, without that, the zealous officials thought the others worthless. The assembly, notwithstanding some of its members proposed that he should be brought back and examined as to the state of his accounts, sent him permission to proceed, and he got safely to Copet, on the lake of Geneva, where he survived till 1804, contemplating the course of the revolution, which swept away so many now playing a prominent part in it.

The ministry of France was now reduced to the utmost insignificance, and St. Priest and Latour du Pin soon after resigned, being in danger of being impeached by the assembly for keeping up a mischievous correspondence with the emigrants and the military chiefs. Count Montmorin alone remained in his dangerous post, and was one of the first victims of jacobin vengeance in the massacres of September of the following year. For the present, Montmorin, Molleville, Malouet, and a few others formed a sort of privy council, and concerted plans in the vain hope of strengthening the monarchy. Duport du Tertre was made keeper of the seals, and Duportail, at the recommendation of La Fayette, was made head of the war department in place of Latour du Pin. Duportail soon showed himself more inclined towards the popular party than his predecessor, and one of his first acts was to deprive Bouillé of the independent liberty, which the king had conferred on him, of disposing the troops as he thought best—a power which Bouillé was anxious to employ in favour of the king's escape.

The king had studied carefully and anxiously the history of the English revolution and the fate of Charles I. As he saw that Charles's taking arms to maintain his authority against the parliament had led to his execution, after a civil war, Louis—who had nothing of the spirit of Charles Stuart—had acquired a deep dread of anything which might lead to civil war. He regarded the attempt to escape, if unsuccessful, as fatal to himself and family; if successful, as the immediate cause of a civil war, the issue of which no man could foresee. He, therefore, more and more recoiled from all schemes of escape. But the queen took very different views. She regarded it as certain that to remain in France was to ultimately perish. The refugees she had no faith in, and was averse to receive reaction at their hands, certain that, should they succeed, they would become masters in their turn. Yet every day it was becoming more and

more evident that the clubs, and through the clubs the mob, were gaining in power and audacity. The leaders of the clubs, Robespierre, Danton, Marat, and Desmoulins, taught the utmost contempt and execration for all ranks and classes above the mere rabble. She felt that it could not be long ere the assembly itself would be overwhelmed by the fanaticism of the republicans, and that there must be a deluge of bloodshed, in which the royal family would disappear first. During the sojourn of the court at St. Cloud, in the autumn of this year, she, therefore, entertained many plans of escape. The king would listen to none. Driven

with it all his power for any purpose. He, in consequence, depended much more on the escape of the king to some place out of the reach of the assembly than on any efforts within that body. He therefore proposed that means should be devised for the king and royal family to escape to the army under Bouillé, but that Louis should not place himself entirely in the power of Bouillé, but should take up his residence at Lyons, whilst Bouillé should encamp at Montmedly. From Lyons he proposed that the king should, by a proclamation, express to the nation his real views and feelings regarding the new constitution, which he never could



LOUIS XVI. FROM AN AUTHENTIC PORTRAIT.

almost to despair, Marie Antoinette, catching at the faintest hope of rescue, now resolved on what she had hitherto recoiled from, an interview with Mirabeau.

This extraordinary man had for the greater part of the year been receiving a prodigal pension from the court, for his services in maintaining the royal cause in the assembly, and in devising and assisting in a plan of escape for the king. It was not only as a lover of monarchy, but as a greater lover of the assembly and the people, that Mirabeau could, under the circumstances of the country, hope to effect anything. A little too much enthusiasm on behalf of the monarch, and he would have lost all his popularity, and

do but at the risk of his head, so long as he was in the power of the assembly and of the mob. Mirabeau had artfully drawn from most of the deputies their private views, in writing, of the constitution, and in comparing them, he found that each one condemned some particular article, and thus, taken altogether, the body of deputies in reality condemned every article in it. He proposed that these private confessions should be appended to the king's proclamation as the most telling reason why he did not approve more or less of the constitution, which was thus altogether condemned by the whole of the assembly which had passed it. This plan had been communicated to Bouillé by a foreign

prince on behalf of the court, and Bouillé had been so much struck with it, that he recommended that every means should be used to secure the zealous exertions of Mirabeau in carrying out the plan, and he engaged himself to support it by all his power with the army.

The great difficulty lay in the repugnance of the queen to

indulged in all the licentious pleasures possible; he lived on the freest terms with madame Jay, the wife of his publisher; and, besides, kept a number of opera-girls, with whom he passed all his leisure hours. All this time he knew that the royal coffers, from which his extravagance was supplied, were next to empty, and that the court itself was often at its wit's



PORTION OF THE FAÇADE OF THE LOUVRE, PARIS.

enter into personal communication with a man of Mirabeau's debauched character. Mirabeau, with all his ambition, was the veriest slave of his passions. No sooner did he obtain the ample allowance from the king, than he quitted his obscure lodgings for a magnificent house in the Chaussée d'Antin, which he fitted up most sumptuously. He had the most elegant servants; he gave the finest dinner parties; he

end for money. Though his father was dead, and the money that he received from the court was ostensibly to enable him to clear off the debts from the family estate, that was the very last thing Mirabeau thought of. He was aware that to assist the monarchy would require not only all his talent and sagacity, but all his most earnest thought, time, and watchfulness: he never stinted his debaucheries till nature

weak under them. He was, in fact, now fast exhausting his constitution by his excesses, and he knew it, and he knew too that he never could do anything for the court in return for the large sums that he received. At times, these reflections would burst in upon him, as they will on such passionate, ardent natures, without the power of warning them to reform. "He felt," says his friend Dumont, "so well that, if he had enjoyed personal consideration, all France would have been at his feet, that, in certain moments, he would have consented to pass through fire and flames to purify the name of Mirabeau. I have seen him weeping, and half suffocated with grief, as he said, with bitterness, 'I cruelly expiate the errors of my youth.' " But they were not the errors of his youth only, they were the vices of his whole life, that tyrannised over him.

Such was the man whom Marie Antoinette, notwithstanding her deep repugnance, consented to meet and to flatter, in the last vain hope of arousing him to do what he ought to do for the escape of the royal family. The revolt of the troops at Nancy had shown that no time was to be lost, for the contagion might spread to the whole army. Accordingly, Mirabeau was admitted to the park at St. Cloud with the utmost secrecy, and the queen met him in what is called *les Hauteurs*, or the Heights. She observed to him, "that, with an ordinary enemy, with a man who had sworn the ruin of the monarchy, without being capable of appreciating its usefulness for a great people, the step she was taking would be altogether improper and out of place; but with a *Mirabeau*," &c. Mirabeau was easily attacked on the side of his vanity, and the charm of a woman like Marie Antoinette made that flattery tenfold as impressive. He showed that she had saved the monarchy, as he took leave of her; and, whatever hopes he might have excited in the queen, he certainly entertained the idea that he had only to secure the escape of the royal family to become the prime minister and dictator of France. He was persuaded that the king once out of their hands, the assembly would go to pieces, and that Paris would be compelled, by famine, to submit to Bouillé. The nobles were all to be united by the restoration of their privileges; the clergy would exert their influence over the people by regaining theirs! Five of the southern provinces, he said, would be loyal to a man.

Dumont pointed out to him the folly of the whole scheme. The power of the clergy was gone, because the people were become atheistical, and had got the estates of the church; the nobles were, as they ever had been, imbecile and impracticable; and, worst of all, the king was destitute of the vigour of character to carry him through such a crisis. "But," interrupted Mirabeau, "you forget the queen! she has a force of mind that is prodigious; she is a man in courage." Dumont reminded him of La Fayette and the national guards; but Mirabeau replied, that if La Fayette thought, under such circumstances, to play Washington, he would be swept to destruction. Last of all, Dumont bade him reflect that the moment he had succeeded in liberating the court from danger, he himself would be the first object of its vengeance; that the aristocracy would immediately claim their old privilege of ruling everything, and that they would never forgive him either his genius or his past castigations. "But," said Mirabeau, "the court has promised me every-

thing." "And, if they should not keep their word?" "Then," retorted Mirabeau, indignantly, "I will soon turn them into a republic!"

This was wild talk, when we consider what was the state of France at this moment—the close of 1790. The national assembly was engaged in a fierce contest with the clergy, whom it proposed to make elective by the people, bishops and all, and to impose on them an oath binding them to approve of this institution, as well as of all other parts of the constitution. This was on a par with the government of king William in England, compelling the English clergy to swear to his supremacy in ecclesiastical matters, and his title to the throne, which produced the schism of the non-jurors. In this case the French clergy became to a great extent non-jurors. The dispute was not terminated till the spring of 1791, to which date we shall refer the account of it. But this dispute affrighted the timid conscience of the king, and from that moment he began to think in earnest of flying. Whilst the king and the clergy were thus both in renewed resistance to the constitution—the king secretly, the clergy openly—the emigrants were plotting with particular activity, but were divided into a number of parties amongst themselves. The emigrant court at Turin was a scene of perfect anarchy. The princes and higher nobility, incapable of change, at once haughty and imbecile, looked down on the gentry, who, in return, despised them. The princes and nobles were for employing only foreign forces, the gentry were for employing all the royalists of the south. The gentry who raised troops in the south would call them royal militia; the princes and bishops objected to that, and insisted on calling them bourgeois corps, or citizen militia. In this wrangling, an attempt was yet made to raise an insurrection at Lyons, which it was proposed to make the capital instead of Paris, which had become odious to the princes and nobles by its democracy. The insurrection failed at the end of 1790, and the princes then removed from Turin to Coblenz, on the Rhine, to be nearer the Austrians, whom they hoped to engage in their cause. They settled in the territory of the elector of Treves, whose authority they almost wholly usurped. Some few subordinate agents were left at Turin; but even these were at variance. On the Rhine, too, the prince of Condé separated from the princes at large, and formed a military camp and corps, preferring the idea of fighting rather than of intriguing with foreign courts. The indignation at the insult put upon the clergy at this period augmented the tide of emigration. Numbers flocked to take up arms under Condé; women, as indignant as the men, deemed it their duty to quit the soil of France. It became a fashion to emigrate; and Chateaubriand, in his *Memoirs of the Duke of Berri*, draws a curious picture of these emigrants on the Rhine:—"Many of the emigrants had joined the army in a state of complete destitution; others were spending imprudently the last relics of their fortunes. Several corps, composed wholly of officers, served as private soldiers. The naval officers were mounted; country gentlemen formed themselves into companies, distinguished by the names of their native provinces. All were in good spirits for the camp life was free and joyous. Some became drawers of water, some hewers of wood; others provided

and dressed the provisions; and everywhere the inspiring note of the trumpet sounded; the camp, in fact, was a perfect kingdom. There were princes dwelling in wagons, magistrates on horseback, missionaries preaching the Bible and administering justice. The poor nobles conformed with careless philosophy to this state of things, cheerfully enduring present privations in the sanguine expectation of speedily regaining all they had lost. They confidently believed that the end of autumn would find them restored to their splendid houses, to their groves, their forests, and to their old drowses!

But, all this time, the aspect of things in Paris was growing more formidable to such dreamers. The mob, under the inspirations of the fierce democrat journalists, Marat, Freron, Prudhomme, and others, was every day becoming more ripe for the execution of the most terrible deeds, and for overriding all forms of order—even king, ministers, assembly, and magistracy. The clubs and the democratic journals overawed the assembly and the magistracy, and the mob were, through them, the masters of the country. In eighteen months the revolution had risen to the very point of making all France one great blood-bath. The court of justice at the Chatelet was denounced by the clubs and the journalists as sold to the respectabilities, and as the sink of corruption; and the assembly, in the spirit of compliance, proposed to abolish it, and to erect a new court, to be called The High National Court, to try all treasons against the nation, and five judges were to be taken from the Court of Cassation, that is, the court of appeal, having power to *casser*, or break, the decision of all inferior courts. These five judges were to preside in the new court, and to decide by a jury. Thus the assembly was actually playing into the hands of the democrats—of such men as Marat and Robespierre, and sharpening the axe with which they were to take off the heads of all that they chose to proscribe. Barnave was made president of the assembly in October; but even Barnave did not escape the suspicions and denunciations of Marat. Mirabeau was also denounced by Marat and his confrères, who, by their mouchards, or spies, whom they had everywhere, had detected his interview with the queen; and the fury of this blear-eyed monster was doubly whetted against the orator through his own foolish ostentation. He had been made one of the administrators of the department of the capital, and also head of the battalion of the national guard to which he belonged; and he gave a grand dinner to the officers of the battalion, followed by a ball and a fête, with illuminations and fireworks, said altogether to cost ten thousand livres. Marat asked the people, in his journal, where all this money came from with a man who, till lately, only existed by writing for the booksellers? Whether they did not know that it all came from the court, and from the Austrian woman, by whom he was seduced to betray them? Mirabeau ascended the tribunal, and made a fiery protest against these attacks. He demanded whether such infamous accusations were to be tolerated by the assembly against its most patriotic members? He enumerated his sufferings in the cause of the people, recalling the fact of the numerous dungeons of France he had been in under arrest by *lettres-de-cachet*, declaring that he had seen fifty-four *lettres-de-cachet* in his

family, and that seventeen of them had been served on himself. This brought down the applauses of the assembly; but it did not at all awe the journalists, or deceive the people, as to what was the real fact, that the court was retained by the court.

La Fayette, Bailly, and all the chief municipal authorities, were denounced as traitors. "Those who are your enemies," said Marat, in his *Ami du Peuple*, "are not the nobles and the clergy so much as those who make the laws. Those who head the band are the king's atrocious ministers: are the deputies of the people, seduced by promises, or corrupted by presents. They are the Mirabeaus, the Montmorencys, the Clermont-Tonnerres, the Lanjuinais, the Chopeliers, the Siéyes, the Thourists, the Torgata, the Liancourts, the Desmouliniers, the Duponts, those vile and cowardly deserters of their country: it is they who have rallied, with the courtiers, the municipal administrators, and the staff of the Paris national guard, round the king, to make the executive power triumph, and to sacrifice the nation to one who is only its servant."

Thus was this sanguinary wretch already pointing out to the mob its victims. La Fayette was obliged, by his office of commandant of the national guard, to take care that the court did not escape. He was responsible, and he was also obliged to see the king and queen frequently; and the queen, though she put little confidence in La Fayette, as too much himself in the power of the people, and bound by his principles to a thorough reform, yet sometimes conversed with him on the state of affairs, and on the measures necessary for the safety of the royal family. This was enough, in the eyes of the blood-hounds of the republican press, to stamp him as a traitor. The revolution, on the crest of which he and Bailly first rode, had now assumed that furious current which would soon carry them on to the rocks of perdition, if they were not fortunate enough to escape from the hands of the once-applauded mob. To conciliate the all-powerful faction, La Fayette and the Feuillans returned to the jacobin club: but it was too late. Marat howled in malignant triumph over this humiliation, for it was nothing less. "Now they have ruined the country," he wrote, "these vile deserters have returned to the jacobin club; and some imprudent journalists have celebrated their return as a reinforcement brought to the patriotic party. But will not these rogues, without virtue, without honour, without shame, continue to sell the interests of the country, as they have always done? They want now to take refuge in public opinion. Having passed their lives in shame, they would fain die on the field of honour."

The duke of Orleans also appeared at the jacobin club, and introduced his son, the duke of Chartres (afterwards Louis Philippe, king of the French), who made a patriotic speech, which was received with rapturous applause, and printed. This caused the furious journalists to flame with indignation. They thought the jacobins themselves had learned little of the real principle of *equality*, to make this adulatory reception of a *ci-devant* prince, instead of giving him some proper lessons on the occasion. Yet, so much equality existed at the jacobin's, that the duke of Chartres immediately after took his turn, like any other member, as one of the door-keepers of the club. About this time

Dobespierre was elected president of the tribunal of the district of Versailles; Petion, another ultra jacobin, was elected president of the tribunal of Chartres; and Buzot, a third, was made a judge. The jacobins were every way rapidly rising into power. At the same time, there were rumours of royalist plots at Rouen and in the south, which kept up the alarm of the people.

The journalists made a fierce war on the mouchards, or spies, of La Fayette and Bailly. Spy was at war with spy, such was now become the condition of things betwixt the municipal body and the chiefs of the national guards, and the sequel to the revolution, as Marat called it—that is, the second stage of it—fast hurrying into the reign of terror. Kabers, a man declared to be a mouchard of La Fayette and Bailly, was seized by the mob, and hanged at a *lanterne* in the Faubourg St. Antoine. La Fayette himself was insulted there. Marat and the journalists denounced as mouchards Halin, one of the heroes of the Bastille; Maillard, the messenger, who had led the women to Versailles on the 5th of November; Geoffroy and Maason, officers of La Fayette; Bouillard, an artilleryman; Millet, a sculptor; Ride, a turner; Leblanc, a farrier; Dubois, a locksmith; Gosset, an advocate; Reole, a linendraper; Etienne, a *ci-devant* abbé, and others. They printed their exact addresses, that the mob might know where to find them, and did all but plainly say—murder them. At the same time, Marat addressed a most insolent letter to the king, declaring that his ministers were the greatest rogues, perfidious scoundrels, and traitors; that he himself was like all other kings, full of cunning, lying, imposture, perfidy, treachery, assassination, poison, and parricide; that Heaven had thought it worth while to work a miracle, and destroy the king-nature in him,—and that he was constantly stimulated by his wife to bring the Austrians in on them, and plotting with the refugee princes to deluge the country in blood; in short, that he was, if not a perfidious deceiver, a stupid automaton. His paper continually presented such topics as the following:—“Necessity of a general insurrection like that of the 14th of July last;” “Necessity of a general rising;” “Revolt of the king against the constitution;” “Civil war inevitable.”

Prudhomme, in his *Journal des Révolutions de Paris*, went even further, and recommended the murder of the king and all other tyrants. He recommended the formation of a battalion of a hundred young men, sworn to the destruction of tyrants, in emulation of the deeds of Harmodius and Aristogiton, of Scævola, and the two Brutuses. All this was suffered to circulate unchecked by the assembly; but at length these rabid writers turned on the assembly itself; an order was issued to seize the papers of Marat, Freron, and some others of the frantic journalists, but it failed from want of courage to brave the wrath of the multitude, and the journalists became more daring and menacing than ever.

Amid all this *furor* of the clubs and the journalists, who really domineered over France, there were not wanting specimens of that extraordinary display of melodramatic sentiment which is so essentially French. The abbé Fauchet established what was called the Social Circle, in which there was a strange medley of christianity, free-

masonry, and republicanism. The object was to found a confederation of mankind for the establishment of truth, liberty, and universal happiness. The abbé was elected as the attorney-general of truth; Paris, as the centre of civilisation, was to be the capital of humanity. Invitations were to be issued to the good and wise of every country, and as the principle was so evidently for the progress and felicity of the world, there was no doubt but that the invitation would be at once accepted. The leading members of the Social Circle were Fauchet, Condorcet, Bonville, a bookseller, the count Goupil de Prefeln, Mailly de Châteaurenaud, Prudhomme. These were all freemasons, and they proposed to correspond with all the masonic lodges in the world, in order to obtain the best rules for their constitution and for society in general. The members met in the circus in the Palais Royal, and there Fauchet delivered the inaugural address, on the 13th of October, to four or five thousand persons, many of them leading deputies of the assembly. On the 22nd of October a second meeting was held, at which eight thousand persons are said to have attended. Prefeln was elected president, and secretaries and other officers were appointed. At this meeting Fauchet spoke slightly of Voltaire, but applauded the Social Contract of Rousseau, and thought it would furnish most valuable matter for the laws and constitution of the proposed improved state of society. The abbé praised christianity, as the religion made for all mankind, the basis of which was love to one another; that it was the only religion on earth which had that solid foundation; and this, as it may be supposed, greatly scandalised the majority of the spectators, who had been indoctrinated with the new philosophy, which renounced religion altogether as an old and edifying superstition.

Amongst other beautiful theories which the French occasionally promulgate, but always spoil in the carrying out, was that of the rights of women, which caught the imagination and deep womanly sympathies of Mary Wollstencroft so vividly. A madame Palen D'Aelders, a Dutch lady, wrote an eloquent paper on the subject, which was read at one of the weekly meetings of the society, in which she referred to most of the celebrated women of antiquity to prove that women, under fair and equal principles of society, were capable of emulating men in the noblest actions, and in works of literature and legislation. The Society of the Social Circle, before long, gave way to that of the Theo-philanthropists, and the French enthusiasts in morals and social improvement continued to believe in the dawn of a happier era amid the rush of a moral chaos of profligacy and selfishness which was fast heralding the most frightful scenes of blood and savagery, under the name of reform, which ever horrified the world.

The declaration of atheistic principles by the most prominent revolutionists of Paris, and the seizure and sale of the church property in France, had had a disastrous effect on the Belgian revolution. The people of the Netherlands were devoted to the catholic church, and more under the influence of their priests than any other people of Europe. These proceedings, therefore, soon alienated the clergy, including the country curés, and the cry of “Down with the aristocracy!” soon added that class to the opponents

of the revolution. Thus the very classes which had at first maintained the opposition to Austria, now separated from the democrats, who were corrupted by French propagandists, and declared that they preferred the offers of the emperor Leopold to the prospect of seeing themselves stripped of everything. Camille Desmoulins, in the jacobin club, had seriously proposed that a reward should be offered to every man who brought in the head of an Austrian, and that a tariff should be established of prices of Austrian heads, rising in value from the head of a simple lieutenant to that of a field-marshal, and from a minister to the emperor, the chief tyrant of all. When this French proposal was introduced into the Netherlands, the officers and aristocracy, who were averse to French principles, saw no security for a very long retention of their own heads. They, therefore, resigned the pleasing hope of rendering their country independent, and were ready to accept the liberal terms of the emperor, whose character rendered his promises thoroughly reliable. The democratic party maintained their patriotic assembly at Brussels, and in different towns they had similar ones. The army had also been partly jacobinised; but the bulk of it retained a firm attachment to their clergy, and to general Vandermersch, who expressed publicly his abhorrence of the new French principles of government and faith. The democratic congress of Brussels sent a body of so-called commissioners to seize him, and send him to Brussels; but Vandermersch, who had his army about him, seized them, and put them in prison. He then issued a proclamation, declaring that certain evil-disposed persons had arrived at Namur, with the intention of creating riots, and of promoting sedition in the army against the general officers; that he had arrested them, and was determined to support the catholic religion, and the civil and religious rights of the people. The united Belgian states and his own officers firmly supported him, and declared that any legislative or executive power claimed by the congress was usurped and void. The duke of Ursel was made head of the war department; Vandermersch, commander-in-chief, with prince D'Artemberg his second in command; and addresses were issued, inviting the provinces to co-operate with the army, for the maintenance of order.

The patriotic congress sent troops against Vandermersch, and there was the prospect of a civil war; but the jacobinised soldiers rose, seized their general, Vandermersch, and delivered him to the troops of the congress, who consigned him to the fortress at Antwerp. The prince D'Artemberg they could not reach, for he was in Paris, doing all in his power to promote the escape of Marie Antoinette; but they seized the duke of Ursel, who had fled to Flanders, denounced him as a traitor, though he had been one of the first to resist the usurpations of the emperor Joseph, and had spent a large fortune in the defence of the liberties of his country. He was pronounced innocent by the judges; nevertheless, the States of Flanders would not release him, but attempted to reverse the decision of the judges. They endeavoured forcibly to have him carried into Brabant, and delivered to his enemies, but a party of volunteers rescued him.

Thus the country was torn by contending factions, and

the army was divided; one part adhering to Vandermersch, and another to Vaneupen and Vandernoot, the democratic leaders. The emperor Leopold was not slack in availing himself of this internal distraction. He issued a fresh declaration, solemnly pledging himself to observe every article of the *joyeuse entree*; to restore to the states the constitution of which the emperor Joseph had deprived them, and to consign to oblivion all causes of offence which had taken place. At the same time, he marched a strong army, not less than thirty thousand men, to the Netherlands frontiers, under general Bender, who dispersed the emperor's proclamation through the country as he advanced. The patriots had applied to Holland, Prussia, England, and France for aid; but none of these countries, except France, could be expected to support a cause identified with the new levelling principles of the French revolution. The Dutch, indeed, were only too apprehensive that the French, once coalescing with the Belgians, would be only too ready to cross the frontiers into Holland. France, therefore, was the only country from which the patriots could expect assistance, and France gave them none. The French assembly was too completely overawed by the jacobins and the ultra-revolutionists, and too distrustful of the army, to venture on any such act. They were careful not even to mention the affairs of the Netherlands in their proceedings, though the jacobins clamorously reminded them of them. Night after night the subject was discussed in the club, and it was declared that if the Netherlanders and their patriot generals, Vaneupen and Vandernoot, were allowed to be trodden under the foot of Austria, the Netherlands would be converted into a bridge, over which the iron-shod hoofs of Austrian despotism would march into France. All was in vain; the assembly ignored the question, and only some of the rabble of the Paris democrats joined the army of Vaneupen and Vandernoot.

Meantime, Leopold had, in the month of October, entered into engagements with England, Holland, and Prussia, at the congress of Reichenbach, to observe all the conditions of his proclamations, and to govern the Netherlands according to the constitutions and charters in force in the time of his illustrious mother, Maria Theresa. Encouraged by these circumstances, all but the jacobinised troops fell away from Vaneupen and Vandernoot, and they continued to retreat as Bouillé advanced. Schönfeldt, a Prussian, who commanded Vandernoot's division, deserted his post, and got away into Prussia, to the great discouragement of the democratic forces. On the 20th of November the congress of Brussels proposed to accept the emperor's third son, the archduke Charles, afterwards so distinguished for his military talents, as sovereign of the Netherlands, on condition that the country should remain independent of Austria. The proposal only received the answer from Bender, that, if the country did not submit by such a day, he would march to Brussels and drive the congress out of the Netherlands. He continued to advance, and the congress dispersed at his approach, some of the members flying into Germany, others to Holland, but the majority to France. Bender entered Brussels on the 2nd of December, and the other cities quickly sent in their submission. The emperor faithfully kept his word, in restoring the ancient constitution, charters,

and privileges of the country, and on the 10th of December confirmed the convention of Reichenbach at the Hague with the plenipotentiaries of the three allied powers—Great Britain, Holland, and Prussia. There were some new articles introduced into this convention, one of which was that no laws should be introduced, or taxes levied, without the consent of the States; and another, that the troops should not be employed against the people, except in clear and direct maintenance of the law, and at the requisition of the civil magistrates.

The patriots of Paris were furious at this defeat of their

They published a caricature of his flying in a carriage drawn by hares, but hedged in by a circle so complete that he would never be able to break through it; and Blanchard was represented as offering a conveyance in his balloon, as the only way that presented a possible escape out of France. Such was the state of France at the termination of 1790.

During this time, the French propagandists had contrived to create disturbances in Poland, and to engage the Poles in a hopeless struggle for their freedom, the results of which we shall have occasion hereafter to narrate. The czarina Catherine still continued her war on the Ottoman empire.



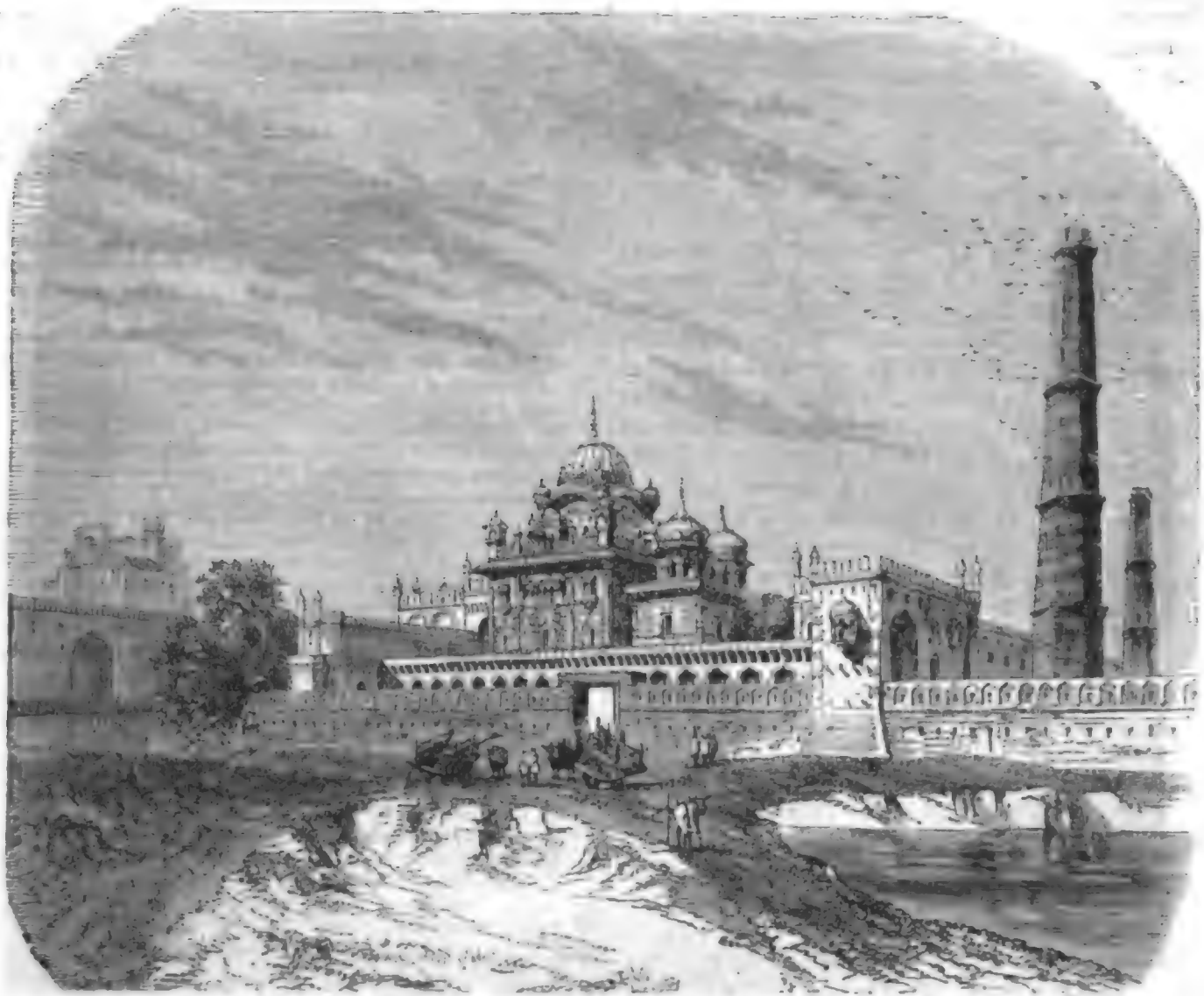
THE MENAGERIE, VERSAILLES, IN THE LAST CENTURY.

efforts to revolutionise the Netherlands. They asserted that there was no barrier to prevent the Austrians marching into France; and, on the 19th of December, it is said that Marie Antoinette found under her plate, on sitting down to dinner, a paper, on which was written—"At the very first cannon that your brother fires against the French patriots, your head shall be sent to him." That this paper really was thus placed is probable enough, from the fact that the statement was published in all the jacobin papers; and they even made merry with the certainty that Louis XVI. was so completely watched that he could never escape.

The Turks gained several advantages over the Russians on the shores of the Black Sea, and near the Danube; but they were severely repulsed in an attempt to drive the Russians from their conquests betwixt the Black and Caspian Seas, and suffered a terrible slaughter on the banks of the River Kuban. Then England, Prussia, Holland, and Austria, from the congress of Reichenbach, announced to Catherine that they were resolved not to permit further encroachments on Turkey; and the Russians themselves began to feel the necessity of a pause in these expensive expeditions, so that the war in this quarter evidently approached its temporary close.

But a fresh war had broken out with us in India. Tippoo Sahib had resumed hostilities. He conceived the idea of obtaining the aid of an army from France, and of thus driving us, according to his vow, entirely out of India. He opened communications with M. du Fresne, the governor of Pondicherry, which England had very imprudently restored to France at the peace after the American war. M. Leger, the civil administrator in England, brought Tippoo's proposals to Paris; but France was still less in a condition to send six thousand men to India than to aid the patriots of

amongst his sepoys. But general Medows advanced with an army from Trichinopoly of fifteen thousand, and following nearly the route so splendidly opened up by colonel Fullarton, took several fortresses. Tippoo retreated to his capital, Seringapatam; but there he again threatened Madras; and general Medows was compelled to make a hasty countermarch, to prevent that catastrophe. In the meantime, general Abercrombie landed at Telicherry with seven thousand five hundred men from the presidency of Bombay; took from the Mysoreans all the places which



THE TOMB OF RUNJEET SINGH, AT LAHORE.

the Netherlands. As for Louis, he replied to the proposal, that the matter too keenly reminded him of the endeavour to destroy the power of England in America, in which advantage had been taken of his youth, and which he should never cease to regret. He had learned too deeply the severe retribution which the propagation of republicanism had brought upon him.

But, without waiting for the arrival of the hoped-for French troops, Tippoo had broken into the territories of the British ally, the rajah of Travancore, and, by the end of 1789, had nearly overrun them. Lieutenant-colonel Floyd, suddenly attacked by Tippoo by an overwhelming force, had been compelled to retire before him, with severe losses

they had gained on the Malabar coast; restored the nairs and other petty Hindoo rajahs, who, in turn, helped him to expel the forces of Tippoo from the territories of the rajah of Travancore, who was completely re-established. This was the result of the war up to the end of the year 1790; but Tippoo still menaced fresh aggressions.

The new British parliament met on the 26th of November, and ministers were seen to have a powerful majority. The king announced, in his speech from the throne, that hostilities had broken out in India with Tippoo; that a peace had been effected betwixt Austria and Turkey, and another betwixt Russia and Sweden, and he mentioned the endeavours then progressing for restoring amity betwixt the emperor of Austria

and his subjects in the Netherlands. In the debate on the address in the commons, Fox appeared inclined still to laud France, and to condemn our interference in the Netherlands. His eyes were not yet opened to the real danger from France, which, whilst professing a sublime philosophy of love to mankind, was already exciting those popular disturbances in the Netherlands and in Poland, which were but the prelude to that crusade of pretended philanthropy amongst nations, which was to dethrone all tyrants, and which ended in establishing for a time the almost universal tyranny of France, under a race of parvenu monarchs. Already the doctrines of liberty and equality had reached the ears of the negroes in St. Domingo, who had risen to claim the rights of man so amiably proclaimed by France, and the troops of France were on their way thither to endeavour to put them down, in direct contradiction to their own boasted political philosophy. In the lords, earl Grey, on the 13th of December, called for the production of papers relating to Nootka Sound. The motion was negatived by two hundred and fifty-eight against one hundred and thirty-four votes. But the marquis of Lansdowne contended that Spain had an unquestionable right to the whole of the North American coast on which Nootka Sound is situated, and had had since the reign of our queen Elizabeth. He asserted that we had insulted the weakness of Spain; and that Mr. Mears, and the other projectors of the trading settlement of Nootka Sound, were a set of young men of letters, desirous of seeking novelties. So little can statesmen, especially in opposition, foresee the real importance of certain movements; and, in so doing, he completely overlooked the provocations which Spain had lately given us, and her endeavours to enter into a conjunction with France against us. He condemned ministers for having alienated France, Spain, Russia, Denmark, and Sweden, overlooking the fact that they had made alliances with Prussia, Austria, Holland, and the Netherlands. Pitt's cousin, baron Grenville, replied to this one-sided view of things, and proudly contrasted the position of England at this moment to what it was at the conclusion of the American war, when lord Lansdowne himself, as lord Shelburne, had been in the ministry. Pitt, on the 15th of December, stated that the expenses of the late armament, and the sums necessary to keep up the increased number of soldiers and sailors for another year, before which they could not be well disbanded, owing to certain aspects of things abroad, would amount to something more than three millions, which he proposed to raise by increasing the taxes on sugar, on British and foreign spirits, malt, and game licences, as well as raising the assessed taxes, except the commutation and land taxes. He stated that there was a standing balance of six hundred thousand pounds to the credit of the government in the Bank of England, which he proposed to appropriate to the discharge of part of the amount. He, moreover, introduced a variety of regulations to check the frauds practised in the taxes upon receipts and bills of exchange, which he calculated at three hundred thousand pounds per annum. With this, parliament adjourned for the Christmas recess, and thus closed the eventful year of 1790.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE REIGN OF GEORGE III.—(Continued.)

Parliamentary Debates on the British Policy in India, and towards Russia and France—Great Schism betwixt Burke and Fox on the French Revolution—Burke's Detestation and Fox's Admiration of it—Question of a new Constitution for Canada—Proposal by Pitt to divide that Colony into two Provinces, the Upper and Lower—To allot an amount of Land for the Clergy of each, &c.—Passes unopposed the first and second Reading—Violent Contentions introduced into the Debates on this Bill by Fox and Burke on the French Revolution—Break-up of the Whig Party through—Further violent Debates on the re-commitment of the Bill—Lord Sheffield moves that Discussions on French Affairs are irrelevant in a Canada Bill—Fox supports the Motion—Fresh Debates on France—Burke declares the Friendship of Fox—Lord Sheffield's Motion withdrawn—Fox proposes an Aristocracy for Canada—Fresh Contest betwixt Burke and Fox on the French Question—The Canada Bill passes both Houses—Wilberforce introduces a Bill to prevent further importation of Slaves into the West Indies, which is defeated—Bill for founding the Settlement of Sierra Leone passed—Bills introduced for Relief of Catholics and Members of the Church of Scotland—Fox's Bill on the Law of Libel defeated—Trial of Warren Hastings resumed and continued till 1796, when he is acquitted—Effects of the French Revolution in England—Thomas Paine—Priestley—Dr. Price—Riots at Birmingham—Tory Instigations—Barracks of Meeting-houses in Birmingham, and of Dr. Priestley's House a Library, with the Houses of other Dissenters—Destruction of the House and Property of William Hutton—Trials of the Rioters—Progress of the French Revolution—Resistance of the Clergy to the *Sacramental Oath*—The new Bishops—Flight of the King's two Aunts—Debate on the Emigration Law—Marat denounces the Gambling-houses—The Assassins on Vincennes—Supposed Royalist Plot at the Tulleries—Death of Marat—Charge against the King of harbouring non-juring Priests—The King refuses to allow him to go to St. Cloud—The Assembly afraid to support him against the Mob—La Fayette resigns his Command of the National Guard, but resumes it again—The Workmen of Paris form Trade-unions on levelling principles—Fauchet made Bishop of Calvados—The Pope excommunicates the elected Bishops, and is burnt in effigy—Robespierre votes the dissolution of the Assembly—Flight of the King and his Family—They are arrested at Varennes, and brought back to Paris—Bouillé resigns the Command of the Army—Thomas Paine and the Jacobins recommend a Republic, and that the King be deposed—La Fayette fires on the Populace in the Champ de Mars, who demand the Abolition of Royalty—The *Boues of Voltaire* deposited in the Pantheon—A Host of Tutors appointed for the Dauphin—The Constituent Assembly and the Assembly dissolves itself—The National Legislative Assembly—Deputies sent against the Royalists in La Vendée—The Party of the Gironde—Measures against the refractory Priests—Decrees against the Emigrants—Attacks on the King's Ministers—La Fayette and his Family resign—Petion elected Mayor of Paris—The King is compelled by the Assembly to menace the Elector of Treves with War if he does not expel the Emigrants from his State—The Elector throws himself under the Protection of the Emperor Leopold, who dispatches an Army to the Territory of Treves—Change of Ministry—Desseart succeeds Dumourin, and Narbonne as Minister of War—Three Generals are appointed—Lackner, Rochambeau, and La Fayette—The Kingdom is put into a State of Defence at the Close of 1791.

THE parliamentary session of 1791 was opened, after a Christmas recess, by Sir Philip Francis denouncing the war against Tippoo Sahib, in India, and eulogising great that prince. He moved thirteen resolutions condemning the war; but they were all rejected, and Dundas, as head of the board of control, moved three counter-resolutions declaring that Tippoo had voluntarily broken the treaty made with him in 1784, and that faith must be kept with the rajah of Travancore, whom he had attacked, as well with the Nizam and the Marhattas, and these resolutions were carried without a division.

The English ministry was at length becoming aware of the mischief of allowing the empress of Russia to make continual inroads on the Turkish empire. The British ambassador, Mr. Pawtner, had been instructed to inform Catherine that England could not quietly acquiesce in these usurpations, which were seriously disturbing the balance of



COSTUME OF RUSSIAN SLEDGE DRIVER.

power in Europe. Catherine replied, haughtily, that she did not recognise the right of England to interfere, and that she should keep possession of Oczakoff, and all her conquests betwixt the Bog and the Dniester. On the 28th of March Pitt communicated this answer to the house, in a message from his majesty, and that he had deemed it necessary to come to an understanding with his allies, Prussia and Austria, on the subject, and to maintain the fleet in its augmented condition. He moved, the next day, an address to his majesty, thanking him for his care in these respects. The whigs, almost to a man, condemned this policy. Coke of Norfolk, afterwards earl of Leicester, lord Wycombe, Mr. Lambton, afterwards earl of Durham, and others, stoutly opposed it. Fox treated the idea of Russia having become a power formidable to the peace of Europe, as ludicrous. Both he and Burke either entertained ideas on this subject which did no credit to their political sagacity, or they professed such out of mere party opposition. They contended that there was nothing in the aggressions of Russia to occasion any alarm; that Turkey was a decaying nation, which it was useless to attempt to support; and that to bolster it up, was only to maintain a barbarous people in domination over Christian populations. These latter statements had much truth in them, but they did not remove the formidable fact, that, if Russia was allowed to drive out the Turks and take their place at Constantinople, we should have a semi-barbarous power stretching from north to east of Europe, capable, ere long, of giving laws to it. It would have been much more statesmanlike for these distinguished men to have recommended the colonisation of Turkey with Christian emigrants from all parts of

Europe, and that Turkey, thus Christianised, should be raised to an independent power, under the united guardianship of the great powers of Europe; an ultimate scheme to which Europe will yet, probably, have to come. Fox, however, upbraided the government with their folly and inconsistency, if such were their fears of Russia, in having, till recently, encouraged her in her plan of aggressions in that direction. He reminded them that, twenty years ago, this country, on war breaking out betwixt Russia and the Porte, had aided Catherine in sending a fleet to the Mediterranean, and in thus enabling her to acquire a maritime force in the Black Sea. The truth, however, was, that it was not the present ministry who had committed this folly, but a whig ministry, of whom Fox was one. He confessed to this, and also to the fact that in 1782, when Catherine seized more completely on the Crimea and Kuban Tartary, France and Spain had urged us to unite with them in preventing this, but that we had declined, and those countries had become permanently united to Russia.

Now all this was, in truth, a simple confession of the incapacity of the whigs, and of Fox himself included, for, seeing the dangerous tendency of the Russian policy, and the only circumstances on which he could justly condemn the ministry of Pitt, was, for not strenuously supporting Turkey and Sweden, the ally of Turkey against Russia, when they did see this tendency. By a mean and parsimonious conduct, they had allowed Sweden to be driven out of her territories on the eastern shore of the Baltic by Russia, when, had they given her but moderate support, that power would have become a permanent check on the aggressive spirit of Russia. The motion of Pitt was carried by a large majority.

A few days after, Mr. Grey—afterwards lord Howick—



COSTUME OF RUSSIAN PEASANTS.

renewed the subject by a series of eight resolutions, condemning all interference on behalf of Turkey, and contending that Russia was only weakening instead of strengthening herself by extending her dominions. But Pitt, in reply, showed the very obvious facts that the retention of Oczakoff opened the way to Constantinople, and that the possession of Constantinople prepared the way for the seizure of Egypt, and the supremacy of the Mediterranean, with the most formidable consequences to our commerce. The resolutions of Grey were negatived: but twice again during the session the whigs returned to the charge—on the 15th of April and on the 25th of May—but with no better success. The armament was maintained, and Catherine was compelled to surrender Oczakoff, which it had cost her so much money and so many thousand men to obtain.

On the opening of the session, the king called the attention of parliament to the state of Canada. That colony had flourished greatly since it had come into the possession of England, and especially since the passing of the bill of 1774, which had given freedom to the catholic church there, the church of the French inhabitants. But one part of the colony was still inhabited by the descendants of the French, and another by those of the English and Americans. It was, therefore, found desirable to put an end to the competition which still existed, from differences of faith and of national sentiments and customs, betwixt the two races, by dividing the colony into two provinces, the one inhabited by the French to be called Lower Canada, and the other, inhabited by the English, to be called Upper Canada. On the 25th of February the king sent a message to parliament, proposing to carry out this division; and, on the 4th of March, Pitt moved to bring in a bill for that purpose, and stated the intended plan of arrangement. Besides an elective assembly, each province was to have a council, the members of which were to be appointed for life, with hereditary succession to the descendants of such as should be honoured with hereditary titles, which titles were to confer on an inhabitant of either province the dignity of a member of the council. Landed property was to be held according to English law, in socage tenure; the habeas corpus to be established in both provinces. An allotment of lands was to be made for the protestant clergy; but, as the majority of the inhabitants in the lower provinces would be catholic, the council and assembly were empowered to allot lands also to their clergy, which allotment, on sanction of the crown, was to be valid without intervention of parliament. No taxes were to be imposed by the British government except such as were necessary for the regulation of commerce, and these were to be levied by the provincial legislature to prevent any heart-burnings like those which had occurred in the American states.

This bill made it obvious that a great light had broken on the English government from the American revolution; it was discovered that the best way to govern and retain our colonies, was to allow them to govern themselves. This knowledge was worth all the loss and annoyance of the American revolution. Fox expressed his approbation of the principle, and all appeared favourable to the passing of the measure. It was allowed to proceed, without opposition, through its first and second reading, and through the

committee; but when it was reported, then came a scene of violent contention, arising not so much from the bill itself, as from the state of parties, and the making a peg of the question on which to hang the conflicting opinions of different members on a very different question—that of the French revolution. Not only had Fox, and Burke, and Sheridan broken up their old friendship on this question, Sheridan being as enthusiastic about the revolution as Fox, but it had split up the whole whig party. Burke had published his able and eloquent "Reflections on the Revolution," and subsequently, in February of this year, a "Letter to a Member of the National Assembly," in which he had repeated and extended his decided opinions upon it. The duke of Portland and Mr. Wyndham took Burke's view of the pernicious nature of the French principles. But it was not merely in parliament; throughout the country opinions were divided on the subject. Societies were formed to recommend the introduction of French revolutionary principles into this country, and many eminent men, especially amongst the dissenters, took the lead in them, as we shall presently see. The tendency to despotic government in this country, and a spreading conviction that parliament was not truly elected by the people, rendered large numbers favourable to these views. In parliament, however, the great shock of battle took place betwixt the so-long united friends and fellow-labourers in reform, Fox and Burke, and because the Canada bill affected a French people, it was thought a proper occasion by these statesmen to indulge in a long and violent discussion of their clashing views, in which the proper question before parliament, the Quebec bill, was soon lost sight of.

On the motion for taking this bill into further consideration, on the 8th of April, Mr. Hussey presented various petitions from merchants regarding the measure, and moved that the bill required recommitment. He was seconded by Fox, who now, though approving of the main principles of the bill, took occasion to contend for the development of the advanced doctrines of political liberty inculcated by the French revolutionists, and to urge the insertion of clauses in the bill, in accordance with them. He complained that the number of members in the assemblies was too small; that from sixteen to thirty persons could not fully represent the amount of Canadian population. He called for annual instead of septennial elections, and for a franchise founded on a forty shillings freehold, and not on one of five pounds as proposed. He condemned the introduction of hereditary distinctions, which might be tolerated in England, where there were so many ancient associations with a noblesse; but that in a new state, it was much better to avoid such artificial and invidious ranks; that it was peculiarly absurd to introduce them amongst the French of Canada, when, in their mother country, they were abolishing them, and equally mischievous to introduce them in a country contiguous to the United States, where titles stunk in the nostrils of the inhabitants. He condemned the setting apart so large a portion of the public lands for the church, foreseeing great inconvenience from it; and, in this respect, time has proved the correctness of his fears. He argued that the constitution of the United States was better adapted to the benefit of the public than any other in the

ancient or the modern world, and that it was exceedingly unwise to leave the Canadas any cause to envy the advantages of their neighbours. Burke was not present, and Pitt replied, "that he was not called upon to discuss which might be the best constitution for France, America, or any other country; nor did he choose to comment on those superior advantages said to be introduced by France, in consequence of the alleged progress of learning and light: he believed the British constitution was much better for us than any founded on republican principles."

On the 15th of April, when the question of the Russian armament was before the house, Fox again introduced the topic of the French revolution, as arising out of the question of the balance of power. He declared that the balance of power had formerly been of great importance, for then France was an intriguing, restless nation; but that now France had promulgated different principles. It abjured all aggressions against its neighbours, and advocated that every people should enjoy the utmost freedom without molestation. Those who detested the principles of the French revolution had reason to rejoice in its effects. The new government aimed at making its subjects happy, and at seeing the same generous ideas diffused throughout the world. He knew that different opinions were entertained by different men on the changes introduced in France, but that, for his part, he looked upon the new French constitution as "the most stupendous and glorious edifice of liberty which had been erected on the foundation of human integrity in any time or country."

This was so decided a challenge to Burke, and so completely did Fox endeavour to confute Burke's avowed sentiments on the French revolution, that it was impossible for Burke to remain silent. The hour was late; Pitt, Wyndham, and others, had spoken on the Russian armament, and Burke had also discussed that question, without a single allusion to the French revolution, reserving the answer to Fox for the next debate on the Canada bill, but he felt now compelled to rise and reply to what appeared so unfair an introduction of the subject. But cries of "Question!" were raised, and the adherents of Fox prevented his being heard. No doubt could now be entertained that there must be a final breach betwixt these old political friends—a breach utter and irreconcilable. Burke published an appeal from the new whigs to the old, and he applied to some friends of the ministry, entreating their protection against any attempts to drown his voice by mere clamour.

When the day for the debate on the Quebec bill arrived, Fox called on Burke, though he had not done so for some time, and, in the presence of a mutual friend, entered into some explanations which appeared satisfactory. Fox then proposed that the answer of Burke should not take place on the discussion of the Quebec bill, though this was the bill on which this topic had been introduced. Burke refused to comply: but the two old friends walked to the house together, displaying the last show of friendship which was to take place between them. When they entered the house, they found that many members were absent, as it was the day preceding the Easter recess, and that Sheridan had proposed that the question should be postponed, on the plea that the papers were not printed. Mr. Michael Angelo

Taylor, moreover, complained of the irregular manner in which the constitutions of other countries had been introduced, and declared his intention of calling any one to order who thus transgressed again. Fox admitted that he had, in the course of the session, taken various opportunities of referring to the French revolution, and had expressed his admiration of it, perhaps, too often; that he had uttered one levity, perhaps silly enough, regarding the extinction of nobility in France, and its introduction into Canada; but that he had never uttered any republican opinions as it regarded this country; that, though he should deeply regret differing from friends whom he greatly respected, yet, when the question was next discussed, he should boldly maintain his opinions. Mr. Powys wished that Mr. Fox would imitate Mr. Burke, and publish his opinions on these subjects, instead of uttering them in parliament. Burke rose, and, with much emotion, declared how greatly it affected and depressed him to have to meet his friend as an adversary. He paid the highest compliments to Fox's eloquence and abilities; but said that, however dear was that gentleman's friendship, there was something yet dearer to him—the discharge of his duty, and the love of his country. He treated the menace of Michael Angelo Taylor with contempt, and declared that the irregularity complained of had not originated with him; that though, in the preceding session, he had been compelled to allude to the foreign subject, in this he had carefully, and under all provocation, abstained from it. But the time had come when he must, after what had taken place, speak out.

Accordingly, on the 6th of May, when the chairman of the committee put the question, that the Quebec Bill be read paragraph by paragraph, Burke rose, and determined to have a fair hearing on the question of the French revolution. He introduced the subject very adroitly by remarking that they were about to appoint a legislature for a distant people, and thus to affirm a legal authority for the exercise of this high power. The first question was, did they possess such power? A body of rights, called the Rights of Man, imported from a neighbouring country, had been maintained by some in this kingdom as paramount to all other rights. A principal article of this new code was, "That all men are by nature free, are equal in respect of all rights, and continue so in society." If that doctrine were admitted, then the house had nothing to do but to recommend to the Canadians to choose a constitution for themselves. But what constitution should they choose—the British, the American, or the French? A part of the Canadians were of French origin; should they, therefore, recommend the French constitution to them?—a constitution avowedly founded on the Rights of Man. They had better first examine what were the results of this constitution, as already introduced into the new world, into the West Indian colonies of France herself. These colonies, notwithstanding these disastrous wars, were most happy and flourishing, until they heard of the Rights of Man. This Pandora's box, replete with every mortal evil, seemed to fly open, hell itself to yawn, and every demon of mischief to overspread the face of the earth. Blacks ran against whites, and against each other, in murderous hostility; subordination was destroyed, the bonds of society were torn

asunder, and every man seemed to thirst for the blood of his neighbour :

"Black spirits and white,
Blue spirits and grey,
Mingle, mingle, mingle,
Mingle while they may."

All was toil and trouble, blood and discord, from the moment this doctrine was promulgated ; and he verily believed that, wherever the Rights of Man were preached, such ever had been, and ever would be, the consequence. Troops were sent out ; but, strongly imbued with the system of the Rights of Man, they had made themselves parties in the rebellion. Ought this example to induce us to send to our colonies, as had lately been recommended in that house, a cargo of the Rights of Man ? Much better had they send them a cargo of infected cotton from Marseilles.

commanded him to stop, while one of his grenadiers, belonging to his faithful and brave body-guard, presented a bayonet to the breast of the fore horse.

Then there were loud cries of "Order !" and "Question !" and Mr. Baker declared that the argument of Mr. Burke was calculated to involve the house in unnecessary altercation, and perhaps with the government of another nation. Fox said his right honourable friend could scarcely be said to be out of order, for it seemed to be a day of privilege, when any gentleman might stand up, and take any topic, and abuse any government, whether it had reference to the point in question or not ; that not a word had been said of the French revolution, yet he had risen and abused it. He might just as well have abused that of China or Hindustan.



MONTREAL, CANADA.

He then drew a frightful picture of the effects of the revolution in France itself as a scene to be contemplated, not with approbation, but with horror, as involving every principle to be detested, and pregnant with every consequence to be dreaded and abominated. Notwithstanding the boastful pretensions of the framers of the new constitution, after sitting nearly two years, he said, they had done nothing ; but had contented themselves with enjoying the democratic satisfaction of heaping every disgrace on fallen royalty. They had a king such as they wished—a king who was no king—over whom the marquis De la Fayette, chief gaoler of Paris, mounted guard. The royal prisoner, having wished to taste the freshness of the country air, had obtained a day's rule to take a journey about five miles from Paris. But scarcely had he left the city, before his suspicious governors, recollecting that a temporary release from confinement might afford him the means of escape, sent a tumultuous rabble after him, who, surrounding his carriage,

This taunt came with a very ill grace from Fox, who had himself introduced this extraneous topic into the debates on this very bill, and seized that very occasion to attack Burke's opinions in his absence. Burke replied with great indignation, and said that nothing could so much resemble the national assembly as that house ; for M. Cazales could never utter a single sentence without a roar. Here Michael Angelo Taylor again called Burke to order, declaring that this was a debate on the Quebec Bill, and not on the English or French constitution. Burke again attempted to speak, but was again called to order by Mr. St. John, amid wilder cries of "Question !" and "Chair !" Burke complained of the injustice of hearing arguments against him, and not allowing him a reply ; but Lord Sheffield moved that dissertations or transactions in France are not regular or orderly on the question before the house. Pitt observed that though he himself had abstained from all allusions to the constitution of France, he could not consider it out of

ST. JOHN'S, NEW BRUNSWICK, CANADA.



order, when a constitution for Canada was in discussion, to take into notice the constitution of France, America, or England; but Fox, in a long speech, supported the motion of Lord Sheffield. He said this was rendered necessary by the irregular conduct of his right honourable friend, who had insisted on bringing before the house matters in no way connected with the bill under discussion. But this was most unfair in Fox, who had committed the original offence in this way, and had provoked this answer. Fox added, that this course of argument seemed to confirm the insinuation urged in a former debate, that he himself maintained republican opinions as applicable to the British constitution. No such arguments had ever been employed by him, nor were fairly deducible from any speech of his. On the French revolution, indeed, the opinions of himself and Mr. Burke were as wide as the poles asunder. In his opinion, the French revolution was one of the most glorious events in the history of mankind; but he meant to praise the revolution only, and not the present French constitution, which he thought required to be improved by experience, and accommodated to circumstances. At all events, the arbitrary system was done away with, and the new system had the good of the people for its object.

But what, Fox asked, had all this to do with the question before them? Were he to differ from his right honourable friend on points of history, on the constitution of Athens or of Rome, was it necessary to discuss those things in that house? Were he to praise the conduct of the elder Brutus, or to say that the expulsion of the Tarquins was a noble act, would it be fair to argue that he wished to establish a consular government in this country? If he repeated the eulogium of Cicero on the killing of Cæsar, was it then to be inferred that he carried about with him a knife for the purpose of assassinating some great man or orator? He said that, when a proper time arrived for the discussion of French subjects, he should be ready to discuss the point; but that, if Mr. Burke were to make dissertations on the French revolution out of all order, he should quit the house. He then sneered at Burke's work on that subject: but afterwards, as if recollecting himself, he paid his old friend high compliments, calling him his master, who had taught him everything that he knew in politics. But he immediately after compared Burke's conduct on the American revolution with his conduct on the French. He said he and his right honourable friend had rejoiced together over the successes of Washington, and had sympathised, almost in tears, on the fall of Montgomery. At that time he had learned from his right honourable friend that the revolt of a whole nation must have a deep provocation; and, at that time, he had heard him say that we could not draw a bill of indictment against a whole people; but now he was sorry to find that he had drawn such a bill of indictment, and had crowded it with all the technical epithets which disgraced our statute-books, as false, malicious, wicked, by the instigation of the devil, &c. For himself, he continued to rejoice that France had founded her constitution on the very principles on which the British constitution was founded; and that no book which his right honourable friend could write, no word which he could utter, would ever induce him to abandon his opinion.

Burke, however much he might be agitated, rose, in a grave and outwardly calm manner, to reply. Though observed, he had been called so frequently to order, he had listened without interruption to, perhaps, the most orderly speech ever delivered in that house. His public conduct, words, and writings, had not only been misrepresented and arraigned in the severest terms, but confidential conversations had been unfairly brought forward for the purpose of proving his political inconsistency. Such was the kindness which he received from one whom he always considered as his warmest friend, but who, after more than two-and-twenty years' intimacy, had thus attacked him, and, whilst attacking him, had professed great tenderness towards him. He could not find much tenderness in the fact of being charged with having written and spoken without information, and without the support of evidence. On the subject of the French revolution, however, he was ready to meet that right honourable gentleman, however informed he might be supposed to be, hand to hand and foot to foot, in a temperate discussion, though he could not produce all his proofs; for, in the present boasted condition of happy France, he might expose the relations to the fashionable summary justice of the *lanterne*. But this, it seemed, was the whole ground of quarrel. He was accused of attempting to misrepresent what Mr. Fox had advanced on a former day, during his own absence. Now, the fact was that Mr. Fox had called on him, and he had stated to him fairly and fairly what he meant to say in that house, and this was previous to the last debate on the Quebec bill. The right honourable gentleman had at the time disagreed with him in opinion, but had entered into no quarrel with him. So far from this, they had walked down to the house together, and Mr. Fox had appeared more confidential than usual, mentioning private political circumstances, to which he should not then allude; but he had, after that conversation, felt it absolutely necessary to speak out on this subject. He felt this to be more imperative, because that right honourable gentleman was, on all occasions, extolling the French constitution as "the most glorious edifice of liberty which had ever yet been erected on the foundation of benevolence and integrity." He wished to warn the house and country of the danger to this kingdom from that quarter.

Were there not, he asked, political clubs in every quarter, meeting and voting resolutions of an alarming tendency? Did they not correspond with each other in every part of the kingdom, and also with foreign countries? Were they not unitarian, socinian, and other dissenting ministers preaching from their pulpits doctrines incompatible with the British constitution? Did they not celebrate the anniversary of the most outrageous French transactions?—Did they, that, so far from tending to liberty, tended inevitably to tyranny, oppression, injustice, and anarchy? Did they circulate, at the same time, everywhere the most insidious libels on our own constitution?

Whilst Burke was saying this, Fox rose and quitted the house. It was merely to get some refreshment; but he imagined that he was carrying out his threat of quitting the place whenever Burke spoke on this subject, and the rest of his party moved as if about to follow him. Burke then remarked that the right honourable gentleman had been

supported by a corps of well-disciplined troops, obedient to the word of command: and that he had, when he himself was fatigued with the skirmishes of order, brought down not only these light troops, but the heavy artillery of his own judgment, eloquence, and abilities, to crush him by a censure upon his whole life, conduct, and opinions. Mr. Grey called him to order, as such imputations were irregular; but Burke refused to apologise, and proceeded. He then reviewed the many scenes and debates in which Fox and himself had acted, as well as those on which they had differed, especially their difference of opinion on the Royal Marriage Act; but no difference of opinion had ever before affected their friendship. He alluded to his own long services and his grey hairs, and said that it was certainly an indiscretion, at his time of life, to provoke enemies, or induce his friends to desert him; but that, if his firm and steady adherence to the British constitution placed him in that dilemma, he would risk all, and, as public duty required, with his last breath exclaim, "Fly from the French constitution!"

Here Fox, who had returned from the coffee-room, whispered that there was no loss of friends; that there could be no loss of friendship between them; but Burke said—"Yes, there was a loss of friends: he knew the penalty of his conduct; he had done his duty at the price of his friends—there was an end of their friendship. He then addressed himself to the two great leaders of the house—Pitt and Fox—and entreated them that, however much they might differ on other subjects, to unite in defending the constitution, and guarding it against these new theories. He then, carried away by his enthusiasm, made a grand apostrophe to the Deity, declaring that to his infinite perfection alone must be left the full knowledge of new things; for us there could be no guide so safe as experience; and he moved an amendment, in conclusion, on lord Sheffield's motion.

It was some time before Fox could answer; he was completely overcome by his emotion; and it was only after a free flow of tears that he could proceed. He then said: Painful as it was to listen to such sentiments as those just delivered by one to whom he owed so many obligations, he could never forget that, when little more than a boy, he had been in the habit of receiving instructions and favours from his right honourable friend. Their friendship had grown with their life; it had continued for upwards of five-and-twenty years; and he hoped, notwithstanding what had happened that day, that his right honourable friend would think on past times, and would give him credit for not intending anything unkind. It was quite true that they had before now differed on many subjects, without lessening their friendship, and why should they not now differ on the French revolution without a severance of friendship? He could not help feeling that the conduct of his right honourable friend tended to fix upon him the charge of republican principles, whereas he was far from entertaining such principles. His friend had heaped very ignominious terms upon him that day. Here Burke said aloud, he did not recollect having used such terms; and Fox promptly observed, that if his friend did not recollect those epithets—if they are out of his mind, then they were for ever out of

his mind, too; they were obliterated and forgotten. He then denied that there was any marshalling of a party on this subject; that not one gentleman who had risen to call his right honourable friend to order had done it by his desire; on the contrary, he had entreated his friends not to interrupt him. After dwelling for some time again on the merits of the French revolution, he once more lamented the breach in their unanimity of his friend and himself, and said he would keep out of the way of his right honourable friend till he had time to reflect and think differently, and that their common friends might bring them together again; that he would endeavour to discuss the question on some future day, with all calmness, if his friend wished, but for the present he had said all that he desired to say.

Burke replied, observing that the tenderness of the opening and conclusion of Mr. Fox's speech was quite neutralised by the bitterness in the middle. He regretted deeply the events of that evening, which he feared would long be remembered by their enemies, to the prejudice of both; but he had been misrepresented, and not allowed to explain. He was charged with inconsistency because he had thought in 1780 the influence of the British crown should be limited, as if that was any reason that he should admire the French for reducing the influence of their crown to nothing at all. He had been desired to believe in the religious tolerance of the French at the moment that they had imposed the most intolerant tests on the clergy, and had literally deprived them of bread. Was it tolerance to drag sisters of charity, accustomed to discharge the highest offices of humanity in hospitals and by sick beds, into the streets and scourge them, because the priest from whom they received the sacrament had refused the test? The new constitution was not, as they would represent it, an experiment; it had been tried, and found productive only of evils. The French would go on from tyranny to tyranny, from oppression to oppression, until at last the whole system would terminate in the destruction of that miserable and deluded people.

Pitt concluded the debate by reminding the house of the extraordinary position in which it was placed. One right honourable gentleman, he said, had affirmed that it was irregular to treat of the affairs of France, and yet had gone at great length into discussion upon them; and two other speeches had followed on the same subject. He himself had all along been of opinion that Mr. Burke was quite in order, and that the country was highly indebted to him for having so ably and eloquently demonstrated the danger to be apprehended from French notions of government. He should be ready to support Mr. Burke on any occasion when this danger appeared operative in this country; and, for the present, he recommended that lord Sheffield's motion should be withdrawn, which was done.

On the 11th of May, when the house was again in committee on the Quebec bill, Fox took the opportunity, on the consideration of the clause relating to a council, to explain that his remarks on an aristocracy in a former debate had been misunderstood; that he considered it a principle never to be departed from in all our dominions; that it was necessary that the government should have a proper infusion of aristocracy to give it energy, spirit, and

enterprise. He said much in praise of titles; and, in fact, it would appear that he had incurred such resentment from the aristocratic class, that he now went as far in that way as he had before in laudation of republicanism. He endeavoured to keep up a show of consistency by saying that he was so far a republican as to approve of governments where the *respublica* was the universal principle, and the people, as in our constitution, had considerable weight; but he advocated in Canada that the council should be all nominated by the king, or all hereditary. Surely a more unstatesmanlike proposition was never made. To give the king the nomination of the council, which was to be superior to the assembly, was to put all real power virtually in the crown; to make the members hereditary was to insure the worst abuses to which any government can be exposed. In no case did Fox ever appear to greater disadvantage, and Pitt sarcastically remarked that he was glad to hear this explanation, for certainly neither he nor any one had understood him in that sense on the evening of the 6th.

Burke rose to defend the clause, but quickly, like Fox, lid into the old topic of the French revolution. He said his opinions on this question had left him standing alone. He was banished from his old party, and too aged to seek another. He said that he felt deeply his situation; but he trusted the house would not consider him a bad man, and then, what he felt as a man, he would bear as a man. He trusted that what opposition he should meet with during the very short time he should continue a member of that house would be fair and open. His right honourable friend had abused his book, and charged him with abusing republics; but he had never abused republics as such, either ancient or modern. As to the government of France, it was no republic—it was an anomaly; he knew not by what name to call it, or by what words to describe it:—

“A shape.

If shape it might be called, that shape had none
Distinguishable in member, joint, or limb;
Or substance might be called, that shadow seemed,
For each seemed either; black it stood as night,
Fierce as ten furies, terrible as hell,
And shaken dreadful dart: what seemed its head
The likeness of a kingly crown had on.”

It was, he added, “a shapeless monster, born of heaven and chaos.” He expressed deep feeling at the application to him of the phrase, that “he knew not how to draw a bill of indictment against a whole people;” he knew not, indeed, how to draw any such bill; but he knew how to draw one against oppression, tyranny, and corruption. Having done his duty, he was not without consolation, though banished from his party. Though a gloomy solitude might reign around him, all was unclouded sunshine within.

Fox replied, that if Mr. Burke was separated from his party, it was his own act; and that the party would always be glad to receive him again. As to the democratic sentiments which Mr. Burke attributed to him, that did not belong to him, but that he regarded continual and extravagant praises of the British constitution as the fulsome panegyrics of General and Regan, and preferred to answer simply when questioned regarding the constitution with the younger daughter of Lear, that he loved it as he ought. After a few more observations from Mr. Burke and others, the subject dropped; and at the next meeting, the following

day, the bill passed the committee. In the house of commons the bill also passed on the 30th, with some alterations. Still these alterations did not destroy the chief principles of the bill. Canada was divided into two provinces, the executive power remaining in the governor of both, appointed by the crown. There were two chambers of legislature—the upper called the council, to consist of not fewer than seven members in Upper Canada, and not fewer than fifteen in Lower Canada. These members were to be men of distinction or rank, and appointed for life. His majesty was empowered to give a right to a seat in the councils to persons of hereditary title. Thus these councils were made as much like the house of lords in England as the nature of the colony would admit. The lower assembly was to consist in the upper province of not fewer than sixteen members, and in the lower province of twice that number. They were all elective, and the qualification of voters was low. As population increased, the number of members in both provinces were to be increased. The council and assembly were to be called together at least once a-year. The most objectionable provision was, that in all future grants of land one-seventh should be set apart for the protestant clergy. As a great majority of the population were catholic, this was certain to produce discontent; and both this and other parts of this act, in our time, have required extensive modifications.

With this debate terminated the friendship of Fox and Burke. Fox disclaimed any premeditated attack on Burke, but the severe things which he himself had said of his old friend, the contempt which he expressed for Burke’s “Reflections on the French Revolution,” and the private conversations which he invariably dragged into these public debates, lost us less confidence in this assertion; whilst the co-operation of his party with him bore all the marks of a systematic assault. On the one side stood Fox, expressing much regret, but uttering the most cutting things, backed by a most violent and insulting crew; on the other side stood Burke, deserted by those, and they were many, who thought entirely with him. The whole force of sympathy must, therefore, attach to the aged and feeble orator, and it is impossible not to stamp the proceedings of Fox as anything but generous. We are told that some expressed to Burke, in private, their agreement of opinion and admiration of his conduct; but to make this expression of any value, it should have been open and bold. As it was, the great master who had taught the whole generation of politicians their principles, was left to stand alone in the council. He sustained his part nobly, and time was not long in justifying his accuracy of calculation, and his perfect foresight. All the results, however, which he declared inevitable, were already rushing into open day, and the enemies of the French revolution were forced to hang their heads. In the meantime, the newspapers had poured a head of Burke all their vials of abuse. On the very day which the Quebec debates terminated, the *Morning Chronicle*, the great organ of the whigs, issued this paragraph:—“The great and firm body of the whigs of England, true to their principles, have decided on the dispute between Mr. Fox and Mr. Burke; and the former is declared to have been

tained the pure doctrines by which they are bound together, and upon which they have invariably acted. The consequence is that Mr. Burke retires from parliament." They were not contented with this premature announcement; they charged him with pecuniary corruption and political apostasy, and described his life, one of honour and generosity, as a long series of basenesses. Nothing could be more unmanly and disgraceful than the behaviour of the majority of the whigs in this affair.

Whilst these violent dimensions had sprung up from the French revolution, Wilberforce and his coadjutors had been active in their exertions to abolish the slave trade. Thomas Clarkson, now devoted heart and soul to this object, was, with Dr. Dickson, sent out by the parent anti-slavery society through the country, to call into life provincial societies and committees, and found themselves zealously supported and warmly welcomed by philanthropists, and especially by the Society of Friends. They circulated the evidence taken before the house of commons' committee, and made a great impression. On the other hand, the French revolution proved as antagonistic to the cause of the abolitionists as it had to the friendship of Burke and Fox. The dreadful insurrection in St. Domingo was attributed to the formation of the society in Paris of *Les Amis des Noirs*, and many otherwise enlightened men took the alarm, lest similar scenes should be the result of the doctrines of the abolitionists in our West Indian colonies. Few persons could be found willing to entertain the idea of immediate abolition of the trade in slaves: and even Dr. Parr, though a great whig and adherent of Fox, declared that these Utopian schemes of liberty to blacks were alarming to serious men.

Wilberforce was earnestly entreated to reconsider his plan; he was assured that immediate abolition would not pass the commons, nor even gradual abolition the lords. Wilberforce, however, could not be deterred from bringing on the question. On the 18th of April, he moved for leave to bring in a bill to prevent the introduction of any more slaves into our colonies. Besides showing the cruelties practised in the collection and transmission of negroes, he brought forward evidence to prove that, so far from this trade being, as had been represented before the committee of the commons, the nursery of British seamen, it was their grave. He showed that of twelve thousand two hundred and sixty-three men employed in it, two thousand six hundred and forty-five had been lost in twelve months. This was calculated to produce far more effect than the destruction of hundreds of thousands of negroes, inasmuch as profit and loss is a more telling argument with a commercial public than mere humanity. Wilberforce added, that even had the facts been different, had this trade really been a beneficial one as regarded mere political economy, there was a smell of blood about it that all the perfumes of Arabia could not disguise. He was ably supported by Fox and Pitt; but, on this occasion, the prime minister could not command his large majority: the motion was lost by one hundred and sixty-three against eighty-eight.

During the session, however, a bill was passed sanctioning the establishment of a company which had been formed several years before, for trading to the new settlement of

Sierra Leone, on the coast of Africa. In 1787 this settlement was begun by philanthropists, to show that colonial productions could be obtained without the labour of slaves, and to introduce civilization into that continent through the means of commerce carried on by educated blacks. In that year four hundred and seventy negroes, then living in a state of destitution in London, were removed to it. In 1790 their number was increased by one thousand one hundred and ninety-eight other negroes from Nova Scotia, who could not flourish in so severe a climate. Since then many similar additions have been made to its black population. Ten years after the introduction of the blacks from Nova Scotia, five hundred and fifty Maroons were brought from Jamaica, and in 1819 a black regiment, disbanded in the West Indies, was added. The capability of the production of cotton, coffee, sugar, &c., in this settlement was fully demonstrated; but no spot could have been selected more fatal to the health of Europeans. It is a region of deep-sunk rivers and morasses, which, in that sultry climate, are pregnant with death to the white man.

During this session, also, an important bill was passed for the relief of Roman catholics. The bill was introduced by Mr. Mitford and seconded by Mr. Wyndham. Mr. Mitford showed that the enactments still in force against them occupied, by mere recital of their penalties, seventy pages of "Burn's Ecclesiastical Law." Priests were still guilty of high treason and liable to death for endeavouring to convert people to the tenets they deemed essential to salvation; and the laity were liable to heavy penalties for not going to church, and for hearing mass at their own chapels. The bill was supported by Pitt and Fox, and by lord Rawdon, and by the archbishop of Canterbury (Dr. Moore), and by Dr. Horsley, bishop of St. David's. It passed. By this act all the severe restrictions and penalties were removed from those Roman catholics who would comply with its requisitions, to appear at one of the courts of Westminster, or at a quarter sessions, and make and subscribe a declaration that they professed the Roman catholic religion, and also an oath exactly similar to that required by the statute of 1778. On this declaration and oath being duly made, they were enabled to profess and perform the offices of their religion, to keep schools, to exercise parochial or other offices in person or by deputy, and the ministers of that religion were exempt from serving on juries and from parochial offices. Their congregations were protected from disturbance; but their priests were restrained from officiating in places consecrated to the burial of protestants, and from wearing their habits, except in their own places of worship. They were also restrained from establishing religious orders; and the endowment of schools and colleges was still to be deemed unlawful. No person could in future be summoned to take the oath of supremacy and the declaration against substantiation; nor were Roman catholics who had qualified removable from London and Westminster, or punishable for coming into the presence or palace of the king or queen. They were no longer obliged to register their names and estates, or enrol their deeds and wills; and every Roman catholic who had duly qualified might act as barrister, attorney, or notary.

On the 20th of May Fox moved for a grand committee

on courts of justice, to inquire into some late decisions of the courts in cases of libel. Thomas Erskine, the eloquent advocate, had lately, in the case of the dean of St. Asaph, delivered a most brilliant and effective speech on the right of juries to decide both on fact and on law in such cases, the duty of the judge being only to explain the law. Fox adopted this doctrine of Erskine, and framed his speech in the most glowing terms. He complained, however, that such was not the practice of the courts, and he particularly animadverted on the custom and the doctrine of lord Mansfield on this subject. He observed that in murder, in felony, in high treason, and in every other criminal indictment, it was the admitted province of the jury to decide both on law and fact. The practice in the case of libel was an anomaly, and clearly ought not to be so. He said that the doctrine which he recommended was no innovation; it had been asserted by John Lilburne, who was prosecuted for a libel under the commonwealth, who declared that the jury were the real judges, and the judges themselves mere cyphers, so far as the verdict was concerned; and Lilburne had been acquitted, spite of the judge and of the influence of Cromwell. He reviewed the doctrines of the Stuarts regarding libel, and observed that these could not be wrong then and right now. He contended that the late practice had been a severe inroad on the liberty of the press, and noted the case of the printer of the *Morning Herald*, who had been tried for merely commenting strongly on the sending an armament to Nootka Sound, and on the conduct of parliament in granting supplies for this purpose. He had been condemned to a year's imprisonment and to stand in the pillory.

Pitt observed that he had always, since he had a place in the ministry, condemned the use of the pillory, and that there could be no difficulty in procuring the remission of that part of the sentence in this particular case. He supported Fox's view of the law, and recommended him to bring in two short bills, instead of going into committee on the subject. Fox followed this advice, and brought in two bills—one to remove doubts respecting the rights and functions of juries in criminal cases; and the other to amend the act of the 9th of queen Anne for rendering the proceedings upon writs of *mandamus* and informations in the nature of a *quo warranto* more speedy and effectual, &c.

The first bill passed the commons on the 2nd of June, but was thrown out in the lords, through the influence of chancellor Thurlow, who had never forgiven Pitt his contempt of his conduct in the regency question during the king's malady. This defeated the object of Fox during this session.

The trial of Warren Hastings still proceeded, but appeared to have tired everybody out. A new parliament being now sitting, the question arose whether the impeachment had not expired with it, and, if it had, of course it would be necessary to begin *de novo*. The very idea of beginning afresh a trial which had now lasted three years, and of which only three charges out of twenty-three had been heard, was perfectly appalling. In this case, the trial would certainly be abandoned; for not only the public and the parliament were wearied of it, but the commissioners themselves were not less so. But Burke, however fatigued and disgusted he might be, both with the process and with the

spirit in which it had been carried on by Hastings' lawyers, regarded it as a matter of too serious a principle to allow it thus to slide away. He contended that the whole history of parliament showed that a dissolution of parliament did not put an end to an impeachment, and, on the 17th of December, he had moved that the trial of Warren Hastings, Esq., was still depending. He referred to the journals of both houses of parliament, to the records of the courts of law, to prove his position, that no dissolution of parliament affected an impeachment. Erskine contended that Burke was wrong in his law; but Pitt took the same view as Burke, and, by a very elaborate reference to the case of impeachment, from the earliest history of our parliaments, he proved the point. There was but one exception, and that was the case of the impeachment of the earl of Stafford, which was reversed by a vote of the house of lords in 1685, but did not receive the assent of the commons. Had it done so, it would, in Pitt's opinion, have been intruded as a case in point, because it took place under James II., a prince who had so abused the constitution and corrupted parliament, that his acts were themselves all reversed by revolution, which deposed and expelled him. Pitt then viewed the question from a constitutional point of view, and argued that as writs of error and petitions of appeal were not affected by the dissolution of parliament, still less ought impeachments to be so. Sir John Scott, the solicitor-general, Hardinge, Mitford, and other lawyers, opposed the motion; but Fox and Dundas supported it, and it was carried. The lords also debated the same question, and came to the same conclusion.

On the 14th of February, Burke moved, that in consideration of the length of time which had already elapsed on this trial, it appeared necessary, for obtaining substantial justice, that the trial should proceed no further in evidence against the accused than so far as related to contracts, pensions, and allowances. Two amendments were moved on this, the second of which, by Mr. Jekyll, was, that the trial should proceed no further; but Pitt again supported Burke, and his resolution was carried.

When the lords met again in Westminster Hall, they proceeded with the trial, on the 23rd of May, Mr. St. John stated the charge relating to contracts, pensions, and allowances, including frauds and extortions. This occupied three days. On the 27th, Mr. Loveden, in the house of commons, moved that the house should address its majesty, praying that the parliament might continue to sit till this trial was terminated; and a similar motion was made in the house of peers, but very properly rejected on both. On the 30th of May, the managers closed their case, and then Hastings begged to be allowed a day for stating some particulars of importance, as it regarded the future progress of the trial. This was granted, and, on the 2nd of June, he read a very long address in self-defence, which occupied three hours and a half.

In his defence, Hastings earnestly implored that the lordships, having heard the evidence against him, would immediately proceed to judgment. He contended that a single allegation had been made out against him; which, though it was not true, had a certain plausibility in it. Could the public forget that his lawyers had induced the

lords to reject the evidence of all natives, the real plaintiffs? The war which was now carrying on against Tippoo Sahib afforded him a fine opportunity of appealing to the self-interest of the nation. He pointed to the difficulties which lord Cornwallis had now to contend with in raising money and troops, and compared these with the still greater which he had experienced, thus justifying his gross robberies on

that the resources of India are now utterly inadequate to the support of a war against one native power who is unassisted by any European ally. We are now in alliance with all the Mahratta chiefs, and with the subadar of the Deccan, who were in the former war confederated against us. The government of Bengal, when this war was commenced, was free from foreign and domestic embarrassments. The



A HINDOO WATER-SELLER.

the begums and others, and the horrible tortures of the unhappy natives by his agents. "My lords," he said, "you are now better enabled to judge of the difficulties which I had to encounter in the last war, than I did suppose it possible for your lordships to be when this trial commenced. Your lordships will now feel for the necessities under which I laboured, when I had to contend with all the powers of India combined with the French and Dutch, because your lordships have proofs before you, in the council chamber of parliament,

nabob vizier had completely liquidated his debts, and his subsidy was paid with the utmost punctuality. Benares afforded the full revenue, *which I am impeached for having procured!* The salt, the opium, and the land revenues of Bengal, added to the subsidies from Oude and Benares, produced annually nearly five millions four hundred thousand pounds. But, my lords, so inadequate have these resources proved, with the addition of the revenues of Fort St. George and Bombay, that since the commencement of

the present war a very considerable sum in specie has been transmitted from England to India; money has been borrowed to the utmost extent of their credit in Bengal; and Hyder Beg Khan, whom your lordships have heard of so often, has assisted lord Cornwallis with a loan of twenty-two lacs of rupees. I mention these circumstances to your lordships to prove that the resources of India cannot, in time of war, meet the expenses of India. Your lordships know that I could not, and lord Cornwallis cannot, do what every minister has done since the revolution. I could not borrow to the utmost extent of my wants, and tax posterity to pay the interest of my loans."

Now, if this argument meant anything, it meant plainly that, as he could not borrow what he wanted for his wars of aggression in India, he was compelled to steal. He was, in fact, confessing all that Burke and the rest of the managers accused him of. That, to carry on his wars, he had, without any scruple, plundered the people and the princes of friendly states to an enormous extent, and under circumstances of coercion and horror, unparalleled by anything except the tortures of the inquisition. What justified him would justify the inquisitions of Rome and Madrid; it would justify all the atrocities and exterminations of Cortez and Pizarro; it would justify all the aggressions and the oppressions of Napoleon, over the whole of continental Europe. There is nothing which such an argument will not justify, if we allow that a man, or a nation, may voluntarily place himself or itself in a position which compels violence, and robbery, and personal coercion, or retreat. The inquisitions assumed the right to compel all men to believe as the catholic church did; and, because certain persons refused, they proceeded to those systems of torture which have made their very name an infamy. Pizarro and Cortez overran Mexico and Peru; and, because they wanted to amass wealth, and the natives wanted to keep it, they massacred or tortured them. Napoleon chose to overran Europe, and exercise dominion over it, and this required vast funds; and therefore it was necessary to find these funds, or to steal them: hence, he plundered all Europe. Whoever will venture to say that he was justified—that he committed no crime? Such a man only can justify the violence of Hastings; in justifying them, he condemns himself; for, assuredly, such a man cannot be a christian. Hastings found himself in a position in which he must rob, and imprison, and set others to rob and massacre innocent people, or he must resign his power. Can there be a question what a christian should do under such circumstances? But Hastings flattered himself that he was addressing a body who, with the convenient name of christian, were in reality actuated by all the old selfishness of heathenism. He was addressing the selfishness and not the honourable integrity of the house of lords and of the nation. He told them plainly, "I could not borrow, and, therefore, I did what I did, and you have the benefit of it. I have preserved what the Indian minister (Dundas) called the brightest jewel of the British crown; and I know you don't much mind that the jewel was stolen." That was the real language of Hastings to the house of lords stripped of its thin disguise, and it was either a gross insult to the peers, or it was a severe satire on them.

He next referred to his life before his Indian rule, and

argued the old "*nemo repente turpissimus*" ground, willing to forget that some of the mildest men, under tempting circumstances, have become very speedily monsters; and that Hazael, the Syrian prince, was terrified at his own character drawn by the prophet beforehand. Hastings had the impudence to infer from this his previous character, "that he was innocent of any particular wrong imputed to him, especially as those who were the alleged sufferers by the wrong made no complaint against him!" and this after the most determined and the most persevering resistance of his counsel to the hearing of these complaints! This, indeed, was the cause of the bitterest complaints of the managers, that the evidence of all these sufferers—even the letter of the beggar, charging Hastings with his bribing—were refused admission, though this evidence had been produced in the council at Calcutta, according to the regular mode of taking native evidence. The whole plea was the assassin's and the robber's plea—necessity; and the adoption of this plea was an admission of all that which the managers, and all persons of sound mind and christian morals, deem crimes of the darkest dye.

There were other parts of his defence which were more just. He claimed the merit of having introduced many improvements into the mode of transacting the public business of India, in the collection of the revenue, and in the courts of justice. But he claimed more—the merit of having made the machinery which governed India; in other words, he inaugurated the system which has sanctioned all the crimes and caused all the bloodshed which leaves India in our hands at this moment prostrate from a terrible rebellion and wholesale massacre of blacks and whites and with a debt of seventy millions sterling to add to another debt of eight hundred millions. The lords, after hearing him, retired to their own house, and then adjourned the trial to the first Tuesday of the next session of parliament.

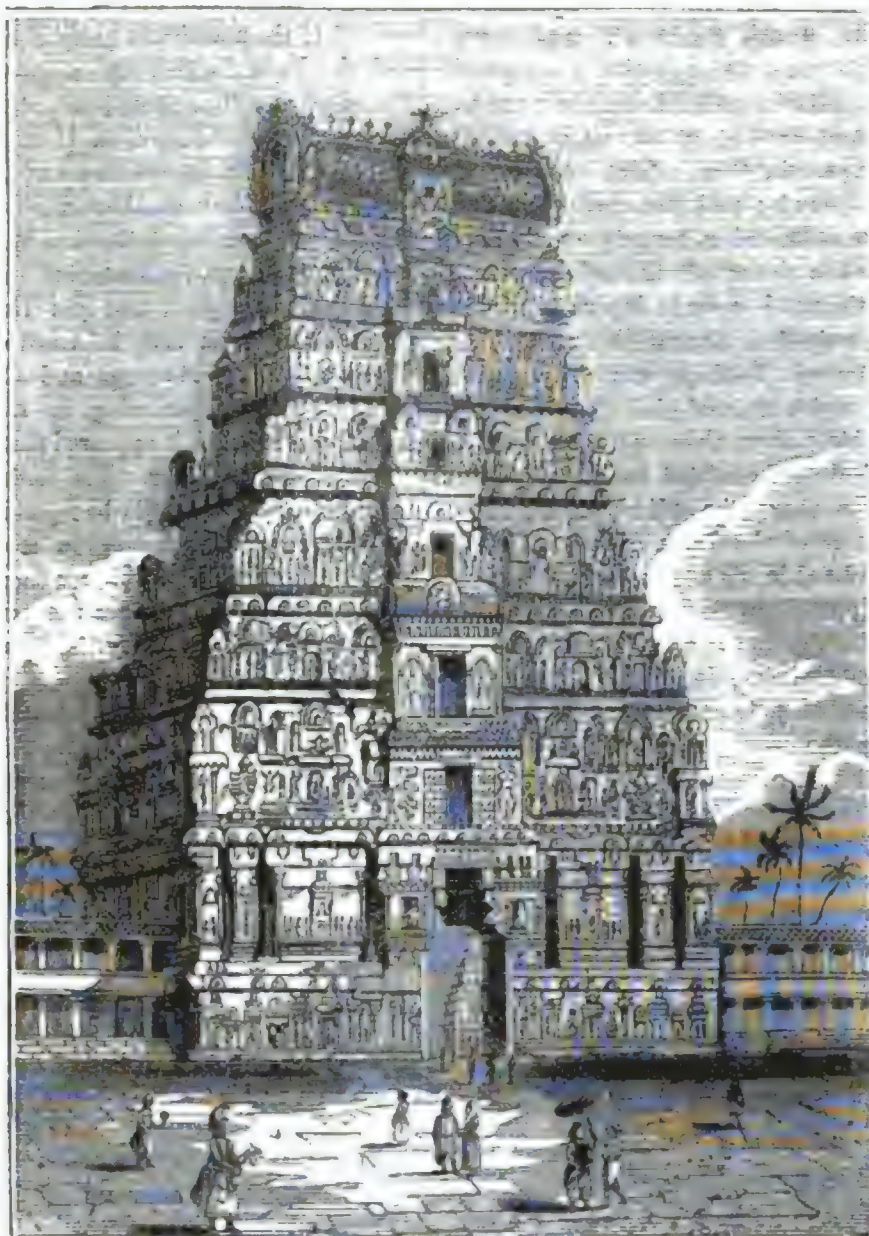
On the 10th of June parliament was prorogued by the king in person. Besides the transactions in parliament during this session which we have mentioned, Pitt made a statement of the revenue as follows:—The income for the year, £16,030,285; the expenditure, including one million for liquidating the national debt, £15,969,178; so that there was an apparent surplus of £61,107; and on this the minister indulged in the balmy dreams of rapid reduction of the debt, at the very moment that the event across the channel, and the view which the government of England was about to take of them, were preparing the wildest scene of expenditure ever witnessed since the war began. Dundas, as the head of the board of control, also presented an equally flattering account of the state of the Indian finances, showing a clear surplus of £1,500,000 at the very moment that Warren Hastings was declaring, and justifying himself on the declaration, that lord Cornwallis was at his wit's end for money, and that the resources of India in time of war never could equal the expenses—the most melancholy truth!

As the trial of Hastings continued still to linger on for four years, yet presenting no new features, we shall but rapidly close our account of it, to prevent its continually breaking up the narrative of more important events.

The defence was begun by Hastings's counsel on the 14th

of February, 1792. The opening speech of Law, afterwards lord Ellenborough, occupied three days; that of Plumer five days—eight days of hard, continuous talking before they came to the evidence on the Benares case alone. Then followed the evidence—a formidable mass of print in folio twice the amount of the evidence of the managers. To this evidence the managers made many and great objections; and, when all the disputation thus occasioned was finished,

this he appears to have been pretty well aware, and he took the effective mode of dealing with the evidence summarily himself. He declared that it should be all sweepingly condensed—and he kept his word. At the same time, he lauded his own services to the state highly, and upbraided the parliament with giving him, in return, only injustice and ingratitude. Burke very properly censured in strong language this accusation of the house of commons. From



PAGODA OF CHILLENBAUM.

Dallas took three more days to sum up the evidence. This was all that was got through this year. On the 15th of February, 1793, Law opened the defence on the begum of Oude's charge, which occupied two days; the evidence was gone through with abundant objections and disputes, and then Plumer and Dallas occupied seven whole days in their speeches. The trial had now reached its hundred and fourth day, and Hastings again read another of his addresses, complaining of the intolerable delays and drawings out of the proceedings; and it was clear that he had not any persons so much to thank for it as his own lawyers. Of

this point the proceedings were hurried on; evidence and testimonial letters and addresses were piled on the table to show in what esteem Hastings was held by men in India. No set of men had, indeed, more to thank an individual for than men in India owed to Hastings; for he had made extortion so common that all after him looked mild. Instead of allowing his counsel to spin out the proceedings by long speeches, Hastings read a concluding address himself. He protested before God that all his actions, much as they had startled the public, had been done for the good of his country, which, to a certain extent, we may admit, without

accepting this as a sufficient excuse: for monstrous crimes and cruelties—and those of Hastings were very monstrous—can never be justified on the plea of patriotism. To do evil that good may come of it, is a system of morals which christianity disowns, and which cannot be practised without loading a country with infamy, at the same time that it does not at all whiten the soul of the perpetrator. He protested also he had come from India with only the moderate sum of a hundred thousand pounds; and, though avarice was by no means the ruling passion of Hastings, we may well doubt the accuracy of this statement. Such a sum, after such a process, continued through nine years, would have left him a beggar. Burke asserted that the press had been bribed to the extent of twenty thousand pounds; major Scott, his great agent in these affairs, received another twenty thousand pounds; and the costs of the impeachment, besides, were estimated at seventy-one thousand and eighty pounds; which items of themselves amount to more than eleven thousand pounds in excess of that sum. Yet Hastings remained a comparatively rich man, and his natural son, Imhoff Hastings, was distinguished on the continent for the lavish style of his expenditure. In fact, two hundred and thirty-eight thousand seven hundred and fifty-seven pounds had been remitted home by Hastings.

Hastings took care to share the odium of his deeds liberally with the directors of the India House, and with the ministry; for he declared in his address that he kept all these gentlemen fully apprised of his proceedings, and he contended that as they might have censured them, and did not, the blame was truly theirs; in himself, they could be only considered errors of judgment. He did not conclude without charging the managers with the design to prolong the trial another year; an accusation which excited the just indignation of Burke and Fox, who challenged him to produce the slightest proof not only of such design, but of their having caused a single moment of unnecessary delay. In fact, none were more heartily tired of the business than the managers.

The defence terminated on the 28th of May, 1793; and the lords, on retiring to their own house, agreed to allow only a fortnight to the managers to make their reply. Burke, in the commons, declared that this would be far from sufficient time, and he complained greatly of the language of Hastings in his concluding address. He complained that opprobrium had been cast on the managers, not only by Hastings, but by others, in the course of the trial, and instanced a most unseemly outbreak of Markham, archbishop of York, on himself whilst examining a witness in Westminster Hall. The archbishop's son had held a high post under Hastings in India, and the archbishop had declared that Burke had treated witnesses with all the savage illiberality of a Marat or a Robespierre. Burke demanded a committee to examine into the conduct of the managers, which was granted. Much time was then spent in endeavouring to procure more delay from the house of lords for the preparation of the reply, which Hastings as earnestly resisted. Mr. Grey requested to be allowed to resign his post as a manager, finding it impossible to be ready with the part of the reply confided to him. This further time was, at length, conceded, and the lords met

next on the 13th of February, 1794, in Westminster Hall; but the counsel of Hastings then requested a week's delay: enable them to have the advantage of the testimony of earl Cornwallis, who had just arrived from India. A further delay of five days was added, on account of his lingering illness; and, after all, the counsel agreed to go on with his evidence.

The managers then commenced giving evidence to the defence on the Benares case, and proposed to call Philip Francis, but this was strenuously resisted on ground of the notorious enmity of Francis towards Hastings, and the lords decided not to admit Francis as evidence. The managers then offered to put in sundry censures passed by the court of directors on Hastings in 1783, to neutralise a vote of thanks by the court of directors passed in 1784, and put in by the counsel for Hastings. This, also, Hastings objected to, because, at the time that the directors censured him, they did not, he contended, understand all the bearings of the circumstances, and yet Hastings had just asserted that he kept them fully informed of all the circumstances. It was clear that Hastings and the court of directors had come to an understanding in 1783, after his return to England, and when it appeared that his case and theirs must stand or fall together. The lords, however, decided that this evidence, too, should be rejected. During the struggle on this point, Hastings grew so excited that he blew Burke the lie. The lords then refused to proceed with the case whilst the judges were on circuit, and therefore could not be consulted by them, and adjourned till the 1st of April.

Burke made use of this interval, and obtained from the house of commons authority for the managers to constitute a committee to examine the journals of the house of commons as to the mode of procedure on the trial, and also that the managers should lay before the commons a statement of the real causes of the impediments to the progress of the trial.

On the re-assembling of the lords in Westminster Hall earl Cornwallis was examined on behalf of Hastings, but his evidence was of very little service to him. He was in India during the perpetration of the worst actions of Hastings, especially those regarding the rajah of Benares and the begums of Oude; he could, therefore, say nothing to their advantage, and he candidly admitted that Hastings had no right to require on any of the tributary princes to furnish sums of money beyond their stipulated quotas, and that he had himself never made such demands, much less compelled them by force and menaces. This was, in fact, condemning Hastings on the main charges; and yet Hastings had boldly in his self-defence that lord Cornwallis could not make the income of India suffice in time of war, nor could he borrow. It was clear, therefore, that lord Cornwallis, though, by Hastings' own showing, placed in similar straits with himself, had not resorted to the same means of robbery and compulsion as he had done. This was also practical condemnation.

A Mr. Larkins was next called in to prove the dishonesty of Hastings in money matters, which was of no consequence, as extortion for personal purposes was now laid to the charge of the ex-governor. This, the last witness produced in this interminable trial, was, however, spent

several days, till Hastings declared that no human patience could longer endure the delays. On the 6th of May, being the hundred and twenty-ninth day of the trial, the evidence closed; but then the managers had to sum up the evidence in reply, and this occupied no less than sixteen days. Grey took the Benares charge, Sheridan the begum charge, Fox the charge regarding presents, Taylor that on contracts, loans, &c., and Burke summed up the whole in a speech which of itself consumed nine out of the sixteen days. In the very midst of Burke's speech, Hastings interrupted him, to implore the lords to expedite the business, and to implore his majesty to continue the session of parliament till the managers had concluded. The speech of Burke terminated on the 10th of June.

On the 20th Pitt moved a vote of thanks in the commons to the managers, for the faithful discharge of the important trust reposed in them. He was seconded by Dundas. Both Dundas and Pitt declared that they were entitled to the gratitude of their country for what they had done, and if vexatious delays had occurred, it was by no fault of theirs. Indeed, these were so notoriously the work of Hastings' own counsel, that there could be no mistake about it; yet the money of Hastings was scattered liberally amongst the press, and the common feeling of the large class of Indian corruptionists and their families in England, and of the equally large class which was looking forward to the enriching of their children in India, had roused a perfectly venomous and fanatic animosity against the managers, and pre-eminently against Burke, the most honest and determined of them all. Accordingly, an angry opposition was made to this vote of thanks. Messrs. Sumner, Wigley, Law (the brother of the afterwards Lord Ellenborough), and others, declared that they would vote for the thanks, if Burke were left out of it.

Law complained of the *coarseness* of Burke, and abused him in some of the coarse and most unmannerly language ever heard in parliament. He sneered at Burke's *Essay on the Sublime and Beautiful*, and declared his speeches, if they could be called at all sublime and beautiful, were but vulgar and illiberal, and the lowest blackguard in a bear-garden would have been ashamed to use them. He expressed his astonishment that Fox, a gentleman, should have condescended to act with such a man. But, though Fox and Burke had now quarrelled, Fox nobly stood forward and defended Burke warmly, and the whole of the managers disclaimed any distinction being made betwixt themselves and Burke as regarded the conduct of this case, for they said there was no language of Mr. Burke's, however strong and indignant, which was not justified by the atrocities of the case.

Pitt's motion was carried, and the proceedings terminating with the session, were resumed on the 13th of January, 1795. The lords went into committee upon the evidence produced on the trial, and having decided in their own house, proceeded to Westminster-hall on the 23rd of April, where the votes appeared considerably in favour of Hastings, and he was acquitted. It was well for him, after all the delays that he complained of, that his lawyers had deferred the final judgment to the last, by which time they had tired out everybody, and had had time to corrupt the press by lavish

bribes, and to bring into play all those interests which the proceedings of Hastings had favoured. Whoever consults the history of his deeds in India will draw a very different verdict from the house of lords; but his crimes had materially benefited the East India Company and the nation, and in such cases the cruelties and injustice towards the oppressed peoples of other countries are, by the world, lightly passed over. Had Hastings been tried and judged on each case separately, he would have been heavily condemned on the Benares and Oude cases, for the spirit of the people was then in the freshness of its astonishment and indignation at his acts, and time had not been allowed to tamper with public opinion through a venal and purchased press. As it was, he may truly be said to have been tried by one generation and judged by another. Of the hundred and sixty peers who walked in procession on the first day of trial, sixty were now deceased, and numbers of others so wearied out that they were absent. The young spectators were now middle-aged, the middle-aged were old, and the old—gone. Only twenty-nine peers attended to vote; Burke, the leading manager, was almost worn out—his eyes were failing and he was grey-headed.

Hastings made strong demands on parliament for payment of the costs of his prosecution, seeing that he was acquitted, and therefore, legally, an innocent man; but in this he failed. The India-house, however, settled on him a pension of four thousand pounds a-year for twenty-eight years, and lent him fifty thousand pounds for eighteen years without interest; for, besides that the costs of the trial and the forty thousand pounds expended by him to buy up the press and engage partisans, he had expended about fifty thousand on the estate which he purchased at Daylesford, where he continued to live in an expensive way, keeping much and high company.

In private life, Hastings showed to most advantage. He devoted himself to agricultural and horticultural pursuits. He was fond of fine horses and equestrian exercise, and of rearing cattle, and cultivating flowers. He imported seeds and plants from India, for the advantage of our conservatories, and he recommended improvements of useful kinds in the management of horses and elephants in India. He was fond of poetry, and wrote a good deal of that sort of verse of the time which depended more on art than nature. Had he always passed only as a country gentleman, he would have figured as an amiable and intelligent one; but power had put him in the way of enormous crimes, which he never seemed to have the moral sense to discern as crimes. The same lack of a fine moral sense made him to the last vengeful and unforgiving. To the last he retained his hatred of Burke, and still more of Pitt and Dundas, whom he regarded as traitors to his cause. He showed lingering traces of his old ambition, by endeavouring to get into the house of commons, and to procure a peerage; in both of which objects, however, he failed. Still he received, in various quarters, high honours, as the able ruler of India in a difficult crisis, from parties who were willing to forget his crimes, if they had the christianity to think them such. In 1813, when the charter of the East India Company was under discussion, and he came up to give evidence, he was received with much *éclat* by both houses. When he was

eighty-one years of age, the university of Oxford conferred on him the degree of doctor of law, amid much acclamation. In 1814 he was made a privy-councillor, and was presented to the allied sovereigns when in London. The East India Company continued his pension for the term of his life and that of his wife, and raised it to five thousand pounds. He died on the 22nd of August, 1818, at the age of eighty-six. To the last, Burke never altered his opinion of Warren Hastings. When others turned round, he

to forget that I always acted under public authority, and not of my own fancy; and that, in condemning me, they asperse the whole house of commons for conduct continued for the greater part of three parliaments."

The great condemnation of Hastings, and the great justification of Burke, are to be found in the events of our own times. We have reaped the fruits of the system which Hastings boasted that he had organised. "Every division of official business," he said, in his defence in Westminster

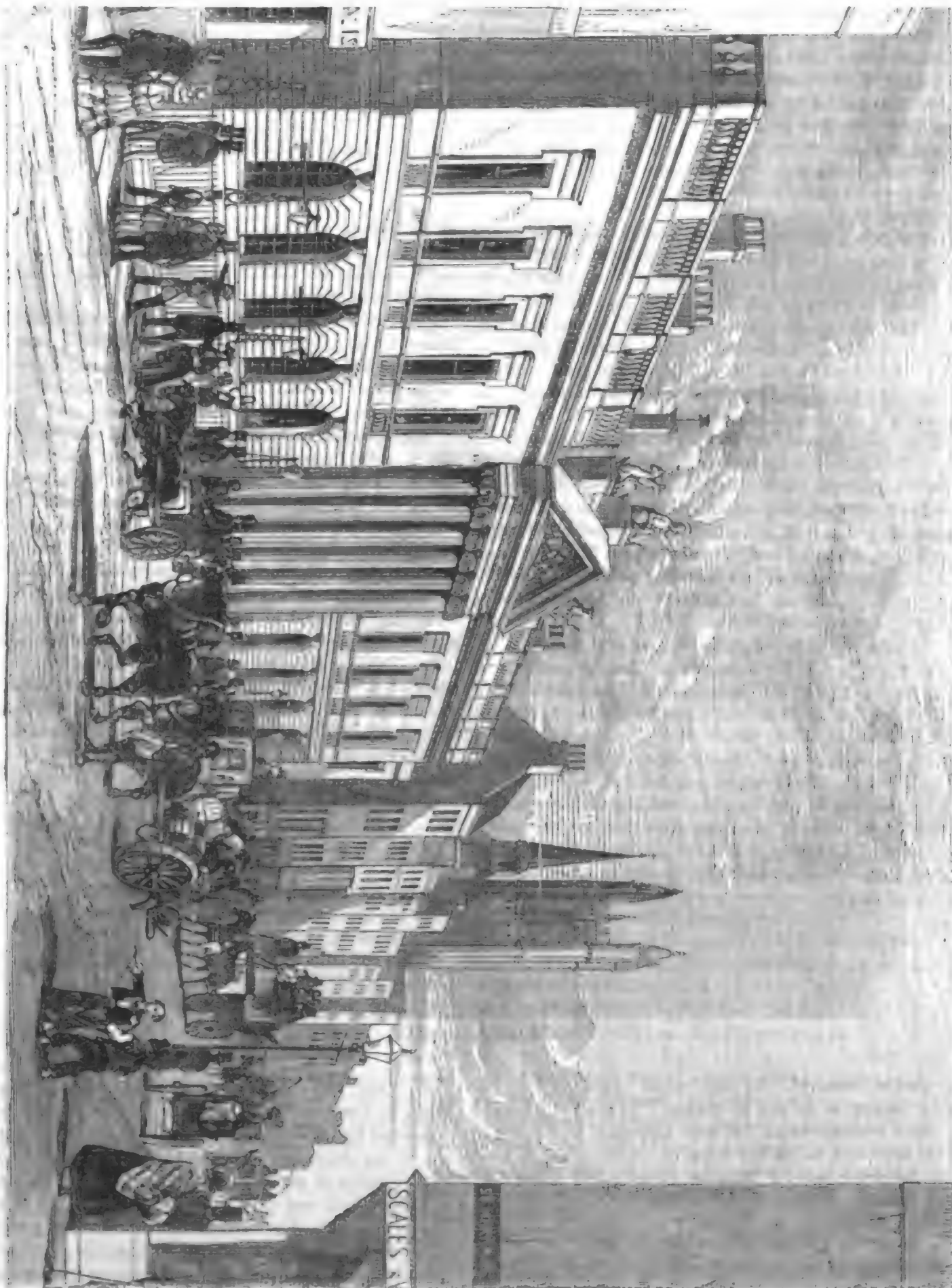


GROUP OF HINDOOS

remained unmoved. He had, indeed, gone too deep into the inquiry to be able to change. He knew the mass of native evidence which had been suppressed in the trial by the lords, and, in his last years, on hearing a friend speak in favourable terms of Hastings, he said:—"I am surprised at hearing you speak of such a man as Hastings with any degree of respect. At present, I say nothing of those *who chose to take his guilt upon themselves*. I do not say I am not deeply concerned: God forbid that I should speak any other language. Others may be content to prevaricate in judgment; it is not my taste; but they who attack me for my fourteen years' labours on that subject, ought not

Hall, "and every department of government *which now exists in Bengal*, with only such exceptions as have been occasioned by the changes of authority enacted from *home*, are of my formation. The establishment formed for the administration of the revenue, the institution of the courts of justice, civil and criminal, in Bengal and its dependencies; the form of government established for the province of Benares, with all its dependent branches of revenue, commerce, judicature, and military defence; the arrangements created for the subsidy and defence of the province of Oude, every political connection and alliance, *were created by me*."

EAST INDIA HOUSE, LEADENHALL STREET, LONDON.



And what has been the fruit of this system : this oppression of the people, this spoliation of princes, and absorption of their principalities : this smothering of Indian proceedings at home ? We see them in the most terrible revolt of the native Indian army, the most frightful massacres that ever were perpetrated in any age. The words of Sir John Malcolm have been fully verified. Whilst it is still asserted that the population at large had no concern in this military revolt, Sir John Malcolm, a man thoroughly acquainted with the interior workings of the Indian system, tells us that, in his day, and in all periods of our Indian empire, the people had continually said to the sepoys, "You are many ; our oppressors are few—murder them ! murder them !" They have at length done it : the crimes and the misadministration of the East India Company, still acting in the institutions and the traditions of Clive and Hastings, are filled up, and the nation has been compelled to take to the administration of India, with seventy millions of debt ! and with financial and political embarrassments which are almost, if not altogether, insurmountable. Had the voice of Burke been listened to ; had such men as Hastings been punished instead of applauded, the race of harpies who have buttressed on the blood of India, and prepared disgrace and difficulty for their mother country before all the world, would have long ago been cut off. The abandonment of moral principle, under the temptations of a proud and selfish but fatal policy, have, in this instance, produced those consequences which are inevitable in the long-run of a righteous Providence.

We have now to return to the year 1791, and to record the effects which the contagion of French principles of liberty were producing in England. The publication of Burke's "Reflections on the French Revolution" had caused an immense sensation. It went through edition after edition, and elicited a warm and wide response in hearts already convinced of, or beginning to see, the real tendency of the French outbreak. On the other hand, it greatly exasperated the ultra-admirers of French republicanism, and produced a number of vindications of it by men who, for the most part, were exceedingly bitter against Burke, and denounced him as an apostate, a renegade, and a traitor to liberty. Amongst the most conspicuous of those who took the field against Burke in books were Sir James Mackintosh, Thomas Paine, Dr. Price, and Dr. Priestley, the two latter of whom also made free use of the pulpit for the propagation of their political ideas. Ladies also distinguished themselves in this contest, as Mary Woolstoncroft and Mrs. Macaulay, the historian.

Mackintosh, who was a young lawyer of excellent education, but yet entirely unknown, this year published his "Vindiciæ Gallicæ," in reply to Burke ; but he did it with the behaviour of a gentleman, and evident admiration of the genius and political services of the great man whom he opposed. His book was immensely admired, and at once placed him into notice. But it was not long before he began to see the correctness of Burke's views and prognostics of the French revolution, and he did not shrink from avowing the alteration of his sentiments in the *Monthly Review* and in conversation. His talents, and this alteration of his views, recommended him to the ministers, and he was

appointed by Pitt and Loughborough a professor at Lincoln's Inn, where, in a course of lectures on the constitution of England, he exhibited himself as an uncompromising censor of the doctrines he had approved in his "Vindiciæ Gallicæ." For this he was classed, by the vehement worshippers of French ideas, with Burke, as a venal turncoat. Mackintosh did not content himself with recanting his opinions on this topic from the platform and the press. He wrote directly to Burke, who was now fast sinking under his labours and his disappointments, and expressed his undisguised admiration of his sagacity as a politician, and of his general principles and political philosophy. Burke invited him down to Beaconsfield, where a closer view of the philosopher and orator greatly increased his esteem and admiration of the man.

Paine, in his "Rights of Man," was far from restricting himself to the courtesies of life in attacking Burke. He had been most hospitably received by Burke, on many occasions at his house, and had corresponded with him, and must therefore, have seen sufficient of him to know that, though he might become extremely enthusiastic in his championship of certain views, he could never become mean or dishonest. Yet Paine did not hesitate to attribute to him the basest and most sordid motives. He branded him as the vilest and most venal of apostates. Paine had, in fact, become a monomaniac in republicanism. He had been engaged to the last in the American revolution, and was now living in Paris, and constantly attending the Jacobin club. He was hand in hand with the most rabid of the republicans, and was fast imbibing their anti-Christian tenets. Paine fully believed that the French were inaugurating something much finer than any millennium—that they were going to establish the most delightful liberty, equality, and fraternity, not simply throughout France, but throughout the world. Before the doctrines of the French clubbists and journalists, all superstition and despotism, all unkindness were to vanish amongst mankind, and a paradisiacal age of love and felicity was to commence. To those who pointed to the blood and fury already too prominently conspicuous in this business, he replied that these were but the dregs of corrupt humanity, which were worked off in the great fermentation, and all would become clear and harmonious.

He did not hesitate to criticise the style of Burke, which certainly is very flowery and diffuse. "I know," he wrote, "a place in America called Point-no-Point : because, as you proceed along the shore, gay and flowery as Mr. Burke's language, it continually recedes, and presents itself at a distance before you ; but, when you have got as far as you can go, there is no point at all. Just thus it is with Mr. Burke's three hundred and fifty-six pages." He was very caustic on Burke's exclamation, that chivalry was gone. Paine thought that the world was well rid of chivalry, and would be well rid of its parent, aristocracy. Aristocracy, of any kind, he said, was either a very contemptible or a very oppressive thing, and that he had heard La Fayette say that the English house of lords was a corporation of aristocrats, and a very improper corporation to have in a free and enlightened country like France. It was ridiculous of Burke to hold up the English constitution to the French.

who believed that there was just enough liberty in England to enslave a country more effectually than by open despotism. That the only thing was for England to follow the example of France, which it must soon do. The established church and the aristocracy of England were ripe for destruction; and, when the people had destroyed them, then they might call themselves free, and be prosperous and happy; thriving every man of them upon the spoils of the church, the nobility, and the squirearchy, whose possessions had been acquired by plundering the people, and too often by murdering them. He said that nothing could be so terrible to a court or an aristocracy as the revolution of France. That which is a blessing to nations is bitterness to them; and, as their existence depends on the duplicity of a country, they tremble at the approach of principles, and dread the precedent that threatens their overthrow. The work of Paine was immensely read by the lower classes in this country, and gave great alarm to government.

Amongst those who hailed enthusiastically the French revolution, and gave credit to its utmost promises of benefit to humanity, were a considerable number of the dissenting body, and especially of the unitarian class. Amongst these, Drs. Price, Priestley, Kippis, and Towers were most prominent. We have seen Dr. Price, who was noted for his powers of calculation, furnishing Pitt with the theory of the sinking fund, and with other propositions of reform. On the breaking out of the French revolution, Price was one of the first to respond to it with acclamation. He was a member of the revolution society, and, in 1789, he preached before it a sermon on "The Love of our Country," and in this drew so beautiful a picture of the coming happiness of man, from the French revolution, that he declared that he was ready to exclaim with Zacharias, "Now, Lord, lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation." At the dinner on the same occasion, he moved that a congratulatory address be sent to the national assembly on that glorious event, which was seconded by lord Stanhope, the chairman, and which was sent, and received with great acclamation by the national assembly. Burke was very severe on Price, as well as on his coadjutors, in his "Reflections:" and, as Price died this year, it was said that the "Reflections" had killed him, which, were it true, could not be said to have done it very prematurely, for the doctor was in his seventieth year.

But far more remarkable were the effects of the championship of French principles in the celebrated Dr. Joseph Priestley. Priestley was now nearly sixty years of age—a time of life when men rarely become great enthusiasts in any cause. He was a unitarian minister, who had, in that character, lived in various places, but was now the pastor of a congregation at Birmingham. He was well known for various theological writings, in which he had announced his doubts of the immateriality of the sentient principle in man, especially in his "Disquisition on Matter and Spirit." He had been tutor to Lord Shelburne, first Lord Lansdowne; but had quitted that post, as supposed, in consequence of the objection of lord Shelburne to these principles, retaining, however, an annuity of one hundred and fifty pounds a-year. But Priestley was far more known and esteemed for his researches and discoveries in natural philosophy, especially in

electricity, chemistry, and pneumatics. He published a "History of Electricity," which had secured him election as a member of the Royal Society, and the degree of doctor of laws from Edinburgh. These works had acquired him European reputation, and had induced the French Academy of Sciences to elect him an associate. They had likewise brought him into a correspondence with several of the most distinguished literary and scientific men in France, who were almost all Unitarians or Deists, and decided advocates of the church of England. Priestley, who was, besides, a zealous and able writer on religious subjects, was one of the first to publish his "Reflections." In his "Letters to Burke," he was particularly severe on him for his course in regard to the old fellow-believer, Dr. Price. These letters put the country to the spirit of animosity which was already very hot against Priestley amongst the orthodox and the tory in London, Birmingham and its neighbourhood. In his "Introductory Dissertation to Hartley's Observations on Man," his "History of the Corruptions of Christianity," and his "Free Enquiry into the Nature of the Human Mind," he had written "Letters" to the inhabitants of Birmingham, in refutation of the charges by the Rev. Mr. Madan against the unitarians. Priestley had induced the clergy and magistrates to regard him as little better than an atheist, and he had in return avowed his decided opposition to the union of Church and State. On this subject, Dr. Horsley had taken the lead against him, and a fierce controversy had raged between them, carried on with much heat and little courtesy on both sides. In 1787 he had issued some severe letters against the exclusion of his "History of the Corruptions of Christianity" from the public library of Birmingham, though controversial works were freely admitted, and even professed refutations of his works. Certainly, the doctor, under such circumstances, had a right to complain. Works of controversy ought to have been wholly excluded, or fairly admitted on each side of disputed points. But such was not the spirit of the church and tory parties of that day. Orthodoxy and toryism were extremely rampant in Birmingham, and Priestley was regarded as the very patriarch and champion of socinianism and republicanism. There wanted only a spark to fire trains of fierce intolerance against Priestley and his party, and, unfortunately, this was furnished by themselves. They resolved to celebrate, by a dinner, the anniversary of the taking of the Bastille, on the 14th of July.

A few days before that date a hand-bill was circulated, addressed to the people. There was no signature or printer's name attached, although it ran thus, in the first person—"My countrymen, the second year of Gallic liberty is nearly expired. At the commencement of the third, on the 14th of this month, it is devoutly to be wished that every enemy to civil and religious despotism should give his sanction to the majestic common cause by a public celebration of the anniversary. Remember that on the 14th of July the Bastille—that High Altar and Castle of Despotism—fell! Remember the enthusiasm peculiar to the cause of liberty with which it was attacked! Remember the generous humanity that taught the oppressed, groaning under the weight of insulted rights, to save the lives of oppressors! Extinguish the mean prejudices of nations, and let your numbers be collected and sent as a free-will offering to the

national assembly. But is it possible to forget that your own parliament is venal? your ministers hypocritical? your clergy legal oppressors? the reigning family extravagant? the crown of a certain great personage becoming every day too weighty for the head that wears it? too weighty for the people who gave it? your taxes partial and excessive? your representation a cruel insult upon the sacred rights of property, religion, and freedom? But, on the 14th of this month, prove to the political sycophants of the day that you reverence the olive branch; that you will sacrifice to public tranquillity till the majority shall exclaim, 'The peace of slavery is worse than the war of freedom!' Of that moment, let tyrants beware!"

The people of Birmingham at once attributed this hand-bill to Priestley and his party, who were about to celebrate the anniversary of the 14th of July; but Priestley and his friends denied the charge, and attributed it to some bigot of the high church and tory party who desired to interrupt the dinner and create mischief. William Hutton, the celebrated antiquarian, whose house was burnt down in the riots which ensued, and whose integrity was of the highest kind, in his "History of Birmingham" declares that the hand-bill was fabricated in London, and he adds his belief that, after all, the riots would not have taken place had it not been for two men of desperate fortunes, who probably expected a place or a pension—a hungry attorney and a leading justice. Priestley attributes much of the mischief to a letter of a Dr. Tatham, which was industriously circulated, and which called the dinner an illegal and unconstitutional act. He says the plot was particularly directed against the unitarians by the high church party; and he was of opinion that, had Dr. Price been still living, the storm would have burst at Hackney instead of Birmingham. Before the dinner took place, such were the rumours of impending riots, that the party proposed to defer the celebration to a future day; but the landlord had prepared the dinner, and declared his opinion that there would be no danger if the party dispersed early, without stopping to drink many toasts. Darbley, the innkeeper, curiously enough, was a churchman, and in good colour with the tory party. Satisfied by his representations, about eighty persons determined to hold the dinner on the appointed day, though a considerable number stayed away, and amongst those Priestley himself. The company was hooted as they entered the inn, but chiefly by a crowd of dirty lads, who cried "Church and king!" On the table were ranged three figures: a medallion of the king encircled with a glory, an emblematical figure of British liberty, and another of French slavery bursting its chains.

The toasts given were, in general, perfectly unobjectionable, beginning with "The king and constitution," but unfortunately ending with "The national assembly and the patriots of France." This, however, was merely in accordance with the purpose of the meeting; there was nothing seditious or disloyal in it, and all would have passed off harmlessly enough, had it not been for the magistrates and church and state inhabitants, who, instead of exerting themselves to preserve order, met at an inn near the Swan, and there dined, and drank the most orthodox and illiberal of toasts. It was reported that the admirers of France and

the national assembly, "whose virtue and wisdom had raised twenty-six millions from the meanest condition of despotism to the dignity and happiness of free men," had represented the king on their table with his head cut off, and had drunk "Destruction to the present government, and the king's head upon a charger." These misrepresentations, made, no doubt, for the purpose, roused the fury of the mob, which rushed to Darbley's hotel, after the dinner was over, and most of the people gone. There they raised the cry of "Church and king!" and began to throw stones. Some one cried out, "Don't break Darbley's windows; he is a churchman!" But the church-and-king magistrates and town set, now flushed with wine and loyalty, waved their handkerchiefs from the windows of their inn, and hurrahed the mob on. With this encouragement, which seemed to the ignorant crowd to legalise their proceedings, the mob rushed into the house, declaring that they wanted to knock the powder out of Dr. Priestley's wig. They did not find the doctor, so they smashed most of the furniture in the house and dashed in the windows, notwithstanding the buth orthodoxy. Some one then cried, "You have done mischief enough here; go to the meetings!" and the mob rolled away, first to the new meeting-house, where Priestley preached, which they soon demolished and set fire to. They then proceeded to the old meeting-house, and served it the same, hounded on by people of decent station in the place and made furious by the beer which was distributed amongst them.

This destruction accomplished, the mob marched away to the house of Priestley, which was at Fair-hill, where they utterly burned and destroyed all the invaluable library, philosophical instruments, and manuscripts, containing notes of the doctor's further chemical experiments and discoveries. Fire-engines were called out to prevent the flames of the meeting-houses communicating with the adjoining houses, but they were not suffered to play on the meeting-houses themselves, nor does any effort appear to have been made to save Priestley's house. The doctor and his family had made a timely retreat. He himself passed the two first nights in a post-chaise, and the two succeeding on horseback, but less owing to his own apprehensions of danger than those of others. An eye-witness asserts that the high road, for full half a mile from his house, was strewn with books, and that, on entering the library, there was not a dozen volumes on the shelves; while the floor was covered several inches deep with the torn manuscripts. This was the work of the night of the 14th of July.

The magistrates, the next day, when they had become sober, began to be alarmed at the effects of their most unmagisterial encouragement of the mob, and these effects in every appearance of becoming much more disastrous. The people were pouring in from the country around—collar and iron-founders, and nail-makers from Walsall; men, and women as fierce and brawny as men, armed with bludgeons ready to join in the work of destruction. There was no military force for the magistrates to call out, and their chance was to swear in a good body of special constables which they set about. But this required time, and they lost no time in doing their work of destruction. They attacked the villa of Mr. John Ryland, a dissector.

friend of Priestley, at Easy-hill, which they set fire to, and maddened themselves with the wines in the cellar, valued at three hundred pounds. Whilst drinking, the burning roof fell in, and killed several of them. Ryland had been a man active for the best interests of the town, but this had no weight with the drunken mob; it was enough that he was a dissenter, and must suffer to the cry of "Church and king!" Bordesley Hall, the house of another dissenter, Mr. John Taylor, was the next assailed. There a gentleman cried out that he would give the mob a hundred guineas to go away and do no harm; but they shouted "No bribery! no bribery!" and fell to work. It was soon in full blaze, with the outbuildings and a number of hayricks, after the house had been plundered. They then marched away, broke open the town prison, and liberated the prisoners. About three o'clock in the afternoon they appeared, drunk and raging, before the paper warehouse of William Hutton, the historian of the place, of Derby, and the author of several antiquarian treatises. Hutton was a man who had raised himself from the deepest poverty, for his father was a poor stocking-weaver of Derby. He had found Birmingham without a paper warehouse; had opened one, and, by that sobriety and carefulness in business, which are so conspicuous in his Autobiography, and afford a most valuable study for young men, had acquired a competence. He was not only an honour to the town by his upright character, and great reputation as a self-taught author, but he had been an active benefactor to it. He had been the first to establish a circulating library in the town; was always an advocate and co-operator in works and institutions of improvement, and was the most active and able commissioner of the court of requests. It was William Hutton's constant aim to reconcile the parties that came before him, and, without any salary for his trouble, he had often the satisfaction of sending away litigious parties reconciled, and that at free cost. But all this did not screen him; it was enough that he was a dissenter, and an advocate of toleration and of liberal principles. Besides, as he observes in his Life, "the fatal rock upon which I split was, I never could find a way to let both parties win!" Accordingly, a gentleman, whom Hutton well knew, said to the mob, "If you will pull down Hutton's house, I will give you two guineas to drink, for it was owing to him that I lost a cause in court."

Hutton had been on friendly terms with all parties, and the preachers of both church and chapel were often to be found at his house. So far was he from sympathising with Priestley's controversial zeal, that he says, in his Autobiography, that the ardent desire of making proselytes had been the bane of the world; and that, if Dr. Priestley chose to furnish the world with candles, it certainly conferred a lustre on him, but there was no necessity to oblige every man to carry one; that it was the privilege of an Englishman to walk in darkness, if he chose. Yet the mob broke into his warehouse, and demanded money; he gave them all he had, but they insisted on more, and began to carry off his goods and break his windows. He then borrowed more money from his neighbours; but, when the mob had that, they demanded drink, dragged him away to a public-house, and ran up a score, in his name, of three hundred and twenty-

nine gallons. The special constables dispersed the mob for a time; but going away, to endeavour to save Ryland's house, they left Hutton's unguarded, and the mob broke into Hutton's warehouse, and ransacked it, and then into his house, to which it was attached, gutted it, throwing the furniture into the street, and demolishing a very good library. Hutton himself had retired to his suburban villa at Bennett's Hill, where he was not long safe, but his son remained on the spot, and did all he could to buy off the mob, and save the property, but in vain.

From his house at Bennett's Hill, William Hutton saw Bordesley Hall, the mansion of Mr Taylor, in full flames; and, about four o'clock of the morning, now the 16th, arrived the mob at Bennett's Hill. The attempts to burn down his house in the town had been prevented by the tradesmen, who feared for their own adjoining ones, and who beat off the rabble; but at the villa they were more successful. They broke up the furniture, piled it into heaps, and thus set fire to and burnt down this pleasant mansion, with its coach-house and stables. Whilst these were burning, the mob employed themselves in laying waste his gardens and shrubberies, cutting down his trees, which the old man had carried to the spot on his back, and planted with his own hands, and trampling on the ornamental grounds which he had laid out with love. Amongst the devastators were throngs of women, swearing that they would not do their work by halves, and they left the place a desert. They then adjourned to another country-house belonging to Mr. John Taylor, Moseley Hall, inhabited by lady Carhampton, the mother of the duchess of Cumberland, a lady very old and blind. To show that their vengeance was intended for the dissenter, John Taylor, and not for the titled lady, they allowed her to have her furniture removed; and then they burnt down the house, as they had done Bordesley Hall and the villa at Bennett's Hill. They attacked two other houses at Moseley Wake Green, and pillaged them, burnt the house of Mr. William Russell, a rich dissenter at Showel Green, and plundered and damaged the houses of Mr. George Humphries, of Mr. Coates, another unitarian minister, of the presbyterian minister on Balsarr Heath, of a Baptist minister, &c.

During these disgraceful days, the church-and-king party took no measures to prevent the destruction of the property of dissenters. Noblemen, gentlemen, and magistrates rode in from the country, on pretence of doing their duty, but they did little but sit and drink their wine, and enjoy the mischief. They could have called out the militia at once, and the mob would have been scattered like leaves before the wind; but they preferred to report the outbreak to the secretary-at-war, and, after the time thus lost, three troops of the 15th light dragoons, lying at Nottingham, were ordered to march thither, which, though they rode thither, fifty-nine miles in one day, to the great damage of their horses, did not arrive till the evening of Sunday, the 17th, this frightful state of things having lasted five days. The magistrates, meantime, had contented themselves with issuing very gentle proclamations, in the blandest terms, telling the rioters, whom they styled "friends and brother-churchmen," that they had done enough; that these "gentlemen of the church-and-king party, the real true blue," would, by any further violent proceedings, more

offend their king and country than serve the cause of him and the church. They mildly assured them that the losses already sustained would not have to be ultimately borne by the individuals victimised, but by the county at large; that the damages would at least amount to one hundred thousand pounds, which "the rest of the friends of the church would have to pay." The whole of their language tacitly admitted that these drunken demons had really been doing acceptable work for the king and country. No riot act was read, and even the services of two recruiting parties in the town, which were offered, and would soon have protected property, were rejected.

On the Sunday, many of the rioters had drunken themselves into sheer stupidity. Mr. Hutton now venturing to return from Tamworth, to which town he had fled, found the high road and fields scattered with them, like the dead of an army. Others, however, were still in full activity, and, in their inebriated fury, were mistaking the houses of good churchmen for those of dissenters. They were in the act of breaking into the house of Dr. Withering, at some distance from the town, when the light dragoons arrived. Other parties were ranging about at greater distances; they burnt down the dissenting chapel and the minister's house at Wharstock; at King's Wood, they burnt the meeting-house, and so far had they now lost their nicety of distinction, that they there burnt the church parsonage too. In the parish of King's Norton, a manor belonging to the king they professed to be serving, they destroyed nine houses. Other parties were reported to be up in the country, especially towards Hagley and Hales-Owen. The colliers of Wednesbury were out, and were pouring in to Birmingham to join in the plunder. But the arrival of the light dragoons showed what might have been done at first, if the magistrates had been so minded. The mob did not stay even to look at the soldiers; at their very name they vanished, and Birmingham, on Monday morning, was as quiet as a tomb. Government itself took a most indifferent leisure in the matter. It did not issue a proclamation from the secretary of state's office till the 29th, when it offered one hundred pounds for the discovery and apprehension of one of the chief ringleaders!

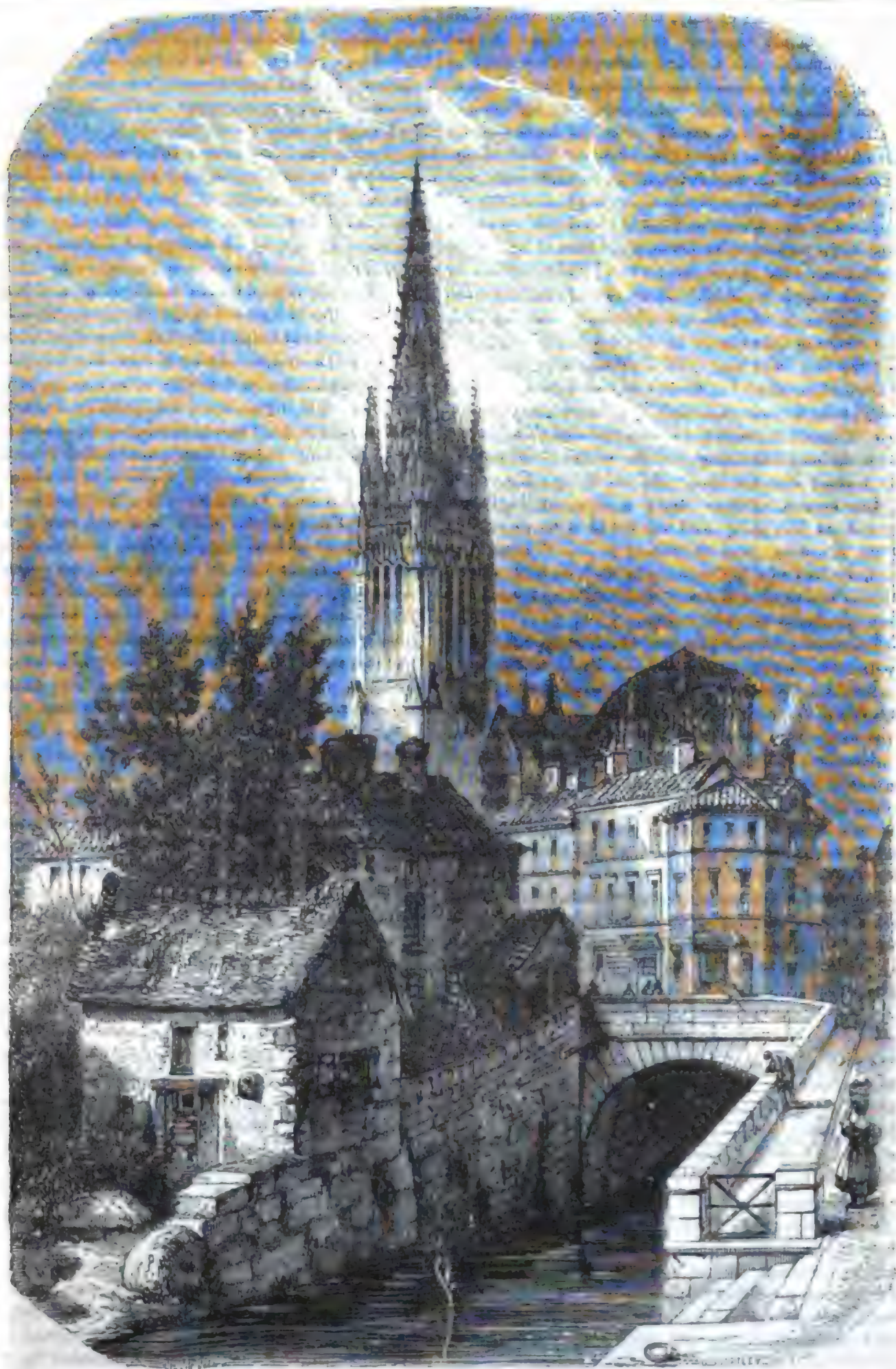
At the ensuing assizes in August, those rioters who had been apprehended were tried; some for participating in the outrages near Birmingham, at Worcester, where, however, only one was committed. Of those tried at Warwick, on the 25th of that month, four received sentence of death. Of these five rioters condemned, only three actually suffered; two received his majesty's pardon. The sufferers by this riot thought the penalty much too trivial. Hutton tells us that the solicitor of the treasury, who was sent down to conduct the trial, very civilly showed him the list of the jurymen summoned, and told him he and his friend might select any twelve men from it that they chose; but, on looking it over, he found them all church-and-king Tories to a man, and returned the paper, saying, "They are all of a sort; you may take what you please."

Such, indeed, was the state of public feeling in and around Birmingham, that the sufferers in the riots were regarded as men seeking the lives of innocent men, who had only shown their loyalty to church and king. They were

declared to be no better than selfish murderers. While they attended at the assizes, their lives scarcely seemed safe. They were publicly abused in the streets, or wherever they appeared, menaced and cursed. In the very assize-hall there were persons who, on seeing Priestley, cried, "Damn him! there is the cause of all the mischief!" He was followed in the streets, especially by an attorney, who cursed him furiously, and wished he had been burned with his house and books. The favourite toast of the church-and-king party was, "May every revolutionary dinner be followed by a hot supper!" and sermons were preached of the most rampant kind, in which all the old passive obedience and non-resistance principles were revived, and the days of the Stuarts and Sacheverel were come back.

The damages awarded to the sufferers were, in most cases, far below their real amount. Hutton was a heavy loser: Priestley received three thousand and ninety-eight pounds, but he complained that this was two thousand pounds short of the extent of his loss. But this deficiency was made up by the contributions of many sympathising friends. His brother-in-law settled on him an annuity of two hundred pounds a-year, and made over to him ten thousand pounds invested in the French funds—a very doubtful security, notwithstanding the doctor's admiration of French principles. Priestley became, through this persecution, the central object of two violently-opposed parties. On one hand, he was regarded as a martyr by those of his own religious and political views. Addresses poured in upon him filled with terms of the warmest condolence and admiration. There were addresses from the committee of deputies at Birmingham; from the members of his own congregation at the new meeting-house; from the young people belonging to it; from the congregation of Mill Hill, Leeds, where he had once officiated, and from many other places. But those which gratified him most were from the Philosophical Society, at Derby, of which Dr. Darwin was president, and from the Academy of Sciences, in Paris, the address of which was written by Condorcet. In this he was termed their "most illustrious associate," and he was treated as a great and dauntless opposer of the tyranny of kings and aristocrats. The address of the Academy of Sciences was speedily followed by similar ones from almost all parts of France; from the jacobins of Nantes, of Lyons, of Marmande, on the Garonne, of Clermont, in Auvergne, of Toulouse, and from the great mother-club of the Rue St. Honoré, in Paris. When the national convention met, one of its first acts was to name him a citizen of the French republic. The revolutionary societies in London and the provincial towns were equally enthusiastic in hailing the great martyr of Birmingham in most eulogistic addresses.

These, on the other hand, inflamed all the more the hatred of the rampant church-and-king party; and the most bitter philippics were fulminated against him. Even the methodists, who were always very loyal, and always professed themselves part of the church, took up the cry against him. He was accused of having said that he would never rest till he had pulled down Jesus Christ, as his admirers in France had done. It was natural that a Birmingham patriot should feel complimented by the importance into which he was raised, but it is difficult



imagine, at this time of day, how far even persecution could have blinded him to the real character of the French revolution. We find him writing, "How different are the spectacles that are now exhibited in France and in England! Here bigotry has been potent, and has acquired new strength. There it is almost extinct. Here the friends of the establishment are burning the meeting-houses of the dissenters with all the rage of crusaders, while, in Paris, one of the churches has been obtained by the protestants. It was opened by one of their ministers to a crowded audience, among whom were many catholics, all in tears of joy for the happy change. The preacher's text was, 'The night is far spent; the day is at hand.' Here, we must rather preach from Isaiah lx. 2, 'Behold, darkness shall cover the land, and gross darkness the people.'"

The ignorance and bigotry of the English populace, and the gross bigotry of the church-and-king party in this country, were disgraceful enough, but they stopped short of blood. The intolerance of the French mob had already made many sanguinary exhibitions, and was on the eve of making many more. The French legislators, though they could melt into momentary fits of weeping sentiment, held their king with an iron grasp, that was far from an example of generous liberality; and everything portended a night of terrors, instead of a joyful morning — portended this in symptoms so unequivocal that they did not require the presence of a Burke to perceive them.

Priestley quitted Birmingham and its bigotry, and became the successor of his deceased friend, Dr. Price, at Hackney: there he did not find it much better. His opinions were not acceptable to the learned and scientific in London, especially to the members of the Royal Society, who shunned him. He determined, therefore, to quit England, and take up his residence in America, where he expected more sympathy. In this, however, he was deceived. He found very little religious sentiment in the States; and few, especially, were inclined to his ultra-unitarian notions. His enthusiasm for France and French democracy were as little responded to. The Americans had won their independence, and the democratic ardour had subsided. France had shed its blood and spent its money for their enfranchisement, when France had really no money to spare; but all this seemed already forgotten, and Priestley was regarded as a spy in the interest of France. "The change," he wrote, in a letter dated September, 1798, "that has taken place is, indeed, hardly credible, as I have done nothing to provoke resentment; but being a citizen of France, and a friend to that revolution, is sufficient. I asked one of the more moderate party whether he thought if Dr. Price, the great friend of their own revolution, was alive, he now would be allowed to come into this country. He said, he believed he would not." Priestley's latter years were thus darkened: he lost his wife in 1796, as well as his youngest son; his own health soon after failed, and he died in 1804; expressing, on his death-bed, his satisfaction in the consciousness of having led a useful life, his confidence in a future state and a happy immortality. An eulogy was read by Cuvier before the National Institute, on the news of his death reaching Paris.

Whilst these things had been passing in England, the revolution in France had made great strides. The assembly

having passed the decree that the clergy should take an oath, *serment civique*, binding them to obey the civil constitution in all things, proceeded on the 2nd of January, of this year, to enforce it. A violent discussion took place. The bishops, and vast numbers of the curés, refused to take the oath. The bishops contended that the assembly, in abolishing the old provinces and re-adjusting the country in departments, had no right to interfere with the ancient boundaries of the bishoprics. The bishop of Clermont proposed a clause being introduced into the oath expressly exempting the clergy from swearing to obey the civil power in spiritual matters, but, though the assembly declared that it was not interfering with spirituals, it would not consent to this, and passed an order that the bishops and clergy should take the oath pure and simple. Four bishops only took the oath, of whom was Lomenie de Brienne, archbishop of Sens, and Talleyrand; the rest, one hundred and thirty-two in number, refused, as well as about eighty thousand curés, and other ecclesiastical professors in colleges, teachers in schools, and other functionaries. The abbé Georgel asserts that not above one in ten of the priests would abandon what he believed to be his conscientious duty to the church, and take the *serment civique*. Amongst the abbés who took the oath was Gregoire, who became bishop of Blois; Lindet, who became bishop of Evreux; Gouttes, one of the fiercest democrats in the assembly, who soon succeeded Talleyrand as bishop of Autun; and Lamourette, who, though he had written "Meditations of the Soul with its God," was not supposed to be very strict in his religious notions. The bishops being elected, it was necessary that they should be consecrated; but here arose a difficulty. It had always been considered necessary that bishops should be consecrated by a metropolitan or archbishop; and of these, only one, Brienne, had taken the oath; and this man, who had scraped together during his premiership, an enormous fortune by the most unscrupulous means, but was not by any means satisfied with wealth or dignity, demanded that, in reward for this service, he should be made primate of the new-modelled church. The assembly, which did not contemplate any such dignity, refused, and decreed that the services of a metropolitan were not at all necessary, but that any bishop who had taken the oath might consecrate the newly elected ones; for each district elected under this arrangement its own bishop and curés. Talleyrand was selected to perform this function, and, as he had no fancy for making a laborious journey to every quarter of France for this purpose, he ordered them all to attend in Paris; and there, having a tricoloured sash over his canonicals, and the bishops elect the same, he consecrated them, and sent them down to their new dioceses to ordain the curés who had sworn. The whole matter was carried through in good earnest. The bishops were installed in their cathedrals and their palaces, and the curés in their parishes, by detachments of national guards. Once installed, they issued pastoral letters, and, in their sermons, praised the national assembly, and represented its proceedings as inspired by God.

But it is not to be supposed that the ejected prelates and curés submitted to all this without resistance. They were all in motion to agitate the people, and raise a party amongst them to maintain them in their livings, or

restore them when ejected. They hawked about pamphlets from house to house; they entreated, conjured, threatened. To some they represented the clergy triumphant, the assembly dissolved, the prevaricating ecclesiastics stripped of their benefices, and confined in their houses of correction; the faithful ones covered with glory and loaded with wreaths. The pope was about to launch his anathemas at a sacrilegious assembly, and at the apostate priests. The people, deprived of the sacraments, would rise; the foreign powers would enter France; and that structure of iniquity and villany would crumble to pieces. And, indeed, the pope soon issued his anathema against the innovation.

The assembly had decreed that the new bishops should not apply to the pope for his bull of recognition of their new appointments; but it permitted them, on the recommendation of Cannes, to send a formal letter to the holy see, announcing the fact, recognising the papacy as the centre of catholic unity, and demanding its sanction. To prevent the effect of an adverse reply, the assembly interdicted all appeals to Rome without the authorisation of itself, and declared that all bulls, briefs, or rescripts coming from Rome without such authorisation, were null and void. But the expelled clergy had sent a vehement appeal to Rome against their ejection; and the pope, in "a doctrinal answer," had promptly replied that the *serment civique* was impious; that the whole of the new civil constitution of the clergy was heretical and destructive of the authority of the church; that the new jurisdictions and appointments were utterly out of order, and the consecrations by the bishop of Autun sacrilegious. The ejected bishops printed this doctrinal answer, and circulated it throughout their dioceses. The national assembly ordered the suppression of this document, under the severest penalties against all such as dared to circulate it. The interdicted clergy declared that the pope was in the hands of the emperor of Austria, and that these were not his real sentiments; but the doctrinal letter was not without effect. A considerable number of country curés, on reading it, declared that they had been deceived, and retracted the oath they had taken. On a proposition of Mirabeau's, it was decreed that all such priests as took the oath, and then abjured it, should be treated as traitors, and deprived of their curés; and, accordingly, they were seized by the municipalities and thrown into prison. This occasioned a fresh rush of emigration, and the ejected bishops, abbés, and curés were soon scattered all over Europe, many of them came to England, seeking their bread by teaching their language. In La Vendée, in some of the southern departments, and remote districts, where the old church and royalist notions prevailed, the people resisted the new law and the soldiers, and maintained their pastors in their pulpits, where they continued to declaim fiercely against the sworn clergy as heretical intruders, and to maintain the good old cause of monarchy. Even in Paris the ejected clergy obtained the church of the Theatin monks, which order, like all the rest, had been suppressed; and those priests who had not taken the oaths officiated. This excited the jacobin club and the mob, who looked on all unsworn priests as rank rebels; and, though the assembly assented to this use of the Theatin church, and granted a guard of militia to protect the worshippers, they broke in, setting

the guards at defiance, and insulted and abused those who persisted in going there. This was probably the church which Dr. Priestley averred that the dissenters had obtained, citing it as a brilliant example of French toleration.

The two aunts of the king, who were aged and pious women, were not only alarmed at the position of things in France, but they were horrified at this desecration of the church, and were anxious to get out of the country, and take up their residence at Rome, near the head of their religion. They knew that the king and the rest of the royal family were actually contemplating a similar flight, and they, therefore, applied to Louis for passports, and proposed to take along with them Madame Elizabeth, the king's sister. Elizabeth, however, was too devoted to the interests of her brother and his family to quit him, and Louis, thinking that his own passports would avail little in protection of the old ladies, applied to Bailly for municipal passports. Bailly refused, and such was the alarm at the idea of the aged princesses quitting France, that Bailly and a deputation hastened to the king, and represented to him the agitation amongst the people of Paris, and the necessity of calming it by forbidding their departure. The city was filled by the most extravagant rumours. The jacobins declared that some of them had lately reconnoitred Versailles, the Trianon, and the Belle-Vue, the residences of the princesses, and that they had found things all in readiness for a general flight. In the stables at Versailles, they said, they found seven hundred horses all saddled and bridled, and prepared for an instant command; royal portmanteaus and imperials packed, and the royal arms erased from the king's carriages. They declared that they had positive information that the count d'Artois and the emperor Leopold, the king's brother, were on the frontiers, waiting to receive the king, and then march into France with Louis at their head. The jacobin journals sounded a loud alarm. Marat, never backward in publishing the most daring lies, on the 14th of February, in his *L'Ami du Peuple*, exclaimed, "These aunts of the king are playing the devil to get away. It would be excessively imprudent to let them. In spite of all that has been said by imbecile journalists, these women are not free. We are at war with the enemies of the revolution; we must keep these old nuns as hostages, and triple our guard over the rest of the family. It is of the greatest importance that a circular letter be immediately written to all the municipalities to stop them. Citizens! remember that these king's aunts are going to leave behind them debts to the amount of three millions of livres, and to carry with them twelve millions in gold. They are going to carry off the dauphin, and there will be hoisted up in the Tuileries a little boy, of the same age and appearance, who has been in training these eighteen months, for the express purpose of deceiving the public."

Roused to fury by these bold invectives, all the patriotesses of Versailles, Sèvres, Meudon, and that neighbourhood, turned out and besieged Belle-Vue, the residence of the royal aunts, night and day. The patriots and patriotesses of Paris were all in agitation too, and every means were adopted for stopping these ladies on their journey, by sending information for their arrest all along their route to Lyons, and from Lyons to the frontiers.

These measures did not, however, deter the king or the princesses from attempting their escape. On the contrary, they only tended to stimulate their exertions. Colonel Berthier, commandant of the national guard of Versailles, was ordered to see the departure of the princesses secured, and on the 19th of February he marched to Belle-Vue at midnight with a strong detachment of the guards. He found the house surrounded by a furious crowd, chiefly of women, swearing that the princesses should not go. Berthier, after seeing the ladies and their attendants in their carriages, advanced to disperse the mob; but a part of his guards would not act. He then ordered the artillery to clear the way with grape-shot, but they also declined, and, so far from obeying his orders, joined the mob, and began to cut the traces of the carriages. Berthier, however, who was not a man to be easily put down, and who, by his martial talents and energies, lived to become a marshal and constable of France, prince of Neufchatel and Wagram under Napoleon, forced some of his troops to support him, and he made a way for the ladies, and saw them clear off on their journey. It is certain that he must have incurred the most imminent personal peril for this daring conduct. The refractory soldiers, as well as the mob, threatened to murder him. He was cashiered from his command of the national guard of Versailles, his native place, and for a long time was in daily jeopardy of his life.

The next morning, the king announced to the assembly the departure of his aunts. There was a sensation. Barnave moved that the strictest regulations should be made to fix the residences, duties, and obligations of all the royal family. He reiterated the outcries of Marat, regarding the contemplated flight of the king and royal family, and the consequence was a fresh *émeute* amongst the women of Paris. Crowds of them surrounded the Tuileries with frantic cries and menaces, and, as they were assured that monsieur, the king's brother, afterwards Louis XVIII., was on the point of starting, they surrounded the Luxembourg, where he resided, and compelled him and his wife to go under their escort to the Tuileries, that they might have all the royalties safe under one roof. Monsieur, who in reality had been on the very eve of starting, assured his rabid jailors that nothing would induce him to think of leaving the king, and they were somewhat pacified. The next day arrived the news that the king's aunts had made a rush, and passed through the town of Moret, and on the heels of this, the news that the ladies had been arrested at Arnai-le-duc, in Burgundy, by the people, and in opposition to the wishes and the efforts of the municipality. This was confirmed by a letter from the mayor of Arnai-le-duc, who stated that he had set a strong guard over the princesses, to protect them from the excesses of the people, and awaited instructions from the assembly as to his further proceedings. The princesses also sent a letter by the same courier to the national assembly, stating that they were detained because they had no passport from the national assembly, and imploring them to furnish them with a permission to proceed; assuring the assembly they were nothing more, and desired to be nothing more, than good citizenesses. The king also sent a message to the assembly, complaining of this detention of his aunts, as an infringement

ment of the liberty of the subject, which ought to be preserved inviolate for all, and begged the assembly to remove the impediment. A very warm discussion took place. Mirabeau denounced the violence done to the ladies by their detention, and declared that they were free to go wherever they pleased. The debate was suddenly brought to a close by Menou exclaiming, "All Europe will be astonished that the august assembly has spent several days in deciding whether two old women shall hear mass at Paris or at Rome!" The resolution to allow their departure was passed.

This, however, highly enraged the mob of Paris, who again marched in crowds to the Tuileries, to express their rage by their accustomed curses and howlings; but the guard, in good time, closed the gates, and kept them out of the court, placing cannon in conspicuous array. A proposal was then made by Chapelier, on the 28th of February, for a law restricting emigration. This was in consequence of the report of a committee already appointed for that purpose. Still, in making this motion, Chapelier declared that the report of the committee was contrary to all principles of liberty, and that such a decree would go to establish the despotism of a dictatorship. They had, he said, only conceded the project to the demands of the assembly for such a law. There was a violent debate upon the subject. Mirabeau resisted the law most energetically, which, at the dictation of a committee of three members, was to pronounce the civil death of the *émigré*, and the confiscation of his property. Mirabeau said, "The murmurs which the reading of this project has occasioned, testify that it is more proper to be placed in the code of Draco than in that of the national assembly of France. I declare that I should feel every oath of fidelity broken towards those who should vote for a dictatorial a commission. The popularity of which I am ambitious, and which I have the honour to enjoy, is not a mere feeble reed; I desire to make it strike its roots deep into the earth, to the very foundations of justice and liberty. If you pass such a law, I swear to disobey it." The motion was adjourned for the present.

But the disturbances continued, and if one cause flagged such men as Marat could soon discover others. This monster of blood and mendacity, to find now a means of turning the fury of the rabble on Bailly and La Fayette, made a terrible tirade against the spies or mouchards, whom he accused them of keeping in pay against the people, and whom he represented to be the greatest gamblers and swindlers in the metropolis. There was no surer way of damaging the authorities of order than by accusing them of not only employing these gamblers, but of mingling with them in the hells, and thus spending the public money to demoralise the state. Had Marat's motive been simply public virtue his would have been truly patriotic conduct; but, like all his malicious schemes, its real object was to ruin men much better than himself. He declared that there were in Paris not less than ten thousand gamblers, and blacklegs, keepers of swindling gaming-tables, especially in the Palais Royal, where there were alone twenty-seven hells. Next all these desperate and disreputable men, he affirmed, were the spies of mayor Bailly. "There is," he said, "one Marat, formerly a lacquey and under-spy, but now spy is

chief, and privileged robber to the divine Bailly, and this fellow is worth four hundred thousand livres, which he has gained by robbery. There is Charigny, a few years ago a postillion, but now chief spy and privileged robber to the divine Bailly. He is worth more than eight hundred thousand livres, the fruits of plunder, and he keeps a carriage for himself, a carriage for Margot, his wife, and a carriage for Javotte, his mistress. There is Delsanne, formerly an apothecary's boy, who has married the daughter of Lesprit, renowned for hair-dressing, and now he is chief spy and robber to the divine Bailly; has more than two hundred and fifty thousand livres, which he has got by robbery, and lives in his own great house in the Rue St. Apolline."

Marat, in his ferocious and coarse style, then ran through the catalogue of the keepers of gambling-houses, naming them distinctly. He charged Talleyrand, the virtuous-seeming bishop of Autun, with frequenting, and winning as much as six or seven thousand francs in such places. Talleyrand denied, by a letter in the newspapers, the fact of frequenting such houses, but pleaded guilty to having won, within two months, in private houses, about thirty thousand francs, and, with much affected compunction, he blamed himself for giving way to this evil practice of society, and joined in the denunciation of it. But Marat named almost every public man as a confirmed gambler in private society, and that they played with money not their own. "What would you think," he said, "of seeing these virtuous conscript fathers, Chapelier, Emmercy, Target, Thouret, Tronchet, Desmeuniers, Regnier, Daudré, Riquetti (Mirabeau), Voidel, Broglie, Desclaires, Malouet, Montlosier, Cazales, Bailly, Motté (La Fayette), all fresh from their machinations, all sitting down together, covering a gaming-table with assignats, putting upon a single card the fortunes of twenty families, and wasting, whilst they seize, the property of the church, the patrimony of the poor?"

In this manner, this fierce calumniator attacked all that he hated or envied—many of them, as Bailly and Lavalette, who disliked even private play, and were amongst the most moral of the community. But it suited his purpose to brand them as public embezzlers and payers of spies, and the rabble believed everything. Whilst Paris was thus kept in agitation, there were émeutes in different parts of the country, which the jacobin journalists attributed to the ejected priests and their indignant partisans, and, no doubt, in many cases, with truth. The unresting agitator, Marat, now turned the resentment of the Paris mob on the ancient fortress of Vincennes. He gave notice, in his journal, that this old prison—a second Bastille—was being put into repair, and threw out hints that it was by order of the court, and for securing in its dungeons some of the staunchest friends of the people. It was soon whispered that the intended victims were the duke of Orleans and his family, as well as the most patriotic members of the assembly.

Vincennes had, like the Bastille, immured in its dungeons many victims of state despotism, and many under *lettres de cachet* from various causes. Of late years it had been more used for these purposes than the Bastille. Mirabeau had lain there; and men still more infamous in their literature, if not in their lives, Diderot—nearly as famous for his lewd tales and dramas as for his Encyclopædia—and the marquis de

Sades—one of the most immoral of patriots—who is said to have written the most profligate of his infamous novels in this prison. The mob of the Faubourg St. Antoine—which had been busy for some days burning barriers where the octrois, or duty on provisions coming into the city, were levied—on the morning of the 28th of February marched away to demolish this fortress, as they had done the Bastille. It lay, conveniently for them, only four miles on their side of the town; and they were headed by Santerre, the burly brewer, and also a hero of the Bastille, at the head of his battalion of the national guards. On arriving there, the officers on the spot assured them that the repairs were done by order of the assembly itself, in order to relieve the prisons of Paris, which were so crowded as to create a danger of fatal infections in them, which might spread into the city. This was confirmed by the municipal authorities of Vincennes; but no matter: St. Antoine was come out to destroy another Bastille, and to work they went. They snatched the hammers and crow-bars from the workmen, broke into the prison, and began to destroy everything they found, and fling the fragments out of the windows. They then commenced their operations on the battlements, for they could make little impression on the towers. They were thus engaged when La Fayette arrived, at the head of several thousand national guards, and with several pieces of artillery. He commanded the mob to desist, and, as they paid no attention, he commanded Santerre to fire upon them. But the brewer was come there not to molest, but to protect the rioters, and he replied that these were the destroyers of the Bastille. La Fayette had as little influence with the municipal officers of Vincennes. They would take no responsibility, and he therefore boldly took it all on himself. Much as had been done, and still was doing, by the rabid journalists to destroy his popularity, he did not weigh this in the scale with his duty. He ordered his men to drive out the mob by force, but not to fire, unless they should come to extremity. He succeeded in clearing the place, and driving the mob before him; but, as he returned to pass through the Faubourg St. Antoine, he found the gates shut against him. He threatened to blow them open with his cannon, and then they were opened: but as he passed through the streets, several shots were fired at him and his officers, and an attempt was made to lunge his horse, and thus throw him to the ground.

But this was but a portion of the extraordinary scenes of this day. As La Fayette quitted Paris and took his way with his national guards towards Vincennes, numbers of royalists began to flock towards the Tuileries. As it was not till the afternoon that La Fayette went away, it was not till evening that the numbers of these royalists reached the palace. Then came a report that La Fayette was killed in returning from Vincennes through the Faubourg St. Antoine, and the fierce centre grenadiers, formerly the Gardes Françaises, conceived that it was an attempt to carry off the king. The guards rushed into the palace, and, seizing a gentleman who was going in at the same time, discovered a dagger, or, as other accounts say, a pistol, in his coat-pocket. This confirmed the suspicions, and it was augmented by a hot-headed royalist, the chevalier de St. Elme, who, on the guards approaching the royal apartment, set

the door ajar, and presented a pistol at them. The king was frightened, and desired the gentlemen—many of whom belonged to the palace, or had the *entrée* of it—to lay down their arms, and disperse. The guards did not wait for this, but commenced a rude search of the powdered-headed courtiers, and soon filled a large basket with sword-canes, daggers, and pistols. Enraged at this, they kicked or hurled marquises, dukes, counts, and chevaliers—or those who formerly bore these titles—down the stairs, and out into the gardens of the Tuileries, where the mob received them with renewed insults, till they had their clothes nearly torn

The real cause of the disturbance at the palace was apparently owing simply to the alarm occasioned by the noise, and riot, and firing of guns with which the people of the Faubourg St. Antoine had set off for Vincennes. This had been heard all over the city, and the royalists, fearing some new violence to the royal family, had snatched up such arms as they could best carry into the Tuileries unobserved to defend it. That is the most probable explanation of the fact, and La Fayette certainly that day had shown unusual determination against both parties. Marat, however, found it too good an opportunity in



TAKING THE CIVIC OATH.

from their backs. When La Fayette arrived he was greatly incensed at the duke de Villequier and other officers of the household having admitted this crowd of frantic royalists during his absence. He ordered the arms to be brought out and broken to pieces in the court of the Tuileries. The next day he issued an order, blaming in severe terms the courtiers and gentlemen of the household for this occurrence. The king declared that it had been done totally without his knowledge, and he observed to La Fayette that the folly of his own friends would ruin him.

But whilst La Fayette blamed the courtiers, he was sharply blamed himself. He was very clearly placed between the two raging parties, and, by his efforts to keep them both in order, was certain to incur the hatred of both.

damaging La Fayette not to dress it up into something monstrous. He declared that it was a scheme of La Fayette and Bailly to carry off the royal family; that, for this purpose, the national guard had been corrupted, gangs of scoundrels and assassins brought from the country into the city, and that the *émeute* in the Faubourg St. Antoine had been excited by La Fayette himself, that the royalists might have an opportunity, whilst he was quelling it, again to rush to the palace and carry off the royal family: that, fortunately, the centre grenadiers had discovered the plot and blown it up before La Fayette's return. On the other hand, there were those who thought that Marat and his fellow-journalists, with the more rabid republicans, had been at the bottom of all these alarms, in order to frighten



DEATH OF MIRABEAU.

the assembly into passing the decree against emigration; for, a few days before, Marat had declared that there were five thousand poniards manufacturing in Paris to murder patriots with, in consequence of which a strict search was made and thirty-six poniards were discovered in a shop. These, the maker declared, were manufactured for persons engaged in the slave-trade in Africa; but, notwithstanding this assertion, and the ridiculously small number of these arms, when other daggers were found on gentlemen at the Tuileries, a wonderful outcry was made, and this day became known as the "day of poniards."

It was natural that this rumour of an attempt to carry off the king should draw the public attention to the collection of the emigrants on the frontiers, who were reported to be expecting Louis's arrival amongst them. On the 22nd of March Mirabeau mounted the tribune, and demanded a committee of inquiry on this subject. He said it was reported that there were only seven thousand troops posted to defend the provinces of the Upper Rhine, and two thousand to defend those of the Lower Rhine, and that it was notorious that there was a league of tyrants preparing to invade France, and trample under foot its infant liberties. The committee was appointed, Mirabeau being one of the members; but this was his last appearance in the assembly. He had worn out his constitution by luxury and debauchery, and was dying. His final display was in the jacobin club. He went to combat the reports that had been raised against him for his opposition to the decree against emigration. He went there on the evening of the 28th of March, and delivered an energetic speech, declaring that he would stand by the jacobins, even to ostracism. The next morning he could not rise from his bed. It was obvious to his friends for months that he was fast going. He had never ceased his extravagant indulgences nor his Herculean labours. He spent his days in incessant exertions in preparing for the assembly, having a number of literary men preparing speeches for him, and in delivering these amid all the excitements of that place; thence he would adjourn to the hot and foul atmosphere of the jacobin club, to fresh debates and excitements; thence to the supper-table, where he did not, like his brother, thence called Tonneau Mirabeau, or Barrel Mirabeau, indulge in much wine, but in all the other pleasures of the table. All this time he was engaged in impetuous talk, and he closed his day, at a late hour, amongst a number of opera girls, on whom he lavished the money received from the court for the salvation of the monarchy. Gigantic as was his frame, and robust as was his constitution, this course of life must, as his friend Dumont told him, have killed any other man long before. For some time, his face had assumed a ghastly paleness, his eyes were sunk in his head, and it was only under the excitement of the tribune that a delusive flush covered this hue and stricture of death.

But Mirabeau himself believed that he was not sinking from premature exhaustion, but from poison. He said, three months before he died, that he felt as if poisoned; as if he were consuming by a slow fire. He was seized by frequent fainting-fits, and by attacks of repletion in the head and eyes; yet he would apply leeches, and insist on going to the assembly with wet bandages round his neck to stop the bleeding. Nor was he alone in the idea that he

was poisoned. The complaint at last assumed the character of inflammation of the bowels. Every one was astonished at the sudden breaking down of this Samson, the court, which placed its last hope in him, of keeping the assembly and the rabid jacobins in check till they could escape, were confounded. The author of the "*Memoires d'un Pair de France*" positively asserts that he was poisoned, and gives this circumstantial account of it. In 1793, he says, Robespierre, at a moment when he was off his guard, ventured to boast of the share he had taken in that crime. Two parties, he observed, were then labouring to accomplish the ruin of the king: a third wished it without declaring it; all three were concerned to see Louis XVI. inclined to a cordial reconciliation with the constitution; and all dreaded the sound advice which Mirabeau had it in his power to give. It was well known that this man was the only person capable of directing affairs in such a manner as to keep the factions within the limits which they hoped to pass. As the issue of any attempt to strip him of his popularity was uncertain, it was thought better to dispatch him; but, as an assassin was to be found, it was necessary to have recourse to poison. Marat furnished the receipt for it; it was prepared under his superintendence, and he answered for its effects. How to administer it was the next question. At length it was resolved to choose the opportunity of a dinner at which the poisonous ingredients should be introduced into the bread or wine, or certain dishes of which Mirabeau was known to be fond. Robespierre and Petion undertook to see the execution of this atrocious scheme, and were assisted by Fabre d'Eglantine, and two or three other extraordinary Orleanists. Mirabeau had no suspicion of the perfidy; but its effects were manifested immediately after the party of pleasure at which he had grossly indulged. He was soon aware that he was poisoned, and told his intimate friends so, and especially Cabanis, to whom he said, "I seek the cause of my death in my physical excesses: I will find it rather in the hatred borne me by those who are for the overthrow of France, or those who are afraid of its ascendancy over the minds of the king and queen." It was impossible to drive it out of his head that his death was not natural; but great pains were taken to prevent this opinion from getting abroad.

Whether he died by poison or not, those parties we have named had the strongest reasons to get rid of him, and particular persons were capable of any crime. In any case he was dying: but he would not allow Cabanis to consult in any other physician. Cabanis was strongly recommended to Mirabeau from his having endured a similar treatment in his youth from his father and from a physician similar to his own. He had resided in the house of a once beautiful and accomplished widow of Helvetius, with whom he had associated with Franklin, Jefferson, Turgot, Holbach, Condillac, Diderot, d'Alembert, and even Voltaire, the great men of a former generation. When Cabanis desired to call on Dr. Petit, he told him that, if he recovered, he would bear all the merit, and Petit carry away all the reputation. At length Petit was called in, but could do nothing to save him.

As soon as the people knew of his danger they continued to maintain a constant crowd before his house; and the crowd

sent messenger after messenger to learn the condition of the hour. Mirabeau, hearing some noise in the street, inquired what it was. He was told that it was the constant stream of people coming to inquire after him. He was greatly gratified at this, and said it had been sweet for him to live for the people, and it would be sweet to die amongst them. He spoke with great complacency of what he had accomplished, and regret that his vast schemes should thus be suddenly cut asunder. From this moment, feeling that he must go, to use the words of Talleyrand, who was with him, "he dramatised his death;" that is, he said or did everything for effect. He called Talleyrand to his bed-side and gave him a speech on the subject of wills, which the assembly was about to discuss. Though this, like many other of his speeches, Dumont, his friend, says were not written by himself, but by M. Reybaz for him, he charged Talleyrand to read it to the assembly, as his own legacy to it. "It will be curious," he said, "to hear a man speaking against wills, who is no more, who has, too, just made his own;" and, he might have added, who had nothing to leave.

Being seized with violent pains in his head, though his extremities were now dead, he called to Teutch, his valet, and said, "Raise my head—the greatest in France! You will never have such another head to raise." He talked to Talleyrand of the plans of England, and said, "That is the minister of preparation; he governs with threats; if I should live, I would give him some trouble." The priest of his parish came to offer his attendance, which he politely declined, saying, with a smile, he would gladly accept him, but that he had his ecclesiastical superior, the bishop of Autun, always with him. He desired the windows to be opened. "My friend," he said to Cabanis, "I shall die to-day. All that can now be done is to envelope one's self in perfumes, to cover one's self with flowers, to surround one's self with music, and thus sink quietly into everlasting sleep!"

Thus Mirabeau had flattered himself with that eternal annihilation so dear to the profligate debauchee; and this became the favourite doctrine of those Frenchmen who were boasting of being engaged in the regeneration of the human race. Diderot had raised the cry of "Ecrasez l'Infame!" or, "Down with the infamous Christ!" and the finest substitute which these proud reformers could find for christianity, which was an eternal protest against their sensuality and their sanguinary crimes, was eternal death. Within two years, they had inscribed over the gates of every cemetery in France, "Death is an eternal sleep!"

But savage pangs interrupted this philosophical arrangement of perfumes, and flowers, and music, as the prelude to perpetual nothingness; and the unhappy man exclaimed, "You have promised to spare me needless suffering. My tortures are insupportable. I have still within me a hundred years of strength, and not a moment's courage. Give me opium!" When they hesitated, he demanded it with fresh violence, and, as he could no longer speak, he snatched a piece of paper, and wrote on it "dormir"—to sleep. To satisfy him, they gave him a draught, which they said contained opium. He drank it off, believing it to be mortal; appeared satisfied, and in a moment afterwards expired. He was in his forty-second or forty-third year.

As soon as it was known that Mirabeau was dead, there was great lamentation. The shops were all closed, and the people put a stop to all private dances and merry-makings. The jacobins resolved to wear mourning for him for eight days, to attend his funeral, to celebrate the anniversary of his death in all coming years by assuming mourning, and to place a bust of him in their hall. The assembly resolved to attend his funeral in a body; and Pastoret, one of their own members, appeared at the head of a deputation from the administration of the department of Paris, and made a proposition that the church of St. Geneviève should be converted into a Pantheon, in which should be deposited the remains of the great men and benefactors of France who should have died since the era of liberty; that Mirabeau should be the first, and that Descartes, whose remains lay in the old church of St. Geneviève, as well as those of Rousseau and Voltaire, should be admitted, because, although they died before this period, they had essentially contributed to it. This was assented to, and the assembly ordered that there should be inscribed over the portal the words, "Aux grands hommes la patrie reconnaissante" (To great men the grateful country).

The funeral of Mirabeau took place the day after his death, namely, on the 21st of April, 1791. It was attended by one hundred thousand people, including the assembly, the municipality, the king's ministers, the jacobin club, and all other persons of note. The streets were lined with national guards and other soldiers, and there was besides a procession of constitutional clergy. The body was carried by the battalion of guards of which he was the commandant. As the old church of St. Geneviève was in a dilapidated condition, the service was performed at the church of St. Eustache, and when the coffin was at length deposited in the vault of old St. Geneviève, beside the remains of Descartes, Gobel, the bishop of Paris, pronounced an oration over it, in which, not contented with praising Mirabeau for his talents and services to the state, he adorned him with all possible virtues. Perhaps a satire more blasphemous was never pronounced in the face of Heaven and an assembled people under the name of an eulogium! Gouverneur Morris could not conceal, in his letters home, his disgust at this hideous prostitution of language over a man whose vices were both degrading and detestable. Even a lady of Paris, writing to Sir Samuel Romilly, could not avoid remarking, "We have nothing more to learn from the Greek and Roman republics with respect to the honour to be awarded to great men. It is only a great pity that some virtues are not to be found amongst the things for which this illustrious man is regretted; and that, on the contrary, talent should be obscured by all that is most disgusting in human nature."

Mirabeau, as might be expected, died insolvent, and the assembly contented itself with decreeing him honours; they voted nothing to discharge his debts. The journalists did not pay him even honours; they discharged on him rejoicing abuse. They knew that it was he who had of late restrained their headlong career to blood and universal confusion, so far as it had been restrained. The royalists, for the same reason, really lamented his death at this moment, because they needed his aid to secure the escape of the royal family

from the jaws of the popular lion, which, every day, were opening wider to devour them. Robespierre, in his usual philosophical and didactic strain, which often reminds one of the diction of the Chinese, condemned all the honours paid him, and their Pantheon as a trumpery affair. But, as usual, Marat, in his "Ami du Peuple," concentrated all the abuse of all the other journals:—"People! render thanks to the gods! Your greatest enemy is dead! Riquetti is no more! He has died the victim of his numerous treasons, victim to his too tardy remorse, victim to the barbarous foresight of his atrocious accomplices, who were terrified to see him go about with all their frightful secrets in his breast." Marat, too, pronounced him to be assuredly poisoned; but then he charged it on the royalists, as the royalists charged it on him and his accomplices. He sneered at the pretence of weeping over him. "The life of Riquetti," he said, "was stained with a thousand crimes; let a black veil cover it. But take heed, O people! do not prostitute your incense; keep your tears for your honest defenders; bear in mind that he was one of the born valets of despotism; that he quarrelled with the court only to captivate your suffrages, and that, as soon as he was elected your deputy to defend your interests, he basely sold your most sacred rights!"

There was much truth mingled with much malice in this diatribe. Of Mirabeau's crimes there could be no question; but he had also his splendid talents, and had rendered services to the revolution by acting as a drag on its desperate course. We shall find a more horrid class of men, who stood in awe of him, now raising their heads, and assuming awful shapes. From this moment Robespierre expanded into gigantic dimensions; and even Maury felt to breathe freer in his defence of the church. On entering the tribune, soon after, he exclaimed—"Mirabeau is no longer here; I shall not be prevented speaking!"

The absence of the influence of Mirabeau on the king's fortunes was immediately apparent. The clubs and journalists, who now entirely ruled France through the mob, raised a loud clamour against the king's employing in the palace unsworn, and therefore unconstitutional, priests. The congregation at the church of the Theatins, where the non-juring class had been permitted to worship, were attacked by the mob, and there was a terrible riot. On that same Sunday (the 17th of April), Danton, the great hero of the Cordelier club, placarded the streets of Paris with a fierce denunciation of the king on this account, declaring that the first public functionary should be charged with this open breach of the constitution to the assembly. The next day the royal family were setting off for St. Cloud to spend the Easter. The king's health was indifferent—as was no wonder, from his confinement and constant anxieties—and he naturally wished to have the quiet enjoyment of his religion, and the priests whom he did not consider schismatical. He had apprised Bailly and La Fayette of his intention; they had fully acquiesced, and La Fayette was in attendance in the court of the Tuileries with a strong body of the national guards to escort the royal family. They were already in their coaches, and about to start, when a furious mob, containing, as usual, a great proportion of women, rushed forward, crying, "Down with that coach!

Down with it! No St. Cloud!" They threw themselves before the horses, and threatened to kill the postillions if they moved. It was in vain that Bailly and La Fayette argued with them, contending that the short sojourn at St. Cloud was necessary for the royal health. The mob replied that they should not go; for they only wanted to escape, and bring the armies of the emigrants and the emperor upon them. La Fayette desired the king to go quietly, and he would open a way for him with his guards; but part of the guards refused to act, and the king, fearing bloodshed, got out with the queen, his sister, and children, and they all returned to the palace in the deepest humiliation; the queen all the way being pursued by the vile epithets.

Such was already the condition of monarchy in France: it was in the condition of the most pitiable and most absolute slavery to a mob, which was continually boasting of every man being free!

The next day Louis went to the assembly, and complained indignantly of this violence done to his personal freedom, and declared that he still would go. But though the assembly affected to sympathise with him, they said not a word about supporting him in going; and when one of the members expressed his astonishment at this, he was menaced with being sent to the Abbaye. In fact, one half of the assembly was of the same opinion as the mob, and the other half was intimidated by it.

The king, as if afraid of his own boldness, made a miserable attempt, which could deceive nobody, to appear resigned. He dictated a letter to his foreign minister Montmorin, addressed to the ambassadors of all the foreign powers, declaring that he was free and happy in the midst of his people, and that all rumours of his desiring to quit Paris and bring about a counter-revolution, were entirely false, and a foul calumny upon him. At the same time, when Louis put this letter into the hands of the ambassador of the emperor, he said how it was to be understood, and when the emperor, who was at this time travelling in Italy, sent to him a private messenger to ascertain his real sentiments, he told him he might understand them by the language he was forced from him, and that he had no hopes now that Mirabeau was gone. This explanation was the more necessary, because De Breteuil, Louis's ambassador at Vienna, was violently opposed to Calonne, who was the minister of the court of the emigrants, and who, having sent Leopold at Mantua, had cast some suspicions on the representations of De Breteuil. Leopold, once satisfied that the king was ready to fly, promised to set in motion thirty thousand men in Flanders, and fifteen thousand in Alsace. He declared that an equal number of Swiss should march upon Lyons, as many Piedmontese upon Dauphine, and that Spain would assemble twenty thousand men. The emperor likewise promised the co-operation of Prussia to the neutrality of England. These were the plans which were maturing at the very moment that Louis was making his public professions of resignation. Unfortunately for him, he was urged by contrary advice from Breteuil and Calonne. The emperor desired him not to move till all was ready, and Calonne gave this same advice; but Breteuil advised the king to get away as soon as he could, because

he was jealous of the influence which Calonne might acquire with the emperor whilst in Italy. Louis determined to set out soon. To throw the populace the more off their guard, he went with all his family to hear mass in one of the parish churches where the sworn priests officiated; but this did not deceive the mob, for they observed that they did not take the Easter sacrament in public, and they were therefore quite satisfied that they received it from the non-juring priests in private.

La Fayette was so indignant at the opposition of the mob, and at the insubordination of the national guards, that he threw up his command, and it was only at the most earnest entreaties of the municipality that he resumed it, and on condition that the national guards should swear to obey all commands in future, and that such as refused should be disbanded. The centre grenadiers refused, and were broken up; but they were almost immediately received individually into other corps. Those soldiers who had shown the most disrespect to the royal family were to be punished; but this was not found practicable from fear of the people, and, on the contrary, one of the most insolent of them was, on being dismissed from his company, patronised by Danton, and was crowned in the Cordelier club with a wreath of flowers. All law, in fact, was now trodden under foot; no government but such as pleased the lowest mob was tolerated. The workmen began to combine in what we now call trades' unions, and fixed the rate of their own wages, declaring that, according to the Declaration of the Rights of Man, their masters had no right to be richer than they were. Bailly issued a manifesto, warning the trades against these illegal proceedings, and showing them the ultimate embarrassment and misery to which such ideas would drive the public; but the workmen paid no attention, but went on extending their unions, and remorselessly persecuting such men as refused to join them.

At the beginning of May the pope's bull arrived, excommunicating the new elective bishops, Talleyrand, Gobel, De Brienne, Fauchet, and the rest. The people of Paris seized the opportunity to demonstrate what they really thought of the pope. They burnt him in effigy in the Palais Royal, with the bull in his hand, amid a vast concourse of shouting spectators, amongst whom were some who had formerly figured as counts and marquises. There could be no misunderstanding, after that, the popular predilection for popery, or, indeed, for any religion.

Robespierre, now risen into the ascendant in the absence of Mirabeau, on the 16th of May, rose and made a most extraordinary motion. It was nothing less than that, as the constitution was nearly complete, the assembly should pledge itself, immediately on that completion, to dissolve itself. He did not think it just or constitutional that the same body which had made the laws should continue in the direction of them. But what more astonished the assembly was that he moved that none of the present members should be re-eligible to the next assembly. This apparently wonderful self-denying ordinance, like that of Cromwell in the long parliament, naturally astounded the whole assembly, and Robespierre, as he wished, became regarded as a miracle of disinterestedness. All at once, he was developing as an example of sublime truth and virtue. The assembly

received the proposition with raptures of applause. Every one, for the moment, was seized with the spirit of self-sacrifice for the public good. The motion was seconded by the mild-seeming Petion. Merlin alone doubted whether the election of an entirely new assembly might not produce a body of novices, who might undo all that they had done. He could not conceive that such another collection of wise and great legislators could be found as themselves. But Robespierre was, on the contrary, of opinion that the country had, in these two unparalleled years, made such progress in political knowledge and judgment that it would elect far better men. He referred to antiquity—to Greece and Rome, to Solon, and Lycurgus, and Numa, and showed that it had always been the practice of truly great law-givers to retire from the exercise of a constitution when they had once completed it. "I have no need," he said, "to lose myself in subtle reasonings to find the solution of this fact; it exists in the first principles of my integrity and my conscience."

He recommended, above all things, disinterestedness and a philosophical calmness. Of all things, he was afraid of the denunciation of a few subtle and glittering orators. An assembly no longer enjoyed liberty and equality when a little knot of orators swayed it. When they controlled deliberations, there was no longer a representation. He related the anecdote of Themistocles showing his child, and exclaiming, "Here is what governs Greece! This baby governs its mother; its mother governs me: I govern the Athenians; and the Athenians govern all Greece!" "Thus," he said, "a nation of twenty-five millions of men would be governed by the assembly; the assembly would be governed by a few adroit orators; and by whom would these orators sometimes be governed?" He continued, "I like not the idea that a few able men should domineer over the true representatives of the people, or perpetuate a system of coalition which is already the scourge of liberty." He contended that no assembly should sit longer than two years. He was for having the representative always under the influence and guidance of the electors; and he concluded a speech which threw the assembly into paroxysms of wonder and self-renunciation, with the most generous of motions—"Let us, then, retire like victorious but wearied athletes. Let us leave the arena to fresh and vigorous successors, who will follow our footsteps under the eyes of an attentive nation! As for us, we shall serve our country better out of the assembly than if we remained in it. Returned to our departments, spread over all the parts of this empire, we will illuminate such of our fellow-citizens as may yet need illumination. We will propagate everywhere patriotism and public spirit, the love of peace, the love of order, of law, and of liberty!"

There were one or two attempts to say something in reply; but the assembly, completely carried away by this fine speech, so full of noble-sounding sentiments, would not listen, but passed the decree amid a thunder of acclamation. On the following day Barnave moved that the members of one legislature may be re-elected to another: but not till after an interval of two years—that is, till after the full course of a particular assembly. This was carried, too, and then Robespierre astonished them further by proposing

universal suffrage. Nothing could be more proper, where liberty and equality reigned; but here the assembly could not go along with the orator; they rejected the proposition, and, no doubt, quite according to the expectation, and much to the satisfaction of Robespierre, who, through all

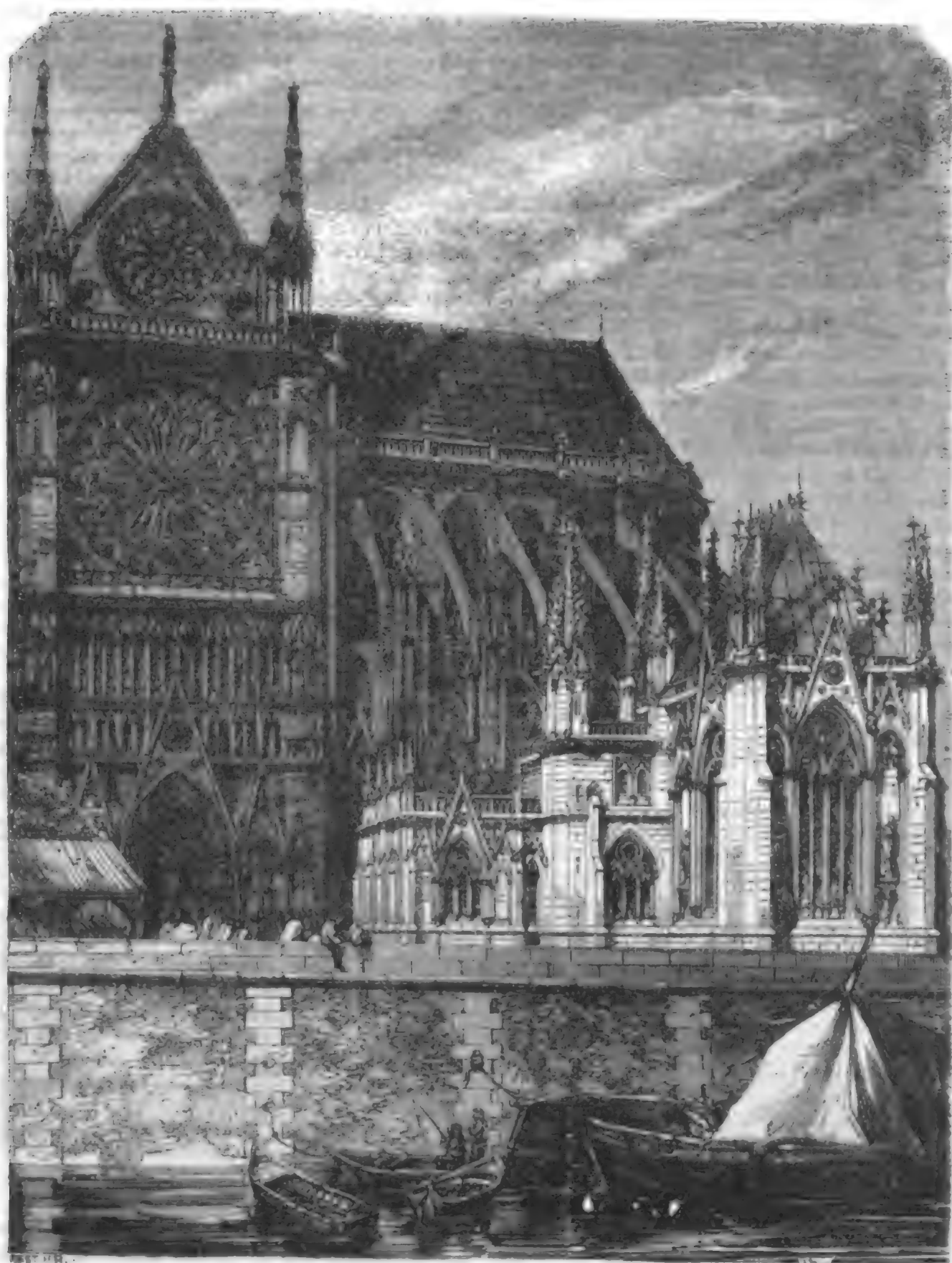
the blood of his compatriots, ascended a scale higher in virtue and philanthropy in a debate on the penal code, on the 30th of May. He proposed to abolish the punishment of death. After adverting again to Greece, he said, "I come to pray, not the gods, but this legislature



PORTE ST. DENIS, PARIS.

this, was not speaking according to the dictates of a sound and noble nature, but was purposely seeking to dazzle and flatter the people, to make them paramount of an assembly of mere commonplace men, and himself in reality the dictator through the passions of the mob, to whom he presented himself as their patron and their martyr. This tiger, smooth and mild, who, in so short a time, was reeking with

who ought to be the organised interpreters of the eternal law which the Divinity has dictated to man, to expunge from the code of the French those laws of blood which are judicial murder, and which are repulsive to the manners, morals, and the new constitution of the French people. He undertook to prove that the punishment of death was unjust, and at the same time ineffectual; that it did by a



VIEW OF NOTRE DAME FROM THE SEINE, PARIS

means prevent crimes; and he was particularly pathetic on the sufferings of men subjected for a long period in solitude to its terrors.

Robespierre was followed by other members in the same strain, who afterwards became as sanguinary. The assembly abolished the punishment of death, *except* in the case of an enemy to the country, which left the door open for all the horrors which followed.

The progress of anarchy now grew every day more rapid. Prudhomme boldly proposed the abolition of royalty, as the greatest curse and plague which ever desolated mankind. Rousseau, he said, had rightly declared it a government against nature. Whilst these things were passing in the assembly, the municipalities were busy without, removing the old names of streets, especially of royal ones, and naming them after the heroes of the revolution. The Chaussee d'Antin was already converted into the Rue de Mirabeau, and now the Quai des Theatins became the Quai Voltaire, and the Rue Platriere, the Rue Jean Jacques Rousseau. On the anniversary of the funeral of Voltaire, the assembly voted that his remains should be removed to the Pantheon, and statues should be erected to him and Rousseau, as the real fathers of the revolution. The clubs every day more palpably, more undignifiedly, dictated to the assembly and denounced every remaining person and principle which stood betwixt them and general anarchy. Those, like La Fayette and Bailly, who had led on the early stages of the revolution, were now rapidly hurried towards that crisis in which they must flee, or be crushed under the fabric which they had raised. Danton, that hideous lawyer—and all the leaders of the ultra-revolutionists, Mirabeau, this Danton, Marat, and Robespierre, were hideously ugly—Danton denounced La Fayette and Bailly, in the Cordeliers, as traitors, for having ordered the national guards to fire on the people when the king wished to go to St. Cloud. Bailly immediately shut up the hall where they met; but they only removed to another, the Paris Tennis Court, and changed the name of the club to that of the Rights of Man. The jacobin club established a newspaper, their *Journal des Debats*, to report their proceedings, with the principal speeches at full length. This was an inducement for Robespierre to attend still more sedulously, as thus his sentiments were constantly diffused amongst the people: and there was a regular meeting of a central committee of all the clubs. The clubs were becoming the real government of the nation. Whatever was determined in them was immediately afterwards introduced by some of their members into the assembly.

On the 18th of June the jacobin club discussed the propriety of dismissing all the officers in the army of Bouille, because they were aristocrats, and could not be trusted. Roederer declared that nothing would secure the fidelity of the army, but wholly *dis-aristocratizing* it; and Robespierre strongly supported this view. He intimated the wisdom of suspecting almost everybody, and was, in truth, already venting that poison-breath of suspicion, which soon intensified itself into a deadlyness unexampled in history since the days of Nero. As was the custom now, only two days after this discussion in the jacobin club, the same motion was made in the assembly, and Robespierre was the great champion of the measure. Some speakers

recommended that if the officers were dismissed, they should, at least, retire on half-pay; but Robespierre treated this as a monstrous folly, thus increasing the enemies of the public, merely because they had found them unfaithful. He was firmly answered by Cazales, who belonged to the army. He denounced Robespierre as a black and cowardly calumniator, who was seeking to poison the minds of the people with the most dangerous suspicions. A perfect bowl of fury assailed Cazales from the *cote gauche*, or jacobin side of the assembly, and the cry was to send him to the Abbaye. After two days' debate, it was decided to put a new oath to the officers of the army, as had been recommended by Dumouriez. But it was very evident that the clubs had obtained a perfect knowledge of the movements in the palace, and on the frontiers for the flight of the royal family.

The arrangements of the Austrian armies, the coalition of Prussia and Spain, the increasing assemblage of French emigrants on the Rhine, all were known and stated. A correspondent of the *Moniteur* stated that he had seen letters from the Tuileries, written to some of the German courts, in which the letter of the king to the foreign ambassadors was described as intended only to throw dust in the eyes of the public, till the king and his family could get away. That, had they succeeded in reaching St. Cloud, the next day they would have been at Compiègne, and the following one at Brussels, when Louis would have thrown off the mask; declared his acts for many months to have been solely the results of compulsion, and that they were, therefore, null and void. Montmorin, in the name of the king, wrote to the president of the assembly, protesting that this was a tissue of the most wicked falsehoods, but no one gave the smallest credit to the assertion. The assembly issued an order commanding the prince of Conde to return to France, and take the oath to obey and maintain the constitution, under penalty of being declared a traitor and rebel, with all his adherents. All this time the clubs and journals kept up the wildest clamour regarding the royal family. It was declared that all the coin in the kingdom almost had been packed off to maintain the armies about to invade France, and hence the great dearth of money. The assembly made a fresh issue of assignats, and ordered all the bells of the suppressed churches to be melted and coined into money. Freron, in his "*Orateur du Peuple*," exclaimed, "O Parisians! open your eyes! See the preparations that your enemies are making! The only hostage that you have is the royal family, and they are going to escape from you. It will not be by open force, for they have tried that and failed, but it will be by means of a disguise which is unknown to you. They will be beyond the frontiers before you know that they have quitted their nest."

The clubs now engaged with the utmost activity, preparing for the election of the new assembly. The motion which Robespierre had thrown out, of universal suffrage, had not been cast upon an ungenial soil. It was everywhere seized upon with avidity, and petitions were pouring in on the assembly from all quarters to demand it. The idea of Robespierre had taken equal root, that the new assembly should be wholly and solely of the people. They should be, as Brissot, in his journal "*Le Patriote Francais*," observed,

men who were friends of the people, but wholly of, and belonging to, the people. None of them should have any claims whatever to aristocratic birth or connection. In fact, they were all to be not merely plebeians, but jacobins. Carra published a list in his "*Annales Patriotiques*" of proper men, who were jacobins, with a sprinkling of Girondists—a party now about to start into light, and to contend with the jacobins, whose party in the new assembly was about to obtain the name of the Montagne, the Mountain; both for reasons to be stated when they come into action. Amongst the Girondists figured M. Roland, the mayor of Lyons, and husband of madame Roland, a name about to assume a wonderful distinction in the revolution and the world. On the other hand, Marat employed himself in pointing out such "rogues and villains," according to his description, as were to be by all means precluded from becoming electors in Paris. These were different tradesmen, whom he painted in the blackest colours, and declared all to be paid spies of Bailly and La Fayette. Robespierre was appointed, with the assistance of Danton, to draw up for the jacobin club a report on the kind of men proper to be chosen. He reiterated the necessity of avoiding all men of genius, and such as had ever mixed with aristocrats, in which case, he contended, they would be found incurably corrupted. In fact, the lists of men recommended by the jacobins were not all of their own party, but men hitherto utterly unknown, but who speedily became known as the most extraordinary assemblage of monsters that the world had ever seen.

The abbé Sieyès made a proposition in the jacobin club, although he had long before declared that he would go no more amongst them, for theirs were cavern politics. On the 19th of June he read a paper on the necessity of preserving personal freedom for all parties, and for quiet submission to the laws, and recommended, as a measure necessary to check the domineering of particular cliques, that there should be two houses of assembly instead of one. It might have been supposed that the worthy abbé had not only absented himself from the club, but that he had been asleep for the last twelve months. A more unwelcome proposition could not have been made to the jacobins. It was received with a tempest of noise and fury. Some one said that the abbé was a great man, and had rendered signal services to the revolution, and should be heard with respect; but Danton rose, and said that "amongst a people become truly great there ought to be none of these considerations for your pretended great men." He said, this was the priest Sieyès who defended tithes; who had resisted the conversion of the property of the church to the uses of the nation, and who had got a law passed in the assembly to fetter the press. He said, Sieyès had endeavoured to win him over from the jacobins, and that he only wanted an upper chamber to favour the restoration of the aristocrats. Such was the fury manifested against Sieyès, and such was the frightful language of Marat in his journal, who called on the faubourgs to rise and destroy all the incorrigible traitors to liberty and equality, that a certain number of the deputies of the assembly, who had signed his paper, declared that they had been deceived as to its real contents; and scarcely a man, except M. Gorgueriau, dared to say a word on his behalf. The reign of terror was beginning.

The assertions of the journals, that the king was intending to escape to the army, received constant confirmations. The committee of research, the municipality, and La Fayette were perpetually warned that the royal family was on the eve of flight, and that a civil war would be the immediate consequence of his reaching the army on the frontiers. Fréron, in his "*Orateur du Peuple*," published a letter professedly written by the queen to the prince of Condé. The letter, which was a very vulgar and clumsy forgery, said, "Prince, pay no attention to the decree launched against you by the assembly of swine; we shall learn how to stir up the toads and frogs (the Parisians). This is the manner in which *notre gros* (the king) will set out as soon as our people mount guard at the Tuileries. We have resolved to have a coach made like a hackney-coach; the coachman is to be dressed like a hackney-coachman, and will drive us two leagues from Paris. The king will set out with his son; I shall follow with madame Elizabeth and my daughter, in another sort of hackney-coach. Monsieur and madame will set out in another direction. Our fair-complexioned man (La Fayette) and M. Bailly, who have assisted us, will get out of Paris on horseback, as if going for a short ride, and will then escape. As for ourselves, if the people discover our departure, the cavalry, under pretence of pursuing us, will escort us on our road; for the cavalry are all for us, and we rely entirely upon them. M. Bailly has been giving them, for some time past, six livres a-day per man. We have also on our side the mercantile body, who have an understanding with us; they furnish us with money in specie. In the national assembly our people have succeeded in decreeing that there shall be nothing but paper-money employed in commerce, in order that we may be able to carry off all the gold and silver." It concluded by saying, "Everything is arranged for our setting out in a day or two. We only fear the troops of the carbuncled man (Orléans), formerly Gardes Françaises; we have not been able to gain them, or the republic of the faubourg St. Antoine. I send you two millions of livres in specie, which the Paris merchants have procured us."

In this letter there was a mixture of real information, as the events showed, but so managed as to throw the most deadly suspicion on Bailly, La Fayette, and others, whom the jacobins wished to see the mob destroy. Fréron, who had probably fabricated the letter himself, had also procured a Flemish woman, who was to pretend to be the person intrusted with it. This woman he introduced to the committee of research, and to Camille Desmoulins, who rushed away to make Robespierre and Buzot acquainted with this alarming fact. These two worthies were at once for immolating Bailly and La Fayette; but Petion, on seeing the letter, instantly pronounced it a gross forgery. Still Fréron published it in his journal, and it produced a terrible sensation. It is remarkable how near the truth, however, the forger had come; for scarcely was the letter before the public, and whilst there was the utmost commotion regarding it, when Alexandre Beauharnais, the husband of Josephine, afterwards empress of the French, appeared before the startled assembly, and announced that the royal family was actually gone. This was about ten o'clock on the morning of the 21st of June. He stated that

M. Bailly had come to inform them that the king and part of his family had been carried off in the night by the enemies of the public weal. M. Bailly had put the fact in this shape as most respectful to the king.

The guns of the municipality were already firing to alarm the town, but the news had flown through it long before. At the first wild cry that the royal family had fled, the mob rushed from all quarters towards the Tuilleries, burst in, and traversed every apartment like maniacs, flinging down and treating with savage rudeness everything that came in their way. Having ascertained that the escape was too real, they shrieked for the head of La Fayette. Nothing could be more imminent than the peril of both himself and Bailly, who had been just represented as deep in the plot for this very evasion. La Fayette, at the head of his national guards, had first galloped to the Hôtel de Ville, where he only arrived in time to snatch from the clutches of the infuriated mob the duke d'Aumont, the commander of the sixth division of the national guards. He was here joined by Bailly, which only increased the danger; and, as they proceeded towards the Tuilleries, they were pursued by the raging mob hissing and hooting.

Scarcely had the assembly recovered from the first shock of M. Beauharnais' announcement, when the mob arrived at the door of the assembly, bringing as prisoner M. Robeuf, an aide-de-camp of La Fayette, whom they had seized and grossly abused. Robeuf said he had left a brother officer in the hands of the rabble, who, he feared, had already murdered him. Rewbell, the friend of Robespierre, accused M. La Fayette and his guards of complicity with the royalist plot; but Barnave rose and zealously defended La Fayette as a staunch and steady friend of the revolution, and moved that the assembly should order all citizens to be armed, and to maintain peace, receiving no orders but from the assembly. This was unanimously voted. Several of the king's ministers were admitted, who all declared that they knew nothing whatever of the plan for carrying off the king. Charles de Lameth moved that the assembly should order the committee of research to use all diligence to discover the authors of the crime, and should also appoint a number of its members as an executive government, but D'André reminded them this could not be constitutionally done without the consent of the king, who was absent. Upon this, the assembly decreed, that, until some other arrangement should be made, the decrees of the assembly should be put into execution by the ministers without further need of sanction; and that, instead of heading decrees with "Louis, by the grace of God," &c., it should head them with "The national assembly decrees, commands, and orders," &c. In the midst of other difficulties, respecting the putting the great seal to decrees, and of legalising the acts of ministers, a letter from M. Montmorin, the minister of foreign affairs, announced that the people were besieging him in his house, so that he could not appear before the assembly. Presently after La Fayette came in full uniform, on which a cry was raised of "No uniforms here!" But this the president overruled by saying that M. La Fayette was summoned from immediate duty to report to the assembly.

La Fayette desired to introduce his aide-de-camp, M. Gouvion, to show that he had been some time informed that

preparations had been making for the flight of the royal family, and that, in consequence, he had used extraordinary precautions. Gouvion had, in fact, drawn his information from too sure a source. It was from a woman, his mistress, who belonged to the queen's wardrobe. "As," said madame Campan, "she had been placed with the queen at the time of her marriage, her majesty was accustomed to see her, and was pleased with her address and intelligence. Her situation was above that of a woman of her class; her salary and emoluments had been gradually increased, until they afforded her an income of about twelve thousand francs. She was handsome; she received in her apartment above the queen's, in the little rooms between the two floors, several deputies of the tiers état; and she had M. de Gouvis as her lover. We shall soon see how far she carried her ingratitude." In fact, she was a regular spy on the queen and the royal family; she had furnished herself with a double key to the queen's cabinet, and was thus able to discover every preparation made. The queen, one evening, had been packing her jewels, shut up alone with madame Campan, and, when she went out, she locked the door, and took the key with her; yet, by the depositions of this woman, shown to the queen on her return from Varennes, she had entered the cabinet after the queen left it, and had seen the diamonds wrapped in cotton-wool, lying ready for packing on the sofa. This was decisive, as a proof that she had spied every action, and given notice of it to Gouvis.

Gouvion professed, in consequence of this information, to have been extraordinarily vigilant, and not to be able to account for the king escaping through a certain back-door, as it was alleged he had done, for he asserted that both himself and five other officers had been before the door all night. Gouvion stated that M. Sillery, the husband of madame Genlis, had also received warning of the intended flight, but this he denied.

It was now resolved that a letter addressed to the queen, and found in her apartment, should be submitted to the committee of research, and that possession should be immediately taken of the money in the treasury. M. Laporte, minister of the civil list, now appeared, with a memoir of the king's, which he had left in the hands of a valet-de-chambre. It was, after some discussion, agreed to have it read, and the reading must have been a particularly bitter experiment on the feelings of the greater part of the assembly. Louis, in this document, no longer played the part of the acquiescent; but he detailed a catalogue of undeniable truths, enough to have maddened a man of strong feelings, and which had evidently sunk deep, even into a timid and submissive nature like that of the king. It stated that the king had been a real prisoner ever since the 6th of October, 1789, when they brought him from Versailles to Paris; that his own misfortunes had been hard to bear; but when he saw that the assembly had destroyed the royalty itself, had invaded the property of the church and of individuals, and had introduced universal anarchy, it became intolerable. The king complained of the miserable conduct of the Tuilleries, in which they had compelled him to live; of the dismissal of his gardes-du-corps, who had been faithful to him; and of the massacre of two of them under his very eyes. Still more emphatically did he complain

the infamous language and savage behaviour towards the queen from the very commencement of the revolution; and, as this was exhibited against a woman who had shown herself a faithful wife, and of a conduct quite heroic, it was clearly intended, through her, to wound the king. The king had, the paper again repeated, been made a prisoner in his own states and in his own house. Those who were placed as guards were, in fact, his keepers; and the commandant of the national guard, his especial keeper. He was surrounded not by those whom he could trust, but those whom he most distrusted. The memoir declared that the king had been most willing to go along with the assembly in all real reforms, but that he had soon found himself left without any freedom of action. "The assembly," he said, "has put the king out of the constitution, in refusing him the right of sanctioning the constitutional acts, and classing as constitutional acts whatever other acts they think proper, and in curtailing and limiting his veto. They have allowed him twenty-five million livres, which are entirely absorbed by the expenses of his household. They have left him the usufruct of some domains, with embarrassing forms, and have deprived him of the patrimony of his ancestors. Let the different points of the administration be examined, and it will be seen that the king is set aside in all of them. He has no share in the making of laws, he can only humbly beg the assembly to occupy themselves about such or such a matter. As for the administration of justice and the appointment of the judges, he has no share in it. There remained a last prerogative, the most beautiful of all, that of pardoning and commuting punishments—you have taken that, too, from the king!"

The proclamation, which was addressed to the French nation, went on to say that the society of jacobins had usurped the real sovereignty of the people; that the clubs ruled not only the king but the assembly: that, as for the monarch, though declared to be the head of the army, he had never been able to make any appointments in it, or dispositions of it. It was the same in the civil administration—they determined everything; the king was a cypher. The despotism of these clubs was a thousand times worse than the one that had been overthrown. Such a government it was impossible to perpetuate, and of that men of any reflection became every day more convinced. The clamour of the clubs, their journals, and their pamphlets, overawed the assembly, and established anarchy and terror. It then recapitulated the proposal to carry off the king from Versailles and shut the queen up in a convent; the insults to the king and queen at the fête of federation; the harsh treatment of the queen's aunts, because they simply wished to visit Rome from religious motives; the still more shameful treatment of the gentlemen who, from pure love to the monarch, had, on the day of poniards, assembled at the Tuileries to prevent any outrage to the royal family; the obstruction to the intended removal to St. Cloud; and the forcing of the letter to the foreign ambassadors from the king. "After all these sufferings, and seeing the impossibility of hindering the evil, it is natural that the king should endeavour to put himself in safety. Frenchmen," it added, "and you whom the king was wont to call the inhabitants of the good city of Paris, place no confidence in the suggestions of the factions. Return to your king; he will ever

be your friend, when your holy religion shall be respected, when government shall be placed on a proper footing, and liberty established on a solid basis." The proclamation then concluded by prohibiting the ministers from signing any orders in his name, and ordered the keeper of the seals to deliver to him the great seal whenever he demanded it.

After this plain outspokening there could be no further misunderstanding betwixt the king and the assembly. It would have been more politic to have reserved it till the king was certainly past all peril; but there it was, a clear and full confession of the royal opinion of the revolution, and a detail of truths such as made the assembly, and especially the *cote gauche*, foam with rage.

The foreign ambassadors sent to state their fears from the excitement of the people, and to submit to the assembly that some means of security might be adopted; but the assembly decreed that Paris was tranquil, and the ambassadors were in no danger, although the mob had been threatening the houses of the ambassadors of Austria, Prussia, and Sardinia. General Rochambeau, whom we saw, some time ago, commanding in America, and who held the greatest military post next to Bouillé, was summoned to the bar of the assembly and interrogated as to the sentiments of the officers of the army. He declared that they would all cheerfully swear fidelity and devotion to the assembly; and it was decreed that such an oath should be put to all the officers. Information was brought in that the municipality was sitting day and night to preserve order, and to execute the decrees of the assembly. A decree was next issued for the arrest of the king, and a counter-proclamation sent off in all directions; and, after ordering the whole of the national guards to be called out, and a liberal scale of payment fixed for the time they should be on service, the assembly began to feel more at ease.

Whilst these transactions were taking place in the assembly, Paris was like a hive of bees in swarm. In every quarter there was a running and a buzzing beyond all description. Danton armed the Faubourg St. Antoine with pikes, against what enemy it was difficult to conceive, for, instead of invasion or an insurrection, there had been only the flight of a harmless king and his family. The jacobins and their creatures, the mob, were busy pulling down everything like a royal statue or a royal name; a crown or a sceptre, or the mere name of king, or queen, or prince over a shop, was actively obliterated. The king's bust in the Place de Grève, which was lit up at night by the ominous *lanterne*, was destroyed, and many a plaster cast of him besides. The walls were placarded with all kinds of insults to the king and his family. Poor Louis was described as a fat hog who had escaped from his sty, and a moderate reward was promised to any one who should bring him back to it. Others were for first leading him to the frontiers, and then kicking him across them. On the queen all the obscenity and filth of the language were cast. She was a modern Messalina, a Lucretia Borgia, the Fury of France. The Cordeliers—or, as it now styled itself, the Society of the Rights of Man—declared that every member should be armed with poniards, and swore, one and all, to exterminate tyrants. "Only one thing remains," raved Marat in his journal, "to save you from the precipice to which

your unworthy chiefs have dragged you, and that is to name instantly a military tribune, a supreme dictator, to slaughter all the chief traitors that are known. You are lost beyond all hope if you listen to your present chiefs, who will cajole you till the enemies are at your gates. Name your tribune this very day! Let him be that citizen who has hitherto shown you the greatest zeal, and fidelity, and knowledge. Swear to him an inviolable devotion, and obey him re-

enemies. A dictator, a tribune—a military tribune, or you are lost for ever!"

This tribune and dictator, of course, he intended to be himself; and the bloody, wolfish language showed frightfully the monster that was panting to be let loose on all those who yet withheld for awhile the coming chace of horror and mutual frenzy of murder. Whilst the Cordeliers and their would-be butcher, Marat, were thus breathing death and



ROBESPIERRE. FROM AN AUTHENTIC PORTRAIT.

rigidly in all that he orders for the destruction of your mortal enemies! This is the moment for striking off the heads of the ministers and their subalterns; of La Fayette and all the villains of his staff; of Bailly and all his counter-revolution municipals, and of all the traitors of the national assembly. Make a beginning by getting possession of all their persons, if you are yet in time; seizing this moment for breaking up the national guards, who have betrayed liberty. Call forth all the patriots of the departments; call the Bretons to your succour; storm the arsenal; disarm the alguazils of the police and customs; prepare to defend your rights, to avenge liberty, and to exterminate your implacable

suspicion around them, the jacobin club was doing the very same thing. The moment Robespierre could escape from the assembly he hastened thither, and delivered a speech of the most diabolical tendency—all death and accusation to everybody but the rankest revolutionists. He congratulated the nation on the flight of the king, as the greatest blessing that could have befallen it. He considered that day as the consummation of the revolution. The forty millions of livres allowed to the royal individual were thus saved. He knew, and all France knew, these forty millions only amounted to twenty-five millions. But what alarmed him above everything, was the air of unanimity amongst



ARREST OF THE ROYAL FAMILY AT VARENNES.

parties. It suited him to believe all this was hollow, and to make use of it as a means of serving that universal suspicion, and subsequent mutual assassination, in which he hoped to mount to an infernal eminence. "Since this morning," he exclaimed, "all our enemies speak the same language as ourselves. All the world is uniting together; all have the same visage; but beware of the wolves! It is not upon the support of the emperor Leopold and the king of Sweden, nor upon the army of emigrants beyond the Rhine, that the king counts; we can beat all the brigands of Europe that are leaguings against us. No! it is in the midst of us, it is in this very capital, that the fugitive king has left those resources and supporters upon which he relies for a triumphant return. You know that three million Frenchmen under arms for liberty are invincible by foreign nations. Where, then, is our weakness? There must be a powerful royalist party, and intelligences, and plots in the midst of us; and yet, if you look around you, you will share in my alarm at seeing that all men are wearing the same mask of patriotism."

Having blown this viper breath against parties in general, he went on to specify the most deadly traitor of all, and this was no other than the national assembly itself. He declared that it was a perfect den of traitors and counter-revolutionists, and that, having made this avowal, so fatal to himself, he regarded himself as a sacrifice doomed for the good of his country, and he threw himself on the people for protection. This was taking a vast stride towards the same dictatorship for which Marat had been crying from another quarter, and with a deeper manner; and the whole club swore to defend the life of M. Robespierre with their own lives. Scarcely was this scene over, when La Fayette, Sieyès, and a number of other members of the national assembly, which had thus been so fearfully denounced, appeared in the hall. They had not been seen there for a long time, and their appearance gave new support to the dark words of Robespierre. It was plain that they trembled for their safety from this club of assassins, and were anxious to conciliate them. But Danton started up, and, with his voice of thunder, denounced La Fayette as a traitor to the cause of the revolution; of having, as Marat had proclaimed, been with Bailly accomplices in the escape of the king. He heaped on his head all the accusations which the ferocious clubbists and journalists had brought against him, and equally accused Bailly and many of the earliest revolutionists. He declared that the heads of these men were forfeited to the scaffold. La Fayette defended himself and his colleagues, as amongst the first and the sincerest friends of the people, but then he was glad to withdraw. His absence only drew forth more violent denunciations, and it was insisted that he should be summoned back again, to answer to the charges against him; but La Fayette knew better than to trust himself again in the den of the anthropophagi. The blood-storm was evidently coming rapidly on the wind.

Louis with his family, meanwhile—for all this took place during the first day of his flight—was posting away in his huge berline, with the prospect, as he hoped, of a safe arrival amongst his friends, and a most inexpressibly happy escape from his intolerable subjects. Preparations for this journey had been begun in the palace so early as the month of March. No sooner had the count Alphonse de Durfort, who had been

sent from Mantua by the emperor to learn the real sentiments of Louis, returned, than Leopold began to make the necessary disposition of his troops, and Louis to correspond with marshal Bouillé on the plan of his escape. This plan was to retire to Montmedy, where he might, in case of need, be supported by Luxembourg, and receive foreign aid. The Chalons road, by Clermont and Varennes, was preferred, contrary to the advice of Bouillé. All the preparations were made for starting on the 20th of June, when Louis informed Bouillé that the Austrian troops would be in Luxembourg. Bouillé assembled the troops on which he could place most reliance, prepared a camp at Montmedy, collected forage; and, when the keen eyes of the jacobins noted these movements, he alleged as the cause the drawing of the Austrian army towards the frontiers, and that he was determined to give them a warm reception, if they dared to set foot on the soil of France. From Paris to Chalons the queen took on herself all the arrangements, from Chalons Bouillé was charged with this important duty. He therefore stationed a strong force to cover Montmedy, and disposed eight foreign battalions, chiefly Germans and Swedes, along the road, at the distance of one, two, and three days' march, besides having thirty squadrons of horse on the alert. He posted two squadrons of dragoons at Clermont to meet the king on his arrival, under the command of the faithful count Charles de Damas, who was to place a detachment at St. Menchold, and another detachment at the bridge of Somme-veale, between Chalons and St. Menchold. Thus every precaution seemed taken which human foresight and sagacity could adopt; and, had the plan been carried out as well by the royal party as it had been planned, especially on the part of Bouillé, success was certain.

But punctuality was not a virtue of poor Louis XVI. Bouillé had settled everything; but Louis threw everything out of joint by not keeping his time. He had informed Bouillé that he should quit the Tuileries on the 19th of June at about one o'clock in the morning; that he should proceed as far as Bondi in a common coach, and there take his own carriage. He desired Bouillé to send to him the dukes of Choiseul or M. Goguelat, that they might give the necessary orders on the road. De Bouillé sent them both, but at ten days' interval. De Choiseul was to return after receiving the king's orders, and take the command of the troops at the bridge of Somme-veale, and escort the royal family to St. Menchold. All these arrangements being completed, Bouillé, to his consternation, received a letter from the king, informing him that he could not set out till the 20th, by which everything was thrown into uncertainty. Bad as this was, they did not really set out till the night of the 21st, by which everything was made worse. Not an hour ought to have been let slip, after the long previous preparations, which, as we have seen from madame Campan's account, had not only been watched, but betrayed by the wardrobe-woman. Madame Campan had, in fact, been kept in a constant state of alarm by the many arrangements regarding dress and jewels which the queen thought it necessary to make. "I was with pain," she says, "that I saw the queen occupy herself about these matters, which seemed to me useless and even dangerous; and I remarked to her that the queen of France would find chemises and gowns everywhere. My

observations were made in vain; she determined to have a complete wardrobe with her at Brussels, as well for her children as herself. I went out alone, and almost disguised, to purchase the articles necessary, and to have them made up."

Besides the quantities of linen, and dresses for herself and children, which the queen would insist on preparing, and which were sent off to the widow of the mayor of Arras, who was one of the queen's women with unlimited leave of absence, and who, having property in Flanders, could take them thither without suspicion, Marie Antoinette determined to take with her her travelling dressing-case. "She consulted me," says madame Campan, "upon her idea of sending it off under pretence of making a present of it to the archduchess Christina, governess of the Low Countries. I ventured to oppose this plan strongly, and I observed to her that, amidst so many people, who watched not only her flight but actions, it might reasonably be foreseen that there would be found a sufficient number sharp-sighted enough to discover that the word present was used only as a pretence for sending away the property in question, before her departure. She persisted in her intention, and all that I could obtain was, that the dressing-case should not be removed from the apartment, and a consent that M. de ***¹, chargé-d'affaires, from the court of Vienna, during the absence of the count de Mercy, should come and ask her at her toilette, before all her people, to order one exactly like her own for the governess of the Low Countries. She therefore commanded me, before the chargé-d'affaires, to order the article in question. This way of putting her intention in execution occasioned only the slight inconvenience of an expense of five hundred and eighty louis, and appeared calculated to lull suspicion completely.

"About the middle of May, 1791, a month after the queen had ordered me to bespeak the dressing-case, she asked me whether it would soon be finished. I sent for the ivory-turner who had it in hand. He could not complete it until the end of six weeks. I informed the queen of this, and she told me she should not be able to wait for it, as she was about to set out in the course of June. She added that she had ordered her sister's dressing-case in the presence of all her attendants; she had taken a sufficient precaution especially in saying that her sister was impatient at not receiving it, and that, therefore, her own must be emptied and cleaned, and taken to the chargé-d'affaires, who would send it off. I executed this order without appearing to conceal it by the slightest mystery. I desired the wardrobe-woman to take out of the dressing-case all that it contained, because that intended for the archduchess could not be finished for some time, and to take care to leave no remains of the perfumes, which might not suit that princess. All these precautions were no less useless than dangerous."

The wardrobe-woman had, in fact, penetrated the whole scheme. She was not at all deceived by the order for the new dressing-case. In the evidence that she had given to the authorities she said, "It was supposed that she would not guess the true reason for the dressing-case being sent from the queen to Brussels, but that the mention of a present made by her majesty to her sister was but a mere pretence; that her majesty liked the article in question too well to think of depriving herself of it; and that she had

often said it would be highly useful to her in case she should have a journey to perform." She had, as we have seen, also discovered, by means of her private key, the packing of the jewels belonging to this case. These diamonds she afterwards dispatched by Lunard, her hair-dresser, who went with the duc de Choiseul, so that they were taken safely out of France. The crown diamonds she had already surrendered to the commissioners of the assembly. The wily wardrobe-woman had also missed a certain very valuable portfolio, which the queen had, through madame Campan, intrusted to the private keeping of madame Valayer Coster, a member of the Academy of Painting, who kept the secret faithfully.

With such packings and preparations, and a female spy in the very midst of it all, taking notes and conveying the facts to her paramour, the aide-de-camp of La Fayette, the only wonder is that La Fayette did not take such measures as to render escape impossible. But, wonderful as it is, no especial precautions appear to have been taken. Everything was arranged for the departure on the 20th of June, but some alarm caused it to be deferred to the 21st—a fatal delay! Though the committee of research had been warned of the coming flight, and the national guards had been put on more vigilant watch, neither La Fayette, nor even the minister, Montmorin, who was in the confidence of the court, knew of it—only those who were indispensable to the execution of the plan were in the secret. The queen had secured a private door—that of the duke de Villequier—at which no sentinel was placed, for quitting the palace.

On the evening of the 21st, the royal family supped together, and retired to their bedchambers at their usual hour. It had been arranged by the count de Ferson, a young and chivalrous Swede, sent by Gustavus, the king of Sweden, who had sworn himself the true knight of Marie Antoinette, that he should drive them a certain distance in the berline which he had ordered, disguised as their coachman. He had procured a passport, without any difficulty, for a baroness de Korff, who was on the point of returning to Russia with two children, a valet, a femme-de-chambre, and other attendants. The king was to disguise himself as the valet. All being now still in the palace, the royal party issued forth in their disguises, through the apartments of the duke de Villequier, who had scarcely been in them since the day of poniards. The first who issued forth were madame de Tourzel, the governess, and the two royal children. As Madame de Korff's children were both girls, the dauphin was disguised as a little girl. He was roused from his sleep to be thus dressed, and asked, in wonder, whether they were going to act a comedy—no, unfortunately, it was a tragedy! Then came madame Elizabeth, dressed in a plain travelling dress and gipsy hat, which dress the queen also had assumed. Madame was attended by her equerry, M. de Saint Pardoux. Then followed the king, dressed in a brown coat, wig, and round hat, as the valet-de-chambre of the Russian baroness, and leaning on the arm of a life-guardsmen, disguised as a courier. Lastly, followed the queen, attended by her equerry, also in the costume of a courier. A *voiture de remise*, or carriage, of the kind that then plied for hire, was waiting for them a very short distance in the Place du Petit Carrousel, at the corner of the Rue de l'Echelle, and the count de Ferson was seated on the

box in his coachman's disguise. Unfortunately, as the queen was proceeding thither, they met the carriage of La Fayette, with his numerous attendants walking on each side with torches. They passed so near, that Marie Antoinette, for fear of recognition, retreated beneath the wickets of the Louvre; but when the glare of lights had passed, in her confusion, she missed her way; nor was her attendant able to set her and himself right till they had lost an hour, every moment of which was of the most precious value, and which seemed an age to the alarmed and wondering party already in the coach. They at length reached the carriage, but not before the equerry had lost his way, and involved himself in a labyrinth of streets and quays, and at length was compelled to ask his road of a sentinel, who, however, did not at all suspect him. They were compelled then to return and to cross the court of the Tuileries, close to the garde-du-corps and the sentinels. Once in the carriage, they drove off rapidly; but very soon the noble coachman, who, it would seem, had not sufficiently acquainted himself with his route beforehand, also got wrong, and lost some time.

Count Ferson drove them to Bondi, where they found the berline, which, with six horses, and mounted postillions, had been waiting for them an hour and a half. Count Ferson then took his leave, and made his way to a place where his own carriage was waiting for him, and was soon safe at Brussels. The great berline then rolled on its way, followed by another carriage, containing two of the queen's waiting-women, and attended by three body-guards, who rode before, or followed after as servants. They continued their way safely to Chalons, where, on crossing the old bridge into the town, the postillions ran the berline against some of the timbers, and broke the traces, as well as doing some damage to the carriage. This necessitated both delay and danger during the repairs, which took half an hour, for the king, forgetting all prudence, would continually put his head out of the carriage, and various persons already believed they recognised him. However, they proceeded to Pont de Somme-veule, three leagues farther, where they expected to find the first detachment of forty dragoons and the duke de Choiseul, but found neither duke nor soldiers. This occasioned them great anxiety, and was the first break in the chain of their plans, which threatened destruction to the whole scheme. The fact was, that through the delays mentioned, and through the king insisting on getting out and walking up the hills to spare the horses, the carriage was four hours behind its time. Whilst De Choiseul was waiting and watching in deepest anxiety, at not seeing either the carriage or a courier arriving to announce it, the country had taken alarm. The soldiers were supposed to be a detachment sent to compel the people on the estate of the princess of Elboeuf, near Somme-veule, to pay their taxes, which they had refused to do. Accordingly, the peasants began sounding the tocsin through all the villages, to call their neighbours to assist them against the soldiers. The people of Somme-veule, too, began to wonder why these dragoons were posted there, and sent out a party of national guards to reconnoitre. Then arose whispers that the dragoons were waiting for the queen, and the cry was to double the guards, and shut the gates. Choiseul therefore thought that to remain on the spot, under the circumstances,

was to really close the way of the royal family, and he fell back. But he committed the capital mistake of falling back altogether, supposing the enterprise had miscarried; and of sending an order down the road to the other detachments to wait no longer. He says himself that he only quitted Pont Somme-veule at six in the evening, and at half-past six the royal party arrived on the same spot; so that only half an hour was betwixt the full success of the scheme and its utter failure. Choiseul has been blamed for not leaving one or more persons to watch for the king's carriage, and inform him of the circumstance; but whom was he to leave? He had only soldiers, who would be immediately suspected and seized; and, moreover, he could not confide his secret to them. Had he fallen back awhile out of observation, and waited another hour, all would have been right; but fate, or a more powerful decider of events, seemed to work against this unfortunate family.

The king, who had calculated that he should have escaped his last danger at this point, was confounded and greatly cast down: he said that he felt as if the earth was opening under his feet to swallow him up, and he was not of a spirit to surmount discouragements.

It was half-past eight in the evening when they reached St. Menchold, and there they found the detachment of cavalry that waited for them, but not ready mounted or ready to mount. They had unsaddled and put up their horses for the night, and though M. Valory, who rode foremost as courier, found the commander, the commander found it impossible to get his men to horses. They had been drinking, and refused to turn out after being on horseback all day. There was a blunder in not finding the post-house all at once, and whilst the horses were changing, Louis completed the sum of his imprudences by putting his head out, and asking the post-master the cross-road to Varennes. The post-master, who had been in Paris, instantly recognised him. He took out an assignat, compared the face of the portly gentleman in the round hat with that on the paper-money, and was certain. This post-master Drouet was one of the most determined jacobins in France. He, as well as his neighbours, had long been on the *qui vive*, from the protestations of Marat and the other journalists that the king was intending flight. Drouet and his assistant, Guillaume, instantly mounted and followed after the berline. Scarcely was the carriage out of the town, when the tocsin was sounded, and the national guards turned out, and the cry went through the town that the king was escaping, and that the cavalry must not be suffered to leave. Only one of the cavalry seems to have made any attempt at getting away, and this was Legache, a quartermaster, who took the reins of his horse in his teeth, and, with a pistol in each hand, dashed through the crowds, and made his way out of St. Menchold, amid bullets and stones whistling around his head.

Legache, as soon as he caught sight of the berline, saw also a horseman steadily trotting after it; and, having no doubt of the rider's object, he spurred on his horse, determining to put a bullet through the head of the intruder. But the man, whether it were Drouet or Guillaume, did not wait for him; he struck into a side road, and galloped off, pursued by Legache, till he was lost in the darkness. To

quartermaster, thus defeated, returned to the highway, and rode after the berline.

All was now alarm in the royal party, and the horses were put forward at a great speed. They reached Clermont at half-past nine at night, and found there count Charles de Damas, with a detachment of a hundred and forty dragoons. All would now have appeared hopeful. No time was lost there, double drink-money was offered to the postillions, and they went off with their fresh horses at rapid speed. Count de Damas had exchanged a few words with the king whilst the horses were changing, probably to inform him that the detachment would not follow instantly on the carriage, for fear of creating suspicion; but he sent on a trusty young cornet, named Remy, to ride in all haste before the king to Varennes, and have the cavalry there prepared to receive the royal party, and conduct it onward without a moment's delay. But the quick departure of Remy roused the suspicions of the townsmen of Clermont; they sounded the tocsin, flew to arms, put lights in their windows, and swore that the dragoons should not quit the place. They had no desire to quit. The moment Damas ordered them to draw their swords and follow him, they showed him that they were of another meaning. Only two subaltern officers followed him.

Meantime, Remy had lost his way, and did not arrive at Varennes in time to have the soldiers in the saddle, and the bridge kept clear. When the royal family arrived, at half-past eleven o'clock, the soldiers were all in their beds, and Valory, who acted as courier, and acted so ill, had to gallop about to find where the relay of horses was. All this roused the people from their beds; but not the soldiers. The commander of the detachment was young Bouillé, the son of the marshal, from whom more vigilance might have been expected; but he had gone to bed at ten o'clock, and was only roused when it was too late. The king declared that he would proceed with the old post-horses, and, had he done that, he would have been saved: but, unfortunately for him and the whole family, the new relay was just then found, and, after the delays already, and the fresh one of getting these put to, all was over. The inhabitants were all alert. Drouet, the postmaster of St. Menchold, had arrived, had procured help, and by overturning a wagon under the archway of the old bridge, over which they must pass, had barricaded it, and there he stood behind the barricade, with a number of other fellows armed with muskets.

As the berline approached the bridge, Drouet and his accomplices rushed out, seized the horses, cried "Halt!" and, presenting their muskets at each window, demanded the passports. These were delivered; but Drouet said they must be examined by the solicitor of the commune. This solicitor, a M. Sauce, a tallow-chandler and grocer, presently appeared, with a crowd of people after him. He requested the royal family to quit the carriage and proceed to his house, to await superior orders. Had young Bouillé been to horse with his dragoons they might soon have put to flight the rabble, including the redoubtable Drouet, and have dragged the wagon out of the way; but neither he nor his men were yet visible, and the dejected captives took their way back to the solicitor and tallow-chandler's shop. Sauce, who was a thorough democrat, had yet the politeness

to offer an arm each to the queen and madame Elizabeth, the king took the dauphin and the little daughter by the hand, and, followed by madame de Tourzel and the three body-guards, they traced their way through the midnight streets of Varennes to M. Sauce's dwelling. Being introduced into a couple of little rooms over the shop, some bread and cheese and a bottle of burgundy were set before them; and the king, spite of his danger and anxiety, ate heartily.

He then insisted that Sauce should give his passport, and allow them to proceed. Sauce replied that all would be right in the morning; but that at present the wagon had to be drawn out of the gateway, and the people were in a great state of excitement. "Then," said the king, "we will cross the ford below the town." "But that," replied Sauce, "I have had strongly defended with stakes and crows-feet for fear of the Austrians." "Then, by all means," said the king, "let the bridge be cleared." Sauce went out as if for this purpose, but only to consult with his colleagues on the exigencies of the case; and Marie Antoinette seized the opportunity to try the effect of womanly sympathy and persuasion on the tallow-chandler's wife. "She went down with her into the back part of the shop, and there, sitting down between two piles of candles," says madame Campan, "she conversed with madame Sauce, who seemed to be a woman of weight in her own household, and whom M. Sauce eyed, from time to time, as if to consult her; but the only reply the queen got was, 'What would you have, madame? Your situation is very unfortunate; but you see that would expose M. Sauce; they would cut his head off. A wife ought to think for her husband.' 'Well,' replied the queen, 'mine is your king; he has long made you happy, and wishes to do so still.'"

But all was unavailing. Madame Sauce knew too well that the king's release was the chandler's destruction, and by this time the shop and the rooms above were crowded with people, gazing at the novel sight of the royal family in custody. They did not evince any respect for the sovereign or his family. "You know you are the king," said a national guardsman; "why don't you confess it like an honest man?" The queen, resenting this language, said, "As you believe him to be the king, speak to him with the respect you owe to the king!" The two poor children, worn out with fatigue, lay and slept, amid all the hubbub, on the bed of Madame Sauce. By this time, young de Bouillé was to have arrived with his dragoons, but the alarm had become general, two thousand national guards were on foot, and thousands of others were marching towards the place. De Bouillé thought it best to dash through the river, and make for his father's post, that he might hasten up with a powerful force. He succeeded in crossing the Aire, a narrow but deep river, and galloped off to Stenay, where he believed his father to be. Scarcely was he gone, when the duke of Choiseul and M. Goguelat arrived with forty dragoons from Somme-vele.

Every movement was thus a failure. Had young de Bouillé and Choiseul met and united their forces, they might have succeeded in forcing the bridge, or the ford, and carrying off the royal family; but now, not finding De Bouillé, Choiseul and Goguelat went to the tallow-chandler's, where they also met count Damas, who had

arrived from Clermont, but without his insubordinate detachment. This was the scene which presented itself, according to Choiseul's own narrative:—"The king and the royal family were in two dirty rooms on the first floor. I ascended by a crooked staircase. In the front room, which faced the street, I found some armed country people, two of whom, with pitchforks in their hands, stood sentinels

on her hands, and having near her mesdames Brunier and Neuville, the two waiting-women who had followed the berline in the chaise. Near the window were madame Elizabeth and the little princess-royal. The king and queen were standing and talking with M. Sauce and one or two municipals; and, at the end of the room, seated upon chairs, were the three gardes-du-corps.



A MERCHANT'S COUNTING-HOUSE, PARIS, 1790.

at the door of the inner room, wherein the king was. They attempted to oppose my entrance, but I pushed them aside, and entered sword in hand. In the midst of that filthy chamber was a table with bread and some glasses upon it. On a bed the exhausted dauphin was sleeping, and madame de Tourzel was seated on the bedside with her head leaning

on her hands, and having near her mesdames Brunier and Neuville, the two waiting-women who had followed the berline in the chaise. Near the window were madame Elizabeth and the little princess-royal. The king and queen were standing and talking with M. Sauce and one or two municipals; and, at the end of the room, seated upon chairs, were the three gardes-du-corps.



THE ROYAL FAMILY OF FRANCE AFTER THEIR RETURN FROM VARENNES.

young De Bouillé with his dragoons? The king replied that he had not so much as seen one of them. One of us said we believed they were killed before the wheels of the royal carriage. The king said, 'What is to be done?' 'You must try and escape,' said M. de Damas. I added, 'Give your orders, sire. I have here forty hussars that may cut their way as far as Dun; something must be done at once.'

Choiseul proposed to mount the royal party on hussar horses, surround them with the hussars, and cut their way out of the town. The thing, to a spirited king, might yet, probably, have succeeded, for not only De Bouillé, but an orderly, whom De Choiseul dispatched to bring up the detachment of captain Deslons from Dun, managed to cross the river; but Louis was no hero. He said, if he were alone, he would try it, but that with the ladies and the children it was impossible, though there is very little doubt but that the children and the ladies would have shown more courage and address than himself. Poor Louis said that M. Sauce did not forbid his proceeding, but that he demanded that this should not be till morning, and that he should take a body of the national guards with him as an escort. And all this time national guards and armed peasantry were pouring into the town from all quarters, so that before the morning there are said to have been ten thousand national guards alone. None but poor Louis XVI. could for a moment have put any faith in the jacobin lawyer and tallow-chandler's transparent proposal.

Captain Deslons was at the bridge of Varennes with a hundred men by five o'clock in the morning, but he found the bridge strongly barricaded, and, though he made his own way into the town, leaving his soldiers behind him, he could effect nothing. By this time, the hussars of Choiseul, though chiefly Germans, had been treated with wine and corrupted by the patriots, and they began to cry, "Vive la nation!" Deslons was in constant expectation of seeing the troops of Bouillé come up from Stenay, the next place to Dun; but Bouillé had been much nearer than Stenay; he had been that night posted close to Dun, and it seems strange that he had not made captain Deslons aware of it. Not seeing the royal carriage arrive, he had marched back at daylight to Stenay, so that at the moment that Deslons was expecting him from Stenay, he was returning thither. There it was that he found his son, the messenger of ill tidings, who had, in reality, galloped past the very place where De Bouillé had been secretly posted near Dun. Marshal Bouillé, in great consternation, instantly ordered the royal German regiment to horse, but these troops, too, were in bed; they could not start before five o'clock, and as it was twenty-five miles to Varennes, and through a bad and mountainous road, it was a quarter past nine before he reached the vicinity of Varennes, having had to disperse a party of national guards, who fired on them from a wood. On coming up with the detachment of captain Deslons, that officer informed him that the king had been forced, with his family, on the arrival of an aide-de-camp from M. La Fayette, to re-enter the berline, and return towards Paris, and that they had been gone full an hour and a half. To this astounding intelligence he added that the soldiers at Clermont and at Varennes had been corrupted; that

Choiseul, Damas, and Goguelat, were all arrested; and that the king had said that he feared nothing could be done to benefit him, but that he hoped Bouillé would do what he could.

In fact, Romeauf, the aide-de-camp of La Fayette, arrived at half-past six in the morning, with the decree of the assembly for the arrest of the king. He found the berline with the horses already put to, and their heads turned towards Paris. He entered the chamber where the royal family was, and presented the decree to the king. Louis, on receiving it, murmured, in a dejected manner, "I am a prisoner; there is no longer any king!" There was a general burst of indignation at La Fayette for causing them to be arrested. Romeauf replied that both his general and himself had their duty with great pain, and had wished that he might not overtake them. The queen replied that she wondered that he, a gentleman and soldier, should charge himself with such a commission. The king threw the decree so to bed where the dauphin was still sleeping; the queen snatched it up, saying it would pollute her child. Rumours having arrived that Bouillé was in quick march for Varennes, the royal family were hurried into the berline, and at half-past seven o'clock they were on their way back to Paris and to scaffold! The three gardes-du-corps were tied to the coach-box like felons, and an immense rabble of national guards and of other people surrounded and followed the carriage in a frenzy of wonder and delight at having their king for a captive. They dragged along with them the only two old rusty cannons that Varennes was in possession of. Just as they quitted the town, the vicomte Dampierre, who had heard of the king's arrest, and had hastened up to the carriage to kiss the king's hand with tears in his eyes, was at once stabbed and trodden under foot by the sanguinary mob.

Meantime Bouillé, distracted at the news which captain Deslons gave him, resolved to force his way into Varennes and pursue the royal carriage for three or four leagues, if possible, to overtake it, and rescue the captives. But he soon found this impossible. The patriots had broken down several arches of the bridge; and, when he attempted to cross the river, his soldiers gave him unmistakable proof that they did not share in his enthusiasm. They declared themselves worn out by the rough march from Stenay, and would go no further. At the same time, Bouillé could see great numbers of men under arms in Varennes, and was informed that the revolutionary troops from Metz and Verdun were marching against him with their cannon. The whole country was clearly in motion; the chance was lost, and Bouillé sorrowfully marched back to Stenay. There, having quartered his troops, he assembled his principal officers, and, assuring them that nothing but flight would save them from arrest, for the troops were no longer to be trusted, he and twenty others that very night rode off to the frontier. This they did not pass without being fired upon by patriots, but they escaped into the territory of Luxembourg, and were safe.

The mob of patriots were, about the same time, entering Châlons, with their royal prize, in great triumph. Such we are of the opinion of Napoleon, that "the national assembly never committed so great an error as in bring-

back the king from Varennes. A fugitive and powerless, he was hastening to the frontier, and in a few hours would have been out of the French territory. What should they have done in these circumstances? Clearly, have facilitated his escape, and declared the throne vacant by desertion. They would thus have avoided the infamy of a regicide government, and have attained their great object—a republican institution. Instead of which, by bringing him back, they encumbered themselves with a sovereign whom they had no just reason for destroying, and lost the inestimable advantage of getting quit of the royal family without an act of cruelty."

On the 23rd the escorting party, continually replaced by fresh national guards, entered Epernay, where they met the commissioners dispatched by the national assembly to take charge of the royal family, and to see them again safely lodged in the Tuileries. These commissioners were Barnave, Petion, and Latour-Maubourg. Barnave we have seen amongst the most thorough-going of the revolutionists. He was the son of a very rich attorney at Grenoble, and was sent by the tiers-état of that town as deputy to the states-general. He was from the beginning one of the most implacable enemies of the court. He warmly supported the tennis-court oath, and declared loudly in favour of the assertion of the rights of man. In 1790 he voted for the abolition of the religious orders. At the meeting of the 22nd of May, he was of the party that declared that the king should be deprived of the right of making peace and war. He voted for the abolition of all feudal rights and titles, and he opposed Mirabeau in many of his moderating measures. This contact with the royal family, however, produced a great change in his opinions, and was, in the end, fatal to him.

As for Petion, he was a blunt and vulgar jacobin; a poor lawyer of Chartres. He was a man of narrow intellect, who had made his way with the mob by his surly conduct towards everything aristocratic and royal. He had, according to Dumont, neither wit, vivacity, force of thought, nor expression; yet he had contrived to get a great name in the revolution, and, coming over to England, was wonderfully feted by the Foxite party, which prided itself on its discernment. "The very first man that ever came over to England from the assembly," says Dumont, "was Petion. I had known him so well in Paris that I avoided him in London; but he was so eagerly received and so much sought after that the chances of seeing him were rare indeed. People disputed the honour of entertaining him; they loaded him with invitations; they showered upon him the most flattering attentions." He knew no English, and remained only three weeks, during which time he professed to be studying the management of trial by jury in both civil and criminal cases; but he, in truth, was engaged in fraternising with our republican clubs. Yet, on his return, he pretended to great knowledge of the jury law, was listened to by the assembly as an oracle upon it, and contributed especially to make the system which they adopted what it was. He was continually uttering, as a profound sentiment, that opposition was very troublesome; that the assembly suffered much from the revolt of the minority against the majority.

Latour-Maubourg was an aristocrat by birth and education; he was a colonel in the king's army. He was a friend of La Fayette's, and was, perhaps, somewhat ashamed of his present mission, as well as fearful, from his rank, of being suspected, on this occasion, of having conversed too much with the royal family. He, therefore, did not take his place in the royal carriage on resuming the journey next morning, but conceded that honour to Barnave and Petion; Thiers says, because he wished to interest these men of the tiers-état in behalf of fallen greatness. He followed in a second carriage with madame de Tourzel, and Barnave was placed at the back in the berline betwixt the king and queen: Petion in front, betwixt madame Elizabeth and the little princess. The dauphin sat on the lap of first one and then another. "Such," says Thiers, "had been the rapid course of events: a young advocate of only about twenty years of age, remarkable only for his abilities, and another distinguished by the sternness of his principles, were seated beside a prince, lately the most absolute in Europe, and governed all his movements."

The journey was slow, because the carriage followed the pace of the national guards. It took four days to return from Varennes to Paris. The heat was excessive; and a scorching dust raised by the multitude, half suffocated the travellers. At first, a deep silence prevailed; the queen was too much troubled and vexed at the disastrous termination of the enterprise, and at the presence of the commissioners in the carriage, to speak. The king was the first to enter into conversation with Barnave. It turned upon all sorts of subjects, and, lastly, upon the flight to Montmedy. The queen was surprised at the superior understanding and the delicate politeness of the young Barnave. She soon threw up her veil, and joined in the conversation. Barnave was touched by the good nature of the king and the graceful dignity of the queen. Petion displayed more rudeness: he showed and received less respect.

By the time they reached Paris, Barnave was strongly attached to the royal family; and the queen had acquired a great esteem for the young tribune; and in all future intercourse with the constitutional deputies, she placed the most entire confidence in Barnave.

This is fully confirmed by the following particulars of the journey which the queen communicated to Madame Campan:—"On the very day of my arrival the queen took me into her cabinet, to tell me that she had great need of my assistance for a correspondence which she had established with Messrs. Barnave, Duport, and Alexander Lameth. She informed me that M. de J—— was her agent with these relics of the constitutional party, who had good intentions, which, unfortunately, came too late; and she added, that Barnave was a man worthy to inspire esteem. I was surprised to hear the name of Barnave uttered with such kindness. When I quitted Paris, a great number of persons never mentioned it but with horror. I made this remark to her. She was not astonished at it, but told me that he was very much changed; that this young man, full of intelligence and of noble sentiments, was of the class who are distinguished by education, and merely misled by the ambition arising from real merit. 'A feeling of pride, which I cannot blame too

much in a young man of the *tiers état*,' said the queen, with reference to Barnave, 'has caused him to applaud all that tends to smooth the way to honour and glory for the class in which he was born. If power should ever fall again into our hands, the pardon of Barnave is already in our hearts.'

"The queen added, that 'the same sentiments were not felt for the nobles who had thrown themselves into the revolutionary party; they who had obtained all favours, frequently to the detriment of persons of an inferior order, but of talents superior to themselves; they who were born to be the ramparts of the monarchy, had, therefore, been too culpable, in betraying, to deserve pardon.' She astonished me more and more by the warmth with which she justified the favourable opinion which she had formed of Barnave. She then told me that his conduct during the journey had been excellent, whilst the republican rudeness of Petion had been insulting; that he ate and drank in the king's carriage with little regard to delicacy, throwing fowl-bones out of the window, at the risk of hitting the king in the face; lifting up his glass when madame Elizabeth was helping him to wine, without saying a word to intimate that he had had enough; that this offensive manner was wilfully assumed, since he was a man of education; and that Barnave had been shocked at it. Being pressed by the queen to take something, 'Madame,' replied Barnave, 'the deputies of the national assembly, under circumstances so solemn, ought to trouble your majesty solely with their mission, and by no means with their wants.' In short, his respectful behaviour, his delicate attentions, and all that he said, had won not only her good-will, but also that of madame Elizabeth.

"The king had begun to speak to Petion on the situation of France, and on the motives of his conduct, which were grounded on the necessity of giving to the executive power a force requisite for its action, for the welfare of the constitution and itself, since France could not be a republic. 'Not yet, to be sure,' replied Petion, 'because the French are not yet ripe enough for that.' This audacious and cruel reply imposed silence on the king, who maintained it till his arrival in Paris. Petion had the little dauphin on his knees; he amused himself with rolling the fair hair of the interesting child upon his fingers, and, in the heat of discussion, he pulled his locks with such force as to make him cry. 'Give me my child,' said the queen; 'he is accustomed to kindness, to respect, which unfit him for such familiarities.'

"The chevalier de Dampierre had been killed near the king's carriage as it left Varennes. A poor village curé, a few leagues from the place where this crime was committed, had the imprudence to approach for the purpose of speaking to the king. The savages who surrounded the carriage rushed upon him. 'Tigers!' cried Barnave, 'have you ceased to be French? From a nation of brave men are you changed into a nation of murderers?' Nothing but these words saved the curé, who was already struck to the ground, from certain death. Barnave, as he uttered them, had almost thrown himself out at the door, and madame Elizabeth, touched by this noble warmth, held him back by his coat. In speaking of this circumstance, the queen said that, in the most critical moments, she was always struck

with odd contrasts, and that, on this occasion, the pious Elizabeth, holding Barnave by the skirt of his coat, had appeared to her a most surprising thing. The deputy had experienced a different kind of astonishment. The remarks of madame Elizabeth on the state of France, her mild and persuasive eloquence, the noble simplicity with which she conversed with Barnave, without abating an iota of her dignity, all appeared to him celestial in that divine princess, and his heart, disposed, undoubtedly, to noble sentiments, if he had not pursued the way of error, was subdued by the most touching admiration. The conduct of the two deputies showed the queen the total separation between the republican party and the constitutional party. At the inn where she alighted, she had some private conversations with Barnave, and the result was her determination to trust him." These extracts from madame Campan make us vividly acquainted with all these parties.

The news of the king's arrest had been dispatched from Varennes by M. Mangin, a surgeon of that place, and who reached Paris, by using the utmost speed, at ten o'clock at night of the 22nd. The assembly immediately appointed and sent off the three commissioners, Petion, Barnave, and Latour-Maubourg. The next morning, the 23rd, the assembly decreed that all who had assisted in carrying off the king should be pronounced traitors, as well as all who should throw obstacles in the way of his return and reunion with the representatives of the people; that all who dared to insult the king, on his return, should be put under arrest. Robespierre sneered at the care for the king's person, which he declared unnecessary, and his friend Rebell ridiculed the word *enlèvement*, or "carrying off," as the assembly knew very well that the king had not been carried off, but had gone off of himself. Then there was another great swearing of national guards to a new oath, and the house was in a tumult all day with the passing and repeating of all sorts of soldiers to swear, and with loud playing of *ça ira!* On the morning of the 24th, the aide-de-camp of La Fayette, who had carried to Varennes the order of the king's arrest, presented himself, and gave an account of his journey; and, in the evening, Drouet, the postmaster, and Guillaume, his assistant, were introduced, and received with clamorous applause. Drouet was declared to be an honour and a glory to his country, and Robespierre moved that he should receive a civic crown. Drouet was a made man; he soon became a member of the national assembly, voted for the king's death, and figured prominently in the reign of terror.

On the evening of the 25th of June it was announced to the assembly that the king had arrived, and was surrounded by the mob, who were threatening to murder the three *gardes-du-corps*. A placard had been posted, by order of the municipality, all over Paris—"Whoever applauds the king, shall be flogged; whoever insults him, shall be hanged!" But this did not prevent an enormous crowd collecting, in order to insult the fallen monarch and his family, by staring with their hats on. Covered with dust and humiliation, after a suffocating drive through a fiercely hot day of June, the unhappy family arrived, a little before seven o'clock, at the barriers. To avoid passing as much as possible through the streets of Paris, the carriage was taken a circuitous route.

and brought through the *Champs Elysées*, and then into the gardens of the *Tuileries* by the gate of the *Pont Tournant*. La Fayette went to meet them as far as *Pantia*, accompanied by ten thousand national guards, and by an immense throng of people. This crowd continually swelled as they advanced, and the three *gardes-du-corps*, who were secured to their seats in front of the coach, were in danger of being torn to pieces by the mob. As soon as the queen saw La Fayette, she cried out, "Save the *gardes-du-corps*!" During La Fayette's absence, a dense crowd had also forced its way into the court of the *Tuileries*, and fears were entertained for the safety of the royal family as they alighted. La Fayette first sent the three *gardes-du-corps*, conducted under a strong escort of the national guards, into one of the halls of the palace; then the king and madame Elizabeth descended, and advanced rapidly betwixt two files of the national guards to the door of the palace. Louis, assuming an air of cheerfulness, said, "Well, here I am. I am not lost. I really never meant to go beyond the frontiers." The queen was the last to quit the carriage. The dukes of Noailles and Aiguillon advanced and supported her on each hand. They were enemies of the court, but they felt for the situation and danger of the queen, and conducted her rapidly and safely into the palace. One person, as she passed, whispered some words of sympathy and encouragement, and Marie Antoinette replied, gracefully, "Monsieur, I am prepared for everything." La Fayette then presented himself to the king, and, with an air of respect, asked whether his majesty had any orders. Louis, with a smile, replied, "It appears to me that I am more under your orders than you are under mine." La Fayette then announced the decree of the assembly, which placed a guard over the person of himself, the queen, and the dauphin, and made that guard responsible for his safety. Louis submitted quietly, but the queen said that La Fayette had better take possession of the keys of their desks, which remained in the carriage. She could not forget that it was La Fayette who had so actively sent after them the arrest. La Fayette replied, that no person thought, or would think, of opening the desks; but the queen laid down the keys on his hat, and La Fayette was compelled to request her to take them back, for that he could not touch them.

Such was this unfortunate journey to Varennes. The failure had been the result of the want of punctuality in keeping the appointments made, by which the soldiers had been withdrawn from their posts, and by the imprudence of the king showing himself. The king's brother, afterwards Louis XVIII., and his wife, who departed at the same time by another route, made their escape in safety. Prisoner as Louis had been before, from this day he ceased to be a king. The republic had gained a huge stride by his flight, which had destroyed the last remnant of confidence in him, and turned the mind of all men to the idea of a republic.

The strictest and even the most extraordinary surveillance was maintained over the king and queen, without any regard to decency. The wardrobe-woman, the maid, and mistress of Gouvion, was again set over them; and everything was so arranged, that nobody could approach the queen, except through this woman, her sister, and her sister's daughter. The queen's own attendants could with difficulty reach her.

Gouvion had this woman's portrait placed at the foot of the staircase leading to the queen's apartments, in order that the sentinels might not permit any other women to effect an entrance. The king sent for La Fayette, and demanded freedom in his household, and that this woman and her familiars should be sent out of the palace, and the commandant was compelled to comply.

But, though this she-dragon was removed, the king and queen were left under the more indecent watch of soldiers. This is madame Campan's account:—"The commandants of battalions, stationed in the saloon called the grand cabinet, and which preceded the queen's bed-chamber, were ordered to keep the door of it always open, in order that they might always have their eyes on the royal family. The king shut this door one day; the officer of the guard opened it, and told him such were his orders, and that he would always open it; so that his majesty, in shutting it, gave himself useless trouble. It remained open even during the night, when the queen was in bed, and the officer placed himself in an arm-chair, between the two doors, with his head turned towards her majesty. They only obtained permission to have the inner door shut when the queen was rising and dressing. The queen had the bed of her first *femme-de-chambre* placed near her own. This bed, which ran on castors, and was furnished with curtains, hid her from the officer's sight.

"Madame de Jarjaie, my companion, who continued her functions during the whole of my absence, told me that, one night, the commandant of battalion, who slept between the two doors, seeing that she was sleeping soundly, and that the queen was awake, quitted his post and went close to her majesty to advise her as to the line of conduct she was to pursue. Although she had the kindness to desire him to speak lower, in order that he might not disturb madame de Jarjaie's rest, the latter awoke, and was near dying with the shock of seeing a man in the uniform of the Parisian guard so near the queen's bed."

The queen bade her not alarm herself, for the officer was friendly to the king. Marie Antoinette, indeed, had a wonderful power, by her gentleness and kindness, in softening down these guards. One of the officers dared to speak insolently to her in her own apartment. M. Callot, commandant of the battalion, said he would complain to M. La Fayette, and have him broken. The queen opposed this, and condescended to say a few words of explanation to the man, who instantly became one of her most devoted partisans.

"The first time that I saw her majesty," continues madame Campan, "after the unfortunate catastrophe of the Varennes journey, I found her getting out of bed. Her features were not very much altered; but, after the first kind words she uttered to me, she took off her cap, and desired me to observe the effect which grief had produced upon her hair. It became, in one single night, as white as that of a woman of seventy. Her majesty showed me a ring she had just had mounted for the princess de Lamballe; it contained a lock of her whitened hair, with the inscription, '*Blanchis par le malheur*'—'Bleached by sorrow.'"

Besides this unmanly and indecent watch over the king and queen during every hour of their existence, the assembly

sent three deputies, d'André, Tronchet, and Duport, to demand, from both king and queen, declarations regarding their journey. This was an act of assumption that none but a monarch like Louis would have submitted to. But Barnave was consulted, and he dictated the answer. That of the king was as follows: "I see, gentlemen, by the object of the mission given to you, that there is no question of an examination; I will, therefore, answer the inquiries of the assembly. I shall never be afraid of making public my

should have been better able to oppose every kind of invasion of France, had a disposition been shown to attempt any. One of the principal motives for quitting Paris was to set at rest the argument of my non-freedom, which was likely to furnish occasion for disturbances. If I had harboured any intention of quitting the kingdom, I should not have published my memorial on the very day of my departure; I should have waited till I was beyond the frontiers. But I always desired to return to Paris. It is in this sense that



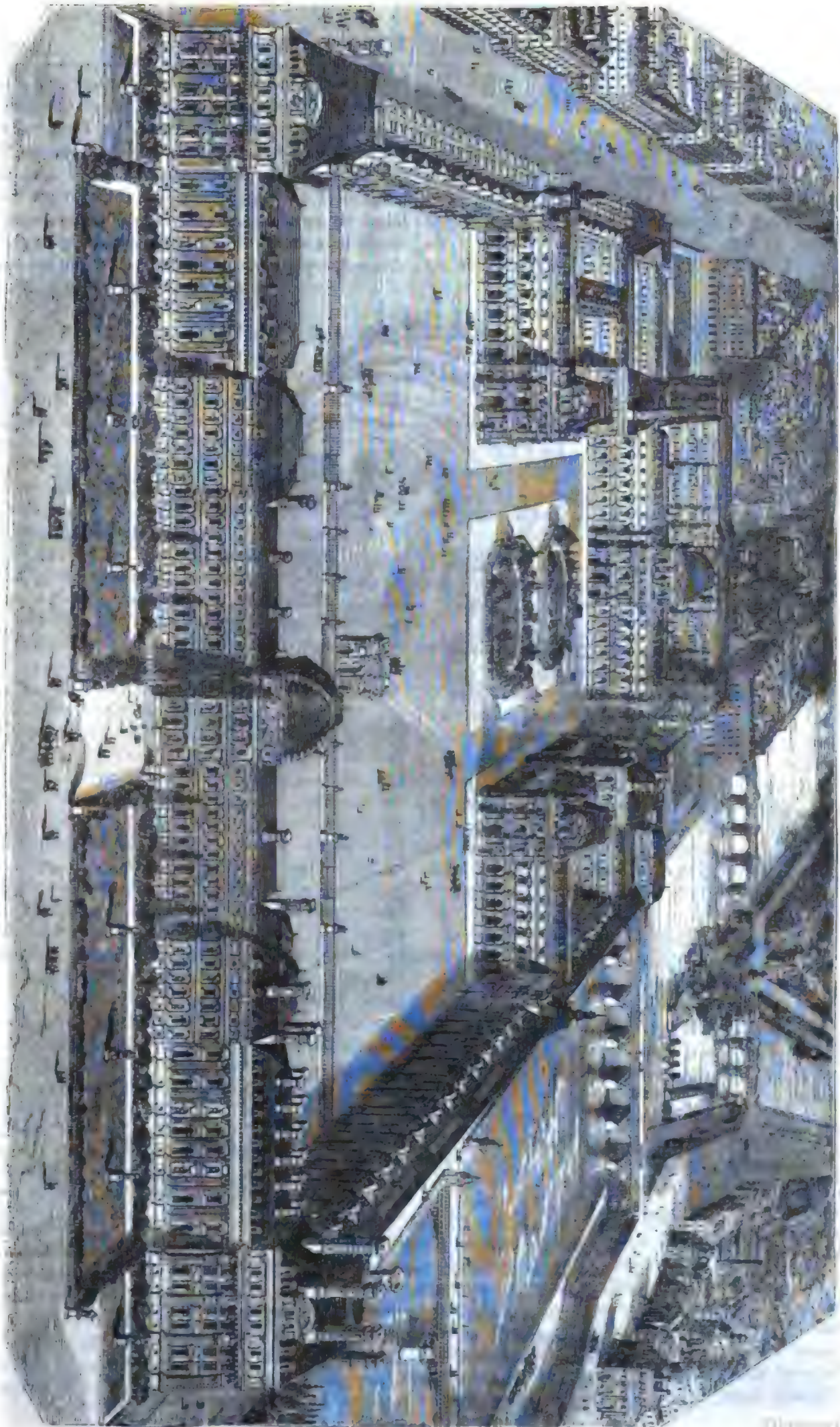
MARAT. FROM AN AUTHENTIC PORTRAIT.

conduct. It was the insults and menaces offered to my family and myself on the 18th of April that were the cause of my departure from Paris. Several publications have endeavoured to provoke acts of violence against my person and my family. I deemed that there would not be safety, nor even decency, in my remaining longer in this city; yet, never was it my intention to leave the kingdom. I had had no concert on this subject, either with foreign powers, or with my relatives, or with any of the French emigrants. I can state, in proof of my intentions, that apartments were prepared at Montmedy for my reception. I had selected this place because, being fortified, my family would be safer there; and because, being near the frontiers

the last sentence of my memorial must be taken, where it is said, 'Frenchmen, and, above all, Parisians, what pleasure shall I feel in finding myself again in the midst of you?'

Louis then noticed, in confirmation, that he had ^{only} with him only three thousand louis in gold. ^{and fifty} thousand livres in assignats; that his brother had only gone into another country, because it was advisable to take different routes, and that he was to meet him again in France. The fact of the passport being made out for a foreign court, he explained by the necessity of one in passing through provincial towns, and yet that the office for foreign passports granted no passports for the interior of the kingdom. That the road to Frankfort, mentioned in it, was not even

MODERN VIEW OF THE TUILERIES AND THE LOUVRE, PARIS.



taken. All these reasons, after the many statements made by Louis at different times, which were all swept away by his memorial, could not appear very convincing to the assembly, and then he came upon the sore question of the strong protests which he had made in that memorial. "That protest," he said, "does not bear, as the tenor of it attests, upon the principles of the constitution, but on the little liberty that I appeared to enjoy, and on the circumstance that, as the decrees had not been laid before me *en masse*, I could not judge of the constitution as a whole. The chief reproof in the memorial relates to the means of administration and execution. I have ascertained during my journey that public opinion was decidedly in favour of the constitution; I did not conceive that I could judge fully of this public opinion in Paris; but, from the observations which I have personally made during my journey, I am convinced how necessary it is for the support of the constitution to give strength to the powers established for the maintenance of public order. As soon as I had ascertained the general will I hesitated not, as I never have hesitated, to make a sacrifice of everything that is personal to me. The happiness of the people has always been the object of my wishes. I will gladly forget all the crosses that I have experienced, if I can but insure the peace and felicity of the nation."

The declaration of the queen, of course, entered into no reasons of state. Her reason for accompanying the king was simply her duty, which she had always shown; namely, that she would not quit him. In all the rest, she supported the assertions of the king, that he did not mean to quit the kingdom, and even added that, had such been his wish, she would have used her influence to dissuade him. She made the same assertion regarding monsieur and madame. She screened madame de Tourzel and the three gardes-du-corps, by declaring that they knew nothing whatever of their intentions, or the object of the journey. The gardes-du-corps had already, by order of the assembly, been conveyed from the Tuileries to a common prison.

These declarations were taken on the 27th of June, and, on the 30th, the assembly, after receiving these from the commissioners, and leaving them for the present unnoticed, decreed, on the motion of Menou, afterwards distinguished as a general in Egypt, that the white flag of the Bourbons should be for ever abolished, and the tricolour become that of the nation, and be borne by every regiment.

This being done, the president announced the receipt of two letters from marshal Bouillé, late commandant of the forces on the frontiers: one to himself, in a few words, inclosing another to the assembly; but he observed that it appeared to him to be a very insolent letter. The assembly, however, resolved on hearing it. In fact, Bouillé tells us, in his memoirs, that his motive in writing that letter was to turn the rage of the assembly from the king upon himself. He feared for the king's life, and determined to take all the blame of planning the attempt at escape on himself, although he had really opposed the plan which Louis adopted. He wished, moreover, to impress on the assembly, that any injury done to the king would be avenged by all Europe. He commenced by telling them that he shuddered to think that a blind destiny had put the king and queen at the

mercy of a people whom the assembly had made at once ferocious and the scorn of the universe. He declared that it was necessary for all parties that the truth should be known, and that he was now resolved to speak it, though he knew they would not listen to it:—"The king was become the prisoner of his people. Attached to my sovereign, though detesting arbitrary power, I groaned at the frenzy of the people. I blamed your proceedings; but, for a long time, I hoped that, in the end, the wicked would be confounded, and the anarchy cease; and that we should have some sort of government that would be, at least, supportable. My attachment to my king and country gave me strength to support the humiliation of corresponding with you. But then I saw that the spirit of faction was becoming dominant; that some wished for a civil war; that some wished for a republic; and that amongst the latter was M. La Fayette. Jacobin clubs were established to destroy the army; the populace were led on by cabal and intrigue. The king was without power and without respect; the army without chiefs and without discipline; and I then proposed to the king and queen to quit Paris, in the persuasion that this might operate a useful change. They declined; but the day of poniards induced me to renew my solicitations, and after the 18th of April, when the king was not even permitted to go to St. Cloud, I was able to induce him to see the necessity of going to Montmedy, whence he would be able to prevail on the foreign powers, who were arriving, to suspend their vengeance against France." (At this declaration the *gauche* laughed in affected derision.) Bouillé then stated the beneficial changes which he had hoped the king would be able to effect by this step; that the people, to avert an invasion, would choose a new and very different assembly, by whose higher sagacity a system of rational liberty would be wrought out in conjunction with the king. And Bouillé then concluded thus:—"Believe me, all the princes of the universe know that they are threatened by the monster you have generated, and they will soon fall upon an unhappy country, for I cannot prevent myself calling it *my* country. I know our forces. Every kind of hope is chimerical, and soon will your chastisement serve as a memorable example to posterity. It is in this way that a man ought to speak, who, all along, has had pity for you. Do not accuse any one of a plot against your infirm constitution. The king did not draw up the orders which were given; it was I alone who ordered everything; it was against me alone that you ought to sharpen your daggers and prepare your poisons. You will answer for the life of the king and queen to all the kings of Europe. If you touch a hair of their heads, one stone will not be left on another in Paris. (At this, yells of laughter arose.) I have the roads; I will guide the foreign armies. This letter is but the forerunner of the manifestoes of the sovereigns of Europe; they will warn you, in a more emphatic manner, of the war which you will have to fear. Adieu! messieurs."

This letter was treated by the assembly with affected contempt. They passed to the order of the day; but they soon showed how deeply they felt his stinging remarks, by setting a price upon his head. But he was safe beyond their power, and his generous letter was read in every quarter of Europe. Had the sovereigns of Europe had

really as earnest in behalf of the king of France, and had immediately marched into the country, they could scarcely have failed of making themselves masters of Paris; but they might have precipitated the deaths of the king and queen. But, in truth, the kings of Europe were in no such chivalrous mood; they were thinking more of their own interests, and actually, some of them, planning the most disgraceful robberies of their neighbours. Spain, seeing no sign of coalition amongst the northern sovereigns, expressed its friendly disposition towards the French government, and prevented an attempt on its southern provinces, in which the knights of Malta were to assist with two frigates. The insurgents at Brussels and Coblenz were in a state of agitation, declaring that monsieur, who had now joined them, was the regent of the kingdom, seeing that the king was a prisoner, and had no will of his own. The poor king was compelled by the assembly to write to them, disavowing these proceedings. As to the powers in general, Pitt made pretences of great sympathy, but did nothing; Leopold of Austria, who had the most direct interest in the rescue of his sister and her family, was, notwithstanding his recent declarations, desirous rather of peace, and by no means pleased with the emigrants. A declaration of allied sovereigns was, indeed, made at Pilnitz, that Prussia, and Austria, and Russia, would advance to the rescue of Louis XVI.; but the more immediate object of the agreement made there was, the dismemberment of Poland, which was determined in secret articles. Austria, in fact, had to purchase the assistance of Prussia against France, by offering it a share in this national plunder; and this scheme soon assumed a more lively interest with these northern vultures than the ostensible one of aiding the suffering family of France.

But whilst the sovereigns were lukewarm, the democrats in Paris, and, through them, all over France, were active. The question was no longer blinked in the clubs that there should be no king; that Louis had forfeited his throne by his flight; and that a republic was the only rational form of government for free men. In the journals, too, the jacobins not only advocated this step, but heaped the most unmeasured contempt and ridicule on the king and hatred on the queen. Camille Desmoulins styled Louis the crowned Sancho, who was always thinking of his stomach, and at Varennes lost the time in which he might have escaped by staying to eat pig's petticoats. Fréron declared that the king called for wine before entering Paris at Pantin, and entered his capital dead drunk. He described the queen as with eyes blood-shot with dust and anger, and looking like a fury that thirsted for the blood of Frenchmen. The description of Louis by Wilberforce, that he looked a strange animal of the hog kind, and that it was worth going a hundred miles to see him, especially when boar-hunting, was nothing to the portraiture of him by these rabid republicans. Brissot proposed several plans for the crisis to the consideration of Frenchmen: to abolish monarchy at once, and adopt the republican form; to put the question of king or no king to the nation at large; or to leave him as a harmless thing on the throne, and have a regent. No sooner was a regent named, than the duke of Orleans was suggested by some parties; but Orleans made

haste to declare that he would not accept any office; he would remain a simple citizen. Orleans had seen that it was no desirable thing to be the chief officer of a nation of wolves; and he had learned, too, the very little weight that his name carried with it.

The Cordeliers club sent a deputation to the jacobin club to propose a republic, and it was warmly received by many; but the wily Robespierre affected at this moment to demur as to a republic, though he was secretly bent on its accomplishment. When some of the republican party of the Rolands spoke of the republic now being certain on the day of the king's flight, Robespierre said, with a laugh, "A republic! what is that?" But whilst this sanguinary hypocrite was pretending moderation, his supporters were marching, in open day, towards the object that his soul longed for. Drouet, the postmaster, was fêted throughout Paris as the saviour of France, and was carried nightly from club to club to relate the story of the king's capture as he had told it to the assembly. The jacobin club, of Marseilles, also sent up a fiery address to the mother society, plainly declaring that the time was come to abandon the farce of royalty, and recommending the safety of Robespierre and Danton as of the highest importance to the state. As for Robespierre, they said, "He is the vigilant sentinel, whom nothing can take by surprise; he is the only emulator of the Roman Fabricius, whose virtues the despot Pyrrhus lauded in these celebrated words, 'It is easier to turn the sun from his course than to turn Fabricius from the paths of honour.'"

Similar language came up from most of the jacobin clubs of France, and on the evening of the 27th of June the parent society held a great debate on the best mode of treating the king. In this debate the co-editor of Brissot, a young man named Girey-Dupré, made a long and violent speech, declaring that the word of the king was not to be trusted; that he had perjured himself to the nation, and that the nation ought to punish a perjured king. Others, amongst whom was Anthoine, advocated the shutting up the king and queen for life, and appointing a regent; but, besides some violent denunciations of La Fayette, Bailly, Barnave, and the Lameths, no conclusion was arrived at.

Two days later, the *côté-droit*, or moderate party in the assembly, presented a protest against the usurpations of that body, signed by two hundred and seventy names, prominent amongst which were those of Maury, Malouet, Bonnay, cardinal la Rochefoucault, &c. This protest declared that the assembly had forcibly invaded all the rights of the king as secured to him by the constitution; that they had imprisoned his person, placed him under continual insults in his own palace, deprived him of the education of his own son; that they had seized the great seal, and given authority to their decrees without any sanction from the king, which was the annihilation of the constitution. Such being the case, the signers of it declared that they would take no further part in this usurping assembly, except to defend the king and his family. The reading of this protest was interrupted by a terrible clamour, and the president adjourned the house, but the supporters of the protest published and circulated it through the country. The only effect, however, was to strengthen the jacobin party, which went all the more boldly to pass their own measures,

because the refusal to vote by the moderates left everything in their hands.

At the same time, publications openly advocating the deposition of the king and the establishment of a republic appeared. Antoine Léon Saint-Just, a young man destined to a sanguinary renown, put forth an essay on this subject; and a still more remarkable document, in the form of a proclamation to the French nation, subscribed by Achille Duchatelet, who had served in America under La Fayette. This was a call to the French to seize the opportunity of the king having abandoned his post to set him aside and erect a republic. This was placarded all over Paris. The members of the assembly favourable to royalty were incensed. Malouet and Cazales demanded that Duchatelet should be prosecuted; but the assembly passed to the order of the day, leaving the public to think as it pleased on the subject. The document was not the composition of Duchatelet but of Thomas Paine, who was now extremely active at the clubs, endeavouring to introduce a republic here, as he imagined he had done in America. Paine spoke repeatedly on this head in the jacobin club. He declared that the French had, in reality, made a republic, but had not had the courage to cut away from it the absurd anomaly of a king. Paine, on account of his "Rights of Man," and his share in the American revolution, had a great reputation with the republicans of Paris, and his ideas flew abroad with great effect. He tried to bring La Fayette, Siéyes, and others of the leading revolutionists to his views; but both Siéyes and La Fayette replied that it was not yet time. He made, however, a decided convert of Condorcet, at whose house he was a frequent guest. The marquis de Condorcet was a distinguished mathematician. He was of one of the oldest families of Dauphiny, but was born at Ribemont, in Picardy, in 1743, and consequently was now forty-eight. When only twenty-two years of age, he had distinguished himself by a work on "Integral Calculations;" and during the next four years by his "Problem of the Three Bodies," and his "Analytical Essays." In 1769 he was elected member of the academy, and in 1773 its secretary. Having now adopted these republican ideas, he became as noted for the fervour of his political opinions as he already was for science. His house became the centre of union for men of like opinions. The question of a republic was continually discussed by Condorcet, Petion, Clavière, Buzot, and others, who met in private committees. They declared that the king had lost for ever the public confidence; that the nation could never forget his flight after his repeated assurances of voluntary approval of the revolution; and the king himself could never forget that he had been brought back by force, and was a prisoner in the hands of the assembly. That the elements of the monarchy were destroyed in this one man, and that there could be no restoration of it. Condorcet argued, that to allow the transition from monarchy to a republic to be made by the people rising against the court, would be a bloody and terrible affair; but that the assembly, having now all power in their hands, had only to decree the republic, and it would be done and accepted in peace. Siéyes, on the other hand, though no man had done more to curb the power of the crown, was for preserving the crown. He had a lively apprehension of the danger of putting

down one tolerable king, and setting up a million of intolerable masters in a republic. He declared that, in his opinion, the best social regimen was that in which not one—not some men alone—but in which all men tranquilly enjoyed the greatest latitude of possible liberty; at the same time he demanded to have the state and cumbrousness taken away from monarchy, and that it should be deprived of the power of corrupting and conspiring. Paine assailed him in *Brasserie* journal, and Siéyes replied through the *Monitor*; but Condorcet, who had been formerly a contributor to the *Encyclopédie*, now, in conjunction with Clavière, Buzot, and others, established a periodical, with the plain title of the *Republican*, to disseminate their ideas, and the afterwards celebrated Madame Roland was a zealous writer in it.

But Brissot, both in the jacobin club and in his journal, made the most uncompromising onslaught on royalty. Marat, at this juncture, was ill at Vincennes. Brissot ridiculed monarchy by stating that the ancient Egyptians to render it as innocuous as possible, put a stone block upon the throne, and that the Sheiks put on theirs a Koran and sword. "If," said Brissot, "this stone king and this Koran are incapable of punishment, they are also incapable of offence. They cannot conspire against the nation. Our declaration of the Rights of Man demands that all citizens shall be equal before the law. Now this equality comes to moment that one man is placed above the law, and every article of that declaration of rights will begin to lose its force. At every moment people have the audacity to trample one of the under foot." He declared that he could see in a sovereign nothing but a god, and in the pretended citizens but slaves. As to external dangers, he could see none. The Americans, he said, though a handful of people, had liberated themselves, beating off above thirty thousand English. Of the French, Spaniards, and Dutch engaged in the same contest against Great Britain, he took no notice. As for the continental kings, they had only to lead the oppressed and degraded subjects against France, and the glorious principles would cause them all to revolt against their despots, and to carry back liberty to their different countries, as France had brought it from America.

With respect to England, Pitt saw too well that a war with France would complete the ruin of that country already impending from its enormous debt, and from the impossibility of six thousand English retaining two millions of Indians in slavery. Holland and Prussia, he contended, were equally incapable of carrying on a war, and as for the emperor Leopold, he had enough on his hands to keep the fermenting and discordant provinces of his empire together. The Hungarians and Italians he represented to be in a state ripe for insurrection; and Poland was on the eve of a revolution. In short, there was no danger neither from individual states nor from Europe combined.

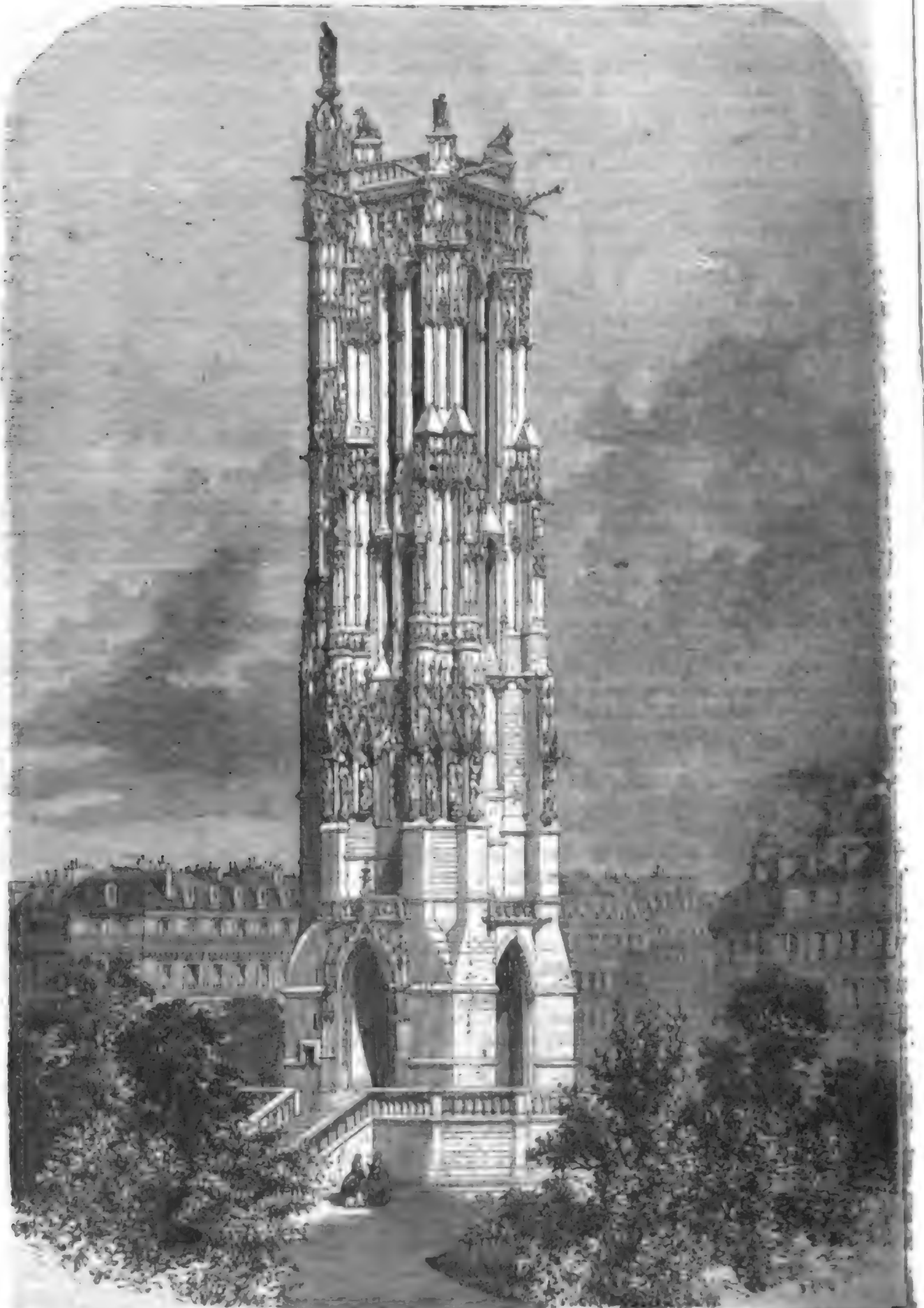
On the 16th of July the committees of constitution and research made their report on the king's flight to Varennes. They declared that, if there was any crime committed, it was not against the constitution, for the king had not passed beyond the frontiers, or employed foreign troops. If there was any personal offence, the person of the king was inviolable, and, therefore, it could not be punished. A tremendous outcry arose against the doctrine of inviolability. M. Vadier

declared that with their inviolability they would make Neros and Caligulas; and he repeatedly called the king a crowned brigand, much to the delight of the galleries. Robespierre declared the king to be as much subject to the laws as any other man; that, if he committed a violent offence against any citizen, that citizen could avenge it, in spite of this fabled inviolability. "The king, you say, is inviolable," he went on; "I say the people too are inviolable. The king is only inviolable by fiction; the people are inviolable by the sacred right of nature!" and he demanded that the question should be put to the people at large, in their several departments. The committees had suggested that the governors, madame de Tourzel, Bouille, and the three gardes-du-corps were guilty of a crime against the nation, by endeavouring to carry the king off, but Robespierre very properly ridiculed this conclusion. He declared that all were alike guilty, or all innocent, and that it would be mean and cowardly to let the chief individual escape, and punish the subordinates. Goupil de Prefeln replied to Robespierre, and made a fierce attack on the clubs, and about twenty individuals, who, he said, governed those riotous bodies, meaning Robespierre, Marat, Danton, Brissot, and their confrères. He was extremely severe on Condorcet and Brissot; and he was followed by the abbé Gregoire, who declared that the king had forfeited his throne, and that it was a sacred duty to bring him to punishment. Salles, Barnave, and Dufort defended the monarchy. They declared that a republic might suit a new country like America, but could never suit an old and wealthy one like France. Salles, to make a show of binding the king, proposed three resolutions, which Barnave supported. These were, that if, when the constitution was finished, and the king had sworn to the totality of it, he should retract, this should be held to amount to abdication. If he should ever put himself at the head of an army against the nation, or instruct any of his generals to do so, or fail in doing his utmost to prevent such a scheme, that should be held as abdication; and, having once abdicated by these or any means, the king should become an ordinary citizen, and be amenable to all forms of law for any offences committed by him after abdication. After a violent debate, these resolutions were carried, but so much to the indignation of the mob and their jacobin leaders, that there was immediately a determined opposition to them out of doors.

The resolutions passed on the evening of the 15th of July. That very night the jacobin club took up the subject, and Brissot produced a petition demanding the abolition of royalty. Robespierre thought it was too soon, and that the petition might be made the pretext for some sanguinary attack on the people. A petition was also prepared at the cordeliers club the next day, Saturday, and the walls of Paris were placarded with a call to sign it the next day in the Champ-de-Mars on the wooden altar of the country. Thither the next morning, Sunday, the 17th, all Paris seemed to be moving, and amongst them was a party now gradually rising into form and importance, afterwards called the Gironde, of which M. Roland and his wife were the heads, and Brissot, Condorcet, and Vergniaud were the chief agitators; Condorcet writing and speaking in its favour, and Vergniaud being its most eloquent speaker. This party

of which and its chiefs we shall soon speak more particularly, were amongst the most eager spectators and most prompt signers of the petition on this eventful day. At an early hour of the morning, and before the arrival of any petition, a number of people had ascended the platform on which the altar stood, and were walking about. Suddenly some one felt himself pricked under the sole of his foot. There was an outcry, an astonishment, a search, and behold, a gimlet-hole in the boards! An alarm of some plot to blow up the whole of the spectators was given; the boards were torn up, and beneath were discovered two men concealed there. They were dragged forth, and were discovered to be an invalid with a wooden leg and a journeyman hair-dresser. They had provisions with them in their concealment sufficient for the day; and being demanded why they had crept in there, they laughed, and replied, only to have a look at the ladies' legs! This was probably the real and base purpose of the fellows—for they had no combustibles or any means of annoyance more formidable than their eyes and their gimlet; but they were not believed, and they were speedily hanged at a lanterne near, their heads were cut off, stuck on poles, and paraded through the streets.

At the rumour of this alleged conspiracy, and the tumult in consequence of it, La Fayette advanced to the spot with his national guards, and some pieces of artillery; but, as all was found quiet, he marched back again. Both the jacobin and the cordeliers clubs, alarmed at the appearance of the soldiers, and at the many wild rumours of a plot, and an intention to massacre the spectators, kept away with their petitions, and the people, tired of waiting, drew up a petition themselves, declaring that the king had committed a monstrous crime, that the assembly was near its close, and it ought to secure the constitution before retiring, by abolishing royalty. This petition has been preserved in the municipal archives of Paris, and the paper, the signatures, and the orthography, present a curious specimen of the popular want of education, and they record the names of some of the most bloody men of the reign of terror. The signing continued till five o'clock in the evening, and numerous messages had already arrived at the Hôtel de Ville, saying that there was much excitement in consequence of the carrying about the heads of the two murdered men; that the mob had insulted the national guards, and that there was danger of riot. The business of this gathering being in defiance of the national assembly, that body had charged mayor Bailly to see that no disturbance took place, and, if necessary, to disperse the crowd. Accordingly, a commissioner was dispatched to order the throng to disperse, but they refused. The red flag was then hung out of the windows of the Hôtel de Ville, as the sign of martial law, and mayor Bailly, after six o'clock, marched to the Champ de Mars with a strong detachment of the national guards, a body of cavalry, three cannon, and the red flag displayed. No sooner did the mob see them than they shouted, "Down with the red flag! Down with those bayonets!" The entrance to the Champ de Mars was barricaded, and the people began to pelt the soldiers with stones. La Fayette broke down the barricades, and marched steadily forwards towards the altar, commanding the people to disperse, but they only assailed the soldiers the more actively for their



CHURCH OF ST. JACQUES DE LA BOUCHERIE, PARIS, IN WHICH WERE HELD OCCASIONAL SITTINGS OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY.



VIEW IN THE FORESTS OF THE GIRONDE.

forbearance. La Fayette then ordered the national guards to fire into the air, which for a moment dispersed the crowd, but the most part of it came again, perceiving no mischief done, and attacked the soldiers with such fury, firing several balls near La Fayette, that he at length ordered the soldiers to fire with ball. A number of people were killed, a great many more wounded; the accounts are so various that no particular account can be relied on. Report made the number of killed and wounded some hundreds, then some thousands, but the real amount would appear to have been somewhere about thirty. A number of others were seized, and by ten o'clock all was quiet, and Bailly and La Fayette returned to the Hotel de Ville.

For a moment this severity had the effect of cowing the people. The noisiest demagogues, Marat, Robespierre, Brissot, the Rolands, &c., fled in consternation into the country, or concealed themselves in obscure nooks; but very soon they ventured out again, and filled Paris with terrible outcries of the sanguinary plots that had been laid for the people, and boldly charged these and the massacre of the citizens on Bailly and La Fayette. It was clear that there was an end to their popularity with the mob, and that the jacobin orators and journalists would never rest till they had spilled their blood, or made them fly to save it. The days were over when La Fayette talked of the divine right of insurrection; it had long ago assumed an aspect which had nothing divine in it, but menaces of blood and anarchy.

The next morning Bailly and the municipal body appeared at the bar of the assembly to present a report of the proceedings of the day before. The assembly expressed its full approval, and Barnave declared that it was time to defend the monarchy, and to hunt out and bring to justice the instigators of these unconstitutional proceedings, and compel obedience to the laws. The assembly passed several very stringent decrees against all instigations to breach of the law, whether by placards, handbills, journals, or speeches. Petion opposed these decrees, as destructive of the liberty of the press; but some were carried out hostile to Marat, Danton, Lacroix, Brissot, &c. The *côté gauche* appeared silent and intimidated, and, had the assembly now had the courage and perseverance to arrest and capitally punish the authors of incessant stimulus to murder and anarchy, torrents of blood might have been spared. For a time, the assembly showed much spirit. It seized the types of most of the journals, though those of Brissot escaped. It arrested a number of fiery demagogues, but the chief agitators had escaped. The assembly and municipality now turned the press against its own champions, and through the columns of *Le Chant du Coq*, or "Crowing of the Cock," a journal which they set up, they denounced the authors of anarchy, and published many infamous details of their lives. This produced a very yell of fury from these concealed jacobins. Brissot exclaimed, in his journal, "Patriots! a frightful conspiracy is a-foot against all who have developed any energy in defence of the people; who have unmasked the traitors and enemies of the constitution. Their ruin is sworn: gold is flowing in torrents to pay the infamous libellers of the friends of their country." Marat emerged from his hiding-place to send forth his paper; Fréron, his *Orateur*; Labinette, his *Devil's Journal*: in which they

charged Bailly and La Fayette with being allied with the assembly to destroy the liberty of the people, and with having attacked and shot them down in the Champ de Mars, when peaceably petitioning the assembly. Camille Desmoulins also, from his hiding-place, made the most atrocious charges against Bailly and La Fayette. He declared that they had got up the plot at the Champ de Mars to massacre the people, and that the number they had killed was four hundred; that there had been no firing at La Fayette, but that he had set one of his own men to fire at him, without a ball, for a pretext to butcher the people, and that he and Bailly had delayed the massacre till late in the evening, in the hope that the clubs would be then signing, so that he might dispatch them altogether; he had penetrated the league of Barnave with the court, and protested that he and the Lameths were bribed to restore the ancient despotism.

A great schism took place in the jacobin club, in consequence of the violence of the members. Numbers of the more moderate quitted the club and joined the Feuillants. The assembly particularly favoured this going over to the Feuillants; it circulated an address throughout the country recommending all the affiliated societies in the provinces to acknowledge the Feuillant club as their head; and this succeeded to a certain extent. But Robespierre read an address at the jacobin club, in which he warned the societies against the Feuillants, as enemies of the liberties of the people, and reminded them that the days of the assembly were numbered, and that true jacobins would succeed them, and perhaps modify the constitution. The consequence was that the affiliated societies again rallied round the mob society, and the jacobins recovered, in a great measure, the power and boldness that they had lost. The heads of the popular hydra had escaped, and the members of the assembly, and of the municipality were soon to feel their vengeance. The assembly had, indeed, just performed a piece of blasphemous mumminery, the apotheosis of Voltaire, which tended wonderfully to increase the influence of the jacobins and of the mob. They had decreed that the bones of the impious poet should be brought from the abbey of Scellieres, and carried in state to the Panthéon. In Voltaire's lifetime it was boasted that he had buried the priests and the christian religion, but now the priests were going to bury him, having very little of the christian religion left amongst them. It is to the credit of a minority in the Parisians that a public protest against this honour to a man who heaped ribaldry and obscenity on everything sacred was made and placarded on the walls. The writers of this protest were declared to be fools and Jansenists. The assembly fixed the day of the procession for the 10th of July; but the 10th was deluging, rainy day, and the ceremony was postponed to the next day, or till the weather should be fine. The officer of the commune to whom this message of postponement was delivered, remarked that it was the low jealousy of the aristocracy of heaven which had sent this deluge to prevent the triumph of the great man who had been the rival and conqueror of the Divinity! Such was the atheistic madness to which the doctrines of Voltaire had by this time reduced the French. The next day was as wet, and the assembly was about to renew the postponement, when about two

o'clock at noon it cleared up. The coffin was placed on a car of the true classic form, and being received at the barrier of Charenton, it was borne first to the spot on which the Bastille had stood, and where Voltaire had been confined by *lettre-de-cachet*. The ground was converted into a temporary garden by turf and shrubs, and boughs of trees, and the sarcophagus containing the coffin of the great infidel was placed on a platform in the centre, being covered with myrtles, roses, and wild flowers, and bearing the following inscriptions:—"If man is born free, he ought to govern himself." "If man has tyrants placed over him, he ought to dethrone them." This was plain speaking. Besides these there were various other inscriptions in different parts of the area, and on a huge block of stone, in large letters:—"Receive, O Voltaire! on this spot, where despotism once held thee in chains, the honours thy country renders thee!"

From the Bastille to the Panthéon all Paris seemed to be following the procession. Soldiers, lawyers, doctors, each made their part of the train, carrying banners with devices in honour of the hero of the occasion. The assembly, the municipal body, marched in their places of honour; the learned academies with a crowd of poets, literary men, and artists, carried a gilded chest containing the seventy volumes of Voltaire's works; the men who had taken part in the demolition of the Bastille carried chains, fetters, and cuirasses found in the prison; a bust of Voltaire, surrounded by those of Rousseau, Mirabeau, and Desilles, was borne by the actors from the different theatres, in ancient costume; then came the car which at the Bastille had been surmounted by a statue of the philosopher which France was crowning with a wreath of immortelles; this fresh inscription on the sides of the sarcophagus:—"He avenged Calas, La Barre, Sirven, and Montbailly: poet, philosopher, and historian, he made the human mind take a high flight, and prepared us to become free." The immense procession was preceded and closed by national guards.

The procession halted at various places for the poet to receive particular honours. At the opera houses, the actors and actresses were waiting to present a laurel crown, and to sing a hymn to his glory; at the house of M. Villette—where was yet deposited the heart of the great man previous to being sent to Fernay—four tall poplars were planted and adorned with wreaths and festoons of flowers, and on the front of the house was written, in large letters:—"His genius is everywhere, and his heart is here!" Madame Villette, who had been so much celebrated by Voltaire as the good and beautiful, also appeared and placed another crown on the statue. Near this was raised a sort of amphitheatre, on which were seated a crowd of young girls in white dresses with blue sashes, crowned with roses, and holding wreaths in honour of the poet in their hands, whilst they sang another hymn to his glory; madame Villette and some members of the family of Calas then walked before the car to the Théâtre Française, where the names of Voltaire's works were written on the front of the building, and the columns of its portico were also garlanded with flowers, and hung with medallions. A similar halt was made on the site of the former theatre, Comédie Française, and a statue of the poet was there crowned, by actors costumed as

Tragedy and Comedy; the actors then sang a chorus from his opera of "Samson," and then the procession advanced to the Panthéon, where the mouldering remains of Voltaire were placed beside those of Descartes and Mirabeau. All Paris that evening was one festal scene; illuminations blazing on the busts and figures of the patriot of equality, the Creator himself having been, in imagination, dethroned by him, and by quotations from his works, which were deemed to have swept away for ever all the old superstitions of the Bible.

Three days after this, the 14th of July, the anniversary of the taking of the Bastille was kept, and bishop Gobel celebrated mass at the altar of the cemetery in the Champ de Mars; and, just three days later, La Fayette fired on the assembled people, in the same spot—a curious concurrence of circumstances, and suggestive of serious thoughts on the tendency of the revolution.

The assembly now took upon itself the education of the dauphin. Poor Louis complained in vain that he should not be allowed to dictate the education of his own child; but individual feelings, or rights of nature in a monarch, were things that the revolutionists of France took no account of. A king or a prince was, with them, only a piece of machinery to be fashioned and used as they pleased, and, accordingly, to manufacture a prince answerable to their ideas, the assembly piled on the poor boy's head a crowd of teachers, enough to drive any child mad. There were no less than sixty-eight preceptors of one kind or another! Amongst them were St. Pierre, the author of the "Studies of Nature," and of "Paul and Virginia;" Berquin, the author of "The Children's Friend;" Dacier, chief secretary of the Academy of Belles Lettres; Ducis, translator of Shakespeare; Lacépède, the naturalist; Lacretelle, the historian; Malesherbes, formerly minister; De Quincey, writer on art and antiquities; Piécyres, author of "The School of Fathers;" Segur, the diplomatist; and the abbé Sicard, the improver of the art of teaching the deaf and dumb. If the king complained of the appointment of many of these teachers, the jacobins complained of more, and declared that the boy ought to be put into the patriotic hands of Marat and Robespierre.

And now, prior to its own dissolution, the assembly commenced the great work of the revision of the constitution. A report of a committee was brought up on this subject. Men of all politics were on this committee; there were Thouret, Target, Chapelier, Siéyes, Talleyrand, St. Etienne, Barnave, Duport, Alexander Lameth, Clermont-Tonnère, Buzot, Petion, &c. The discussion of this report continued till the 1st of September. Malouet, Barnave, and the Lameths, resolved, on this occasion, to make a determined stand for the restoration of the most important of the royal prerogatives. Malouet was to take the lead; Barnave and the Lameths to appear to oppose him; but, in the course of their speeches, to admit that certain concessions to the crown were necessary to the independent working of the constitution. It is possible that something might have been gained by this plan, but, unfortunately, the moderates had ruined all hope of it, by refusing to vote any more in the assembly, thus leaving the matter in the hands of the *côté gauche*, or ultra-revolutionists. Malouet made a daring and uncompromising attack

on the constitution, and demanded, first of all, that the declaration of the Rights of Man should be expunged. It is not to be supposed that he could for a moment hope to succeed in this demand, but that, by his extreme demands, he might render the points of revision suggested by Barnave and the Lameths moderate in appearance. The most terrible outcries were raised around him by the *côté gauche*; but he went on, and denounced the clubs and their influence. He adverted to the proposition that no alteration should be made in the constitution till 1800, and contended that it was intolerable to expect France to groan under such a tyrannous constitution for that length of time; that they had pared down the royal power to an absolute nullity; had reduced the king to a prisoner and a puppet, and thus destroyed all his moral influence in the state; that the legislative had usurped the executive, and was itself the slave of the clubs and the mob. "Have you taken any measures," he demanded, amid the most violent interruptions, yellings, and hootings, "for compelling that multitude of tyrannical clubs, which corrupt and subvert public opinion, which exercise an entire influence over elections, which domineer over all the authorities, to restore to us that liberty and peace which they have torn from us? Have you taken any measures to restrain within the due limits of the law those masses of armed men which cover the whole of France as national guards? If your constitution does not check the abuses of the extraordinary means that have been made use of to establish it, you can yet propose to us a long interval, before any alterations or reforms shall be permitted?"

In the midst of a raging storm of abuse and tumult he went on—"Gentlemen, are we to remain in our present terrible condition till the year 1800?—in a condition in which neither liberty, nor property, nor the lives nor consciences of men are free a single day from the most terrible violations? Gentlemen, you must put down your inquisitorial committees of research, your laws against the emigrants, your multiplied oaths and deeds of violence, your persecution of priests, your arbitrary imprisonment of all classes of people, your criminal proceedings without evidence, the fanaticism and dominion of the clubs. But even all this is not enough to preserve public tranquillity. Licentiousness has committed such ravages, the dogs of the nation still boil up so furiously—" Here the confusion, the shouting of "down with the maligner," the uproar from the left side and the galleries were deafening, but Malouet went on, as soon as he could be heard:—"The frightful insubordination of our troops; our religious troubles; the discontents and insurrections of our colonies, which are destroying our commerce; the embarrassments of our finances, growing worse and worse every day, are motives which should induce you to reform the constitution, and render it as effective and beneficial as it is now powerless and contemptible."

This was a sketch of things far too true to be agreeable. Robespierre, on the contrary, insisted that a further extension of the popular power, by universal suffrage, was the remedy for all these troubles. He declared, that till all distinctions of money and property were abolished there could be no equality; that by the present law Rousseau, one of the greatest philosophers and legislators that ever

lived, could not have a vote; but he did not remind the assembly that the bulk of the French people were as Rousseaus yet, but were utterly illiterate, and degraded by oppression and ignorance, and therefore incapable of an enlightened vote, as they were incapable of any but the most savage conduct. Petion demanded that the royal power should be still more restricted, and popular power extended according to Robespierre's recommendation. The duke of Orleans offered to resign any rights that he might possess as a member of the blood royal, on condition that he should be allowed to exercise the same rights of voting as all other citizens. He asked whether the king's relations were not men, and ought, therefore, to possess the rights of men. But Robespierre rose again, and said they were talking too much of the rights of individuals, and too little of the rights of the nation. At the same time, he did not object to give the same rights of voting to the king's relations as to all other men, for it tended to abolish distinctions; and he quoted the examples of England, Hungary, Bohemia, and other countries where the relations of the king sat in the legislative chambers. But such a doctrine was not tolerated even in Robespierre, and he was clamoured down. Barnave and Alexander Lameth exerted themselves to procure some modifications in favour of oppressed royalty, but in vain; the *côté gauche*, unopposed by the *côté droit*, which had voluntarily abandoned the right of voting, carried it triumphantly that the constitution was perfect, and was finished. So much, indeed, was conceded, that instead of fixing the year 1800 as the earliest period at which any alterations in the constitution should take place, necessary reforms might be introduced by a third consecutive assembly when in the last two months of its session; and this was to be done without requiring the sanction of the crown. The work of reform must then be committed to a small number—two hundred and forty-nine members—who should form an assembly of revision, and in this assembly or committee those who demanded the reforms were to have a place. The number of members of the assembly at first was fixed at seven hundred and forty-five; and though universal suffrage was not literally conceded, yet there was a very near approach to it, for every man of twenty-five years of age, having a fixed domicile, not being a fool or valet, and paying a direct yearly contribution to the state equal to the value of three days' labour, was endowed with the franchise.

The constitution was pronounced complete on the 30th of September, and a deputation of sixty members was appointed to present it to the king, and demand his pure and simple acceptance of it. "From that moment," says Thiers, "the freedom was restored to him; or, if that expression is objected to, the strict watch kept over the palace ceased, and he had liberty to retire whither he pleased, to examine the constitutional act, and to accept it freely." That expression will certainly be objected to by every reader. It was a cruel farce played upon the unhappy Louis. He was told that he might retire to St. Cloud, from which he had been some time ago so insultingly kept back. He was a miserable captive, dragged back from Varennes, and watched day and night, both he himself and the queen, as a cat watches mice. Yet now, as it was desirable to give a free air to the

acceptance of the constitution, suddenly the strict surveillance is abandoned, the door of his trap is left open, and he is told that he may go at large. But Louis knew better; he knew that the assembly had still a string to his leg, and that if he really did endeavour to liberate himself, he would be savagely plucked back. He knew that if he exercised his own judgment on the constitution, this fawning assembly would pounce upon him like a crouching tiger; and that, if he should declare himself unable to sanction it, there would be a very short cut for him to the scaffold. Thiers himself, after telling us that he was restored to his freedom, and might go where he pleased—if we “do not object to the expression”—gives us the most sufficient reason why we should object to it. “What,” he asks, “was Louis XVI. to do in this case? To reject the constitution would have been to abdicate in favour of a republic. The safest way, even according to his own system, was to accept it, and to expect from time those restitutions of power which he considered due to him.” Malouet, indeed, with the same daring which prompted his speech in the assembly, advised the king to state plainly his objections to it, and to point out the vices and dangers which he saw in their constitution. Montmorin was of the same opinion; but they stood alone. Barnave and Duport knew the assembly and the jacobins too well to give the king such perilous advice. They agreed with Kaunitz, the Austrian ambassador, who had been the favourite minister of the great Maria Theresa, Marie Antoinette’s mother, and who had the queen’s interest deeply at heart, that the only safe plan for Louis was to accept it without any exceptions.

Accordingly, in the course of a few days, Louis wrote to the assembly that he accepted the constitution, entirely. There was a burst of applause on the reading of this message. There were loud cries of “*Vive le roi!*” for some obstacle on the part of Louis had been expected. La Fayette seized the opportunity of this sudden elation to propose a general amnesty for all acts committed during the revolution. This—which included a cessation of prosecutions carrying on against those concerned in the flight to Varennes—was instantly carried, and, according to Thiers, the prison doors were immediately thrown open. The king repaired to the assembly, and again swore to observe the constitution; and, according to the same author, all was joy and satisfaction. But other writers give a very different account, and, amongst them, madame Campan. This is her version:—“A deputation of sixty members waited on the king, to express to him the satisfaction that his letter had given. The queen, his son, and madame, were at the door of the chamber into which the deputation was admitted. The king said to the deputies:—‘You see there my wife and children, who participate in my sentiments;’ and the queen herself confirmed the king’s assurance. The apparent marks of confidence were very inconsistent with the agitated state of her mind. ‘These people will have no sovereigns,’ said she. ‘We shall fall before their treacherous though well-planned tactics; they are demolishing the monarchy stone by stone!’

“The day after that of the deputation, particulars of their reception by the king were reported to the assembly; and they excited warm approbation. But the president

having put the question, whether the assembly ought not to remain seated while the king took the oath ‘Certainly,’ was repeated by many voices; ‘and the king standing uncovered.’ M. Malouet observed, that there was no occasion on which the nation, assembled in the presence of the king, did not acknowledge him as its head; that the omission to treat the head of the state with the respect due to him would be an offence to the nation as well as to the monarch. He moved that the king should take the oath standing, and that the assembly should be in the same posture whilst he was doing so. M. Malouet’s observations would have carried the decree, but a deputy from Brittany exclaimed, that he had an amendment to make, which would render all unanimous. ‘Let us decree,’ said he, ‘that M. Malouet, and whoever else shall so please, may have leave to receive the king upon their knees, but let us stick to the decree.’

“The king repaired to the chamber at mid-day. His speech was followed by plaudits which lasted several minutes. After the signing of the constitutional act, all sat down. The president rose to deliver his speech; but, after he had began, perceiving that the king did not rise to hear him, he sat down again. His speech made a powerful impression; the sentence with which it concluded excited fresh acclamations, cries of ‘Bravo!’ and ‘Vive le Roi!’ ‘Sire,’ said he, ‘how important in our eyes, and how dear to our hearts; how sublime a feature in our history must be the epoch of that regeneration which gives citizens to France, a country to Frenchmen; to you, as a king, a new glory; and, as a man, a fresh source of enjoyment and of new feelings.’

“At length, I hoped to see a return of that tranquillity, which had been so long chased from the countenances of my august master and mistress. But, no! The queen had attended the sitting in a private box. I remarked her total silence, and the deep grief which was depicted on her countenance on her return. The king came to her apartment the private way. His features were much changed. The queen uttered an exclamation of surprise at his appearance. I thought he was ill; but what was my affliction when I heard the unfortunate monarch say, as he threw himself into a chair, and put his handkerchief to his eyes—‘All is lost! Ah, madame, and you are witness to this humiliation! What! You are come into France to see——.’ These words were interrupted by sobs. The queen threw herself upon her knees before him, and pressed him in her arms. I remained with them, not from any blameable curiosity, but from a stupefaction, which rendered me incapable of determining what I ought to do. The queen said to me, ‘Oh, go, go!’ with an accent which expressed, ‘Do not remain to witness the dejection and despair of your sovereign.’

“I withdrew, struck with the contrast between the shouts of joy without the palace and the profound grief which oppressed the sovereigns within. Half an hour afterwards, the queen sent for me. She desired to see M. Goguetat, to announce to him her departure on that very night for Vienna. The new attacks upon the dignity of the throne, which had been exhibited during the sitting; the spirit of the assembly, worse than the former; the monarch put

upon a level with the president, without any deference to the throne; all this proclaimed but too loudly that the sovereignty itself was aimed at. The queen no longer saw any ground for hope from the interior of the country. The king wrote to the emperor; she told me that she would herself, at midnight, bring the letter which M. Goguelat was to bear to the emperor, to my room. During all the remainder of the day, the palace and the gardens of the Tuileries were prodigiously crowded; the illuminations were magnificent.

And thus the assembly, the so-called constitutional party, had given the last blow to the monarchy. They had degraded the sovereign to the lowest degree in the eyes of the nation; they had played into the hands of the furious republican party; and they were about to surrender the legislature and their new constitution into the very hands that were panting to destroy it, and to spill the blood of the king and queen, of these blind lawmakers, and one another. La Fayette and Bailly marched their national



DANTON. FROM AN AUTHENTIC PORTRAIT.

The king and the queen were requested to take an airing in their carriage in the Champs Elysées, escorted by the aides-de-camp and leaders of the Parisian army, the constitutional guard not being at that time organised. Many shouts of 'Vive le Roi!' were heard; but, as often as they terminated, one of the mob, who never quitted the door of the king's carriage for a single instant, exclaimed, with a stentorian voice, 'No, don't believe them: *vive la nation!*' This ill-omened cry struck terror into the queen; she thought it not right, however, to make any complaint on the subject, and pretended not to hear the isolated croak of this fanatic, a base hireling, as if it had been drowned in the public acclamation."

guards and their municipal officers once more to the Champ de Mars, on Sunday, the 18th of September, and there, amid the thunder of cannon, and of shouting multitudes, again proclaimed their devotion to the accomplished constitution. But, amid the rejoicings of the people, there were cries and other signs that they were rejoicing, not so much in the completion of the constitution, as in the fall of the monarchy. Amongst other significant symptoms, a shoe-maker, in the Rue St. Honoré, exhibited a transparency, with the words, "*Vive le Roi! s'il est de bonne foi!*" — "Long live the king, if he keeps faith!"

At this very time, the ladies and chief officers of the court were resigning their situations because the new constitution



MEETING OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY.

had abolished the honours and prerogatives connected with them. It became a question with the sovereigns whether they should form their household without equerries and without ladies of honour. Nay, the lives of the sovereigns were not safe from poison. A pastrycook in the establishment, who was a furious jacobin, and whom the king had no power to displace, had been heard to say that it would be a good thing for France if the king's days were shortened. In consequence of the danger, the royal family took care to eat nothing that did not come through the hands of their faithful little knot of attendants, and dined alone, serving themselves from dumb-waiters. Yet, all the time, they were expected to look quite cheerful and confiding. Their majesties went to the opera, the Theatre Francais—the queen by herself to the Theatre Italien; at the former places they were applauded, at the latter a violent tumult arose from madame Dugazon unfortunately bowing to the queen as, in Gretry's "*Evenemens imprévus*," she sang "Ah! how I love my mistress!" At once arose the cry, "No mistress! no master!" and the counter cries of "*Vive le Roi! Vive la Reine!*" till a regular fight commenced, which was only ended by the arrival of a strong detachment of national guards. The queen never again entered a theatre.

Meantime, the elements of confusion were on all sides rising into more intense and ominous action. The king and queen were in deep correspondence with Vienna, certain that no hope for them now existed in any party in France. Barnave and the Lameths still promised them support from the constitutional party; but this party was already broken up, and the remains of it trampled under the feet of the republicans. The assembly, in its last few days, vainly essayed to curb the furies which they had fostered. The finances were incurably bad; the army was thoroughly jacobinised; and, in discussing these matters, the two great parties in the assembly attacked each other without any regard to decency. They threatened each other with their fists; they called one another infamous and lousy beggars! Chabroud demanded a vigorous law for enforcing discipline in the army, and Alexander Lameth charged the frightful insubordination amongst the soldiers everywhere to the letters and instigations of Petion and Robespierre. He asked how could there be the necessary subordination where the soldiers quoted to their officers the Rights of Man, and then set them at defiance? Robespierre defended himself and the army. Very rude words, and the lie direct passed betwixt Lameth and Robespierre. Estournel declared that the horrible jacobin faction should be put down; and Chabroud's motion was passed, establishing the punishment of death for all officers, commissioned or non-commissioned, who disobeyed orders, and twenty years in the galleys for all soldiers who, after a third proclamation, persisted in disobedience.

On the 29th of September, the very next day, Chapelier presented a report on political clubs, and on the perilous system of jacobin affiliation. But all these measures were now too late. These clubs should have been nipped in the bud. But the assembly had supported them so long as they helped to strengthen it in its attacks on the throne; and now they were become all-powerful. It was now in vain to proclaim, as this report did, that no society, club, or

association of citizens could, under any form, have any political existence, or exercise any inspection over the acts of legal and constitutional powers. Robespierre, who knew that the days of the assembly were numbered, and that the measures for returning a thoroughly jacobin assembly were complete, threw off his usually mild manner, and recalled to their attention their own law, which conferred the most unlimited freedom of discussion and of action on all citizens. He bade them remember how they had themselves eulogised the jacobin clubs, and individually had frequented them. "But," he continued, "it is said, we have no longer any occasion for these clubs—the revolution is finished. We shall see! For my part, when I see on one side a constitution, only just born, beset by enemies interior and exterior; when I see that discourses and external signs are changed, but that actions are all the same, and that new hearts can only be changed by a miracle; when I see intrigue, falsehood, and calumny studiously spreading alarms, and sowing the seeds of future troubles and discords; when I see the chiefs of opposite factions fighting less for the cause of the revolution than for the power of domineering in the name of the monarch; when, on the other side, I see the exaggerated zeal with which they are prescribing blind obedience, and proscribing the very name of liberty; when I see the extraordinary means they are now employing to kill public spirit, and bring about the resurrection of prejudices, and trivialities, and the old idolatries, I do not believe that the revolution is finished yet!"

The law against clubs was passed, but it was a dead letter as it passed, and only seemed to whet the edge of the guillotine for those who passed it. Robespierre was applauded frantically by the galleries, and his words were preparing all the rabble of France for the sanguinary work about to follow. The assembly, on the eve of its extinction, was endeavouring to bind with ropes of sand men whom no law, human or divine, could bind, who had been allowed to exist when they might readily have been crushed, and who were now in force to crush all that dared to dispute with them.

In the midst of these violent, unseemly, and ominous altercations, the assembly passed a decree granting to Jews all the rights of citizenship, and, like England, declaring slaves setting foot on the soil of France free. At the same time, they seized and incorporated with France the city and district of Avignon, which had been purchased, in 1348, by pope Clement VI., of Joan, queen of Naples and countess of Provence, to whom it belonged, and which ever since had remained a fief of the papacy.

On the 30th of September Louis proceeded to the assembly in order to dissolve it. On this occasion, as on all other public occasions, Louis spoke the sentiments which were put into his mouth by his ministers and advisers, as the most safe. Although he detested the assembly and all its work, he professed to admire their constitution, and the zeal and patriotism which they had displayed. He expressed regret that they were not, indeed, sitting longer to complete their legislation; and well might he do that, if he looked round and noticed the members of the national convention, who were already elected, and impatiently awaiting

the departure of the present deputies. The jacobins had laid great stress on the election of the new deputies before the dissolution of the assembly. Whilst the deputies were in Paris, occupied in passing decrees that were soon to be blown to all the winds of heaven, the elections might be carried on with less interference from them, though that could have availed little. The clubs had worked up the great mass of the population to their own pitch, and they had returned an assembly in which there was, with the exception of Condorcet and one or two others, not a single man having any claims to aristocratic origin. They were republicans of the deepest dye, with scarcely half a-dozen constitutionalists of any weight amongst them. They were men never heard of before; but all zealots in republican principles, law attorneys, infidels, club orators, newspaper writers, and unprincipled adventurers of various shades and grades. Amongst them were Brissot, Gorsas, Carra, Guadet, Garate, and hundreds of still more obscure men, but destined soon to an infamous notoriety. There was no Robespierre, no Petion, because they had tied not only their own hands but those of all their colleagues from serving in this new assembly; but Petion and Robespierre had taken care to secure posts in which they could exercise an influence paramount to all others, and by which they could at pleasure denounce and decimate the deputies themselves. Petion was elected mayor of Paris in place of Bailly, and Robespierre to the new office of *Public Accuser* to the criminal tribunal!

When the king had retired, Thouret, the president, announced that the national assembly had terminated its session, and was at an end. The new deputies assembled the very next day, the 1st of October, and assumed the name of the NATIONAL LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY. Before proceeding to the acts of this new assembly, it is necessary to acquaint ourselves with its leading characters and leading parties.

As the jacobins had expected, the elections of the departments had occupied but little attention. The public gaze had been fixed on the acts of the assembly about to retire, so that a race of new men appeared, which seemed at first to divide itself into two parties—the *côté droit*, or constitutional party, and the *côté gauche*, or democratic party; but the latter party soon divided itself into two, the Mountain and the Gironde. It is difficult to discern the distinguishing traits of these two revolutionary parties. At first, they all worked together, clearly for the downfall of the monarchy. Robespierre, Petion, Marat, Danton, were associated with those who afterwards divided themselves into the Gironde, with Condorcet, Brissot, the Rolands, Vergniaud, &c. Though Robespierre, Petion, and Danton were no longer in the assembly, they ruled the jacobin party there from the clubs. It was not till the question of war arose that the split took place. The Girondists were for war, Robespierre was obstinately against it. At first he stood nearly alone. Jacobins and Girondists were alike for war; he stood firm against it, and by degrees, though he did not draw the jacobins very soon to his views, he drew them speedily away from the Girondists.

This party of the Girondists had been growing and forming for some time. It took its rise originally at Bordeaux, the great commercial city of the department of the Gironde.

Bordeaux was of Roman origin. It had always displayed a great love of independence, which its parliaments had continually kept alive. It had of late years become the great commercial link betwixt France and the revolutionised United States. It had early, too, become leavened with the new philosophy; it was the birth-place of Montaigne and Montesquieu. The Gironde sent up to the new assembly twelve deputies, all as yet unknown, but all deeply imbued with the new principles. Amongst them were Ducois, Guadet, Lafond-Ladebat, Grangeneuve, Gensonné, and Vergniaud. These, on arriving in Paris, soon found themselves mixed up, at the house of Condorcet and the Rolands, with Robespierre, Danton, Petion, Buzot, Brissot, Carra-Louvet, Thomas Baine, and, in fact, nearly all the thorough revolutionists. The active centre of the whole party, up to the period of the question of the war against the emigrants, was madame Roland, and such she continued to be of the Girondists after their separation into a distinct party, and after that they had become the antagonists of the Mountain or jacobin party. To obtain, therefore, a clear idea of the Girondists, we must at once make ourselves acquainted with this remarkable woman. We have her autobiography written in prison previous to her execution by the guillotine.

Manon Jean Philipon Roland was the daughter of Gratian Philipon, an engraver and painter in enamel, in Paris. She was born in 1754, consequently, in the present year, at the opening of the new assembly, she was thirty-seven years of age, and perished on the scaffold in 1793, two years afterwards, at the age of thirty-nine. Her father, besides his proper profession of engraver, speculated in diamonds and jewels. He had seven children, who all died in infancy except little Manon, and, in consequence, he was passionately fond of her, and was anxious to make a fortune on her account, but by his endeavours only made himself poorer. The mother of Manon appears to have been a woman of superior judgment, who cultivated the genius which she perceived in her daughter with much judgment, and, as she feared that she might have to struggle with much difficulty through the unsuccessful proceedings of her father, she infused into her the strength and spirit necessary for the severe martyrdoms of life. The little girl at the same time displayed a vivid appetite for knowledge, and read all sorts of books that came to hand. Theology, history, philosophy, music, painting, dancing, the exact sciences, chemistry, foreign tongues and learned languages, she learned all and desired more. The apprentices of her father were made the means of introducing books for her, which they brought into the workshop and purposely left seeming to forget them. She collected and secreted them. Her father was anxious to make an engraver of her, and a portrait of her when a girl represents her in the workshop with a book in one hand and an engraving tool in the other. But she did not take to this profession, and it was abandoned. She went on reading. Her mother's brother, a priest and curé, gave her instructions in the catholic religion; but at the same time she read Malbranche and Locke, and studied Delolme on the English constitution. This afterwards induced her to visit England, where she was struck by the comparative comfort of the poor, and she wrote in her letters, "Let fools cry out, and slaves laugh and sing, but believe me there

are in England men who have a right to laugh at us." But she enlivened this reading by also devouring all the tales, and romances, and travels of that period; not excepting the very freest of the books of Scarron and Voltaire. But Plutarch was her great book, and from him she derived her admiration of great men, or such as appeared to her great men, and her decided republican principle.

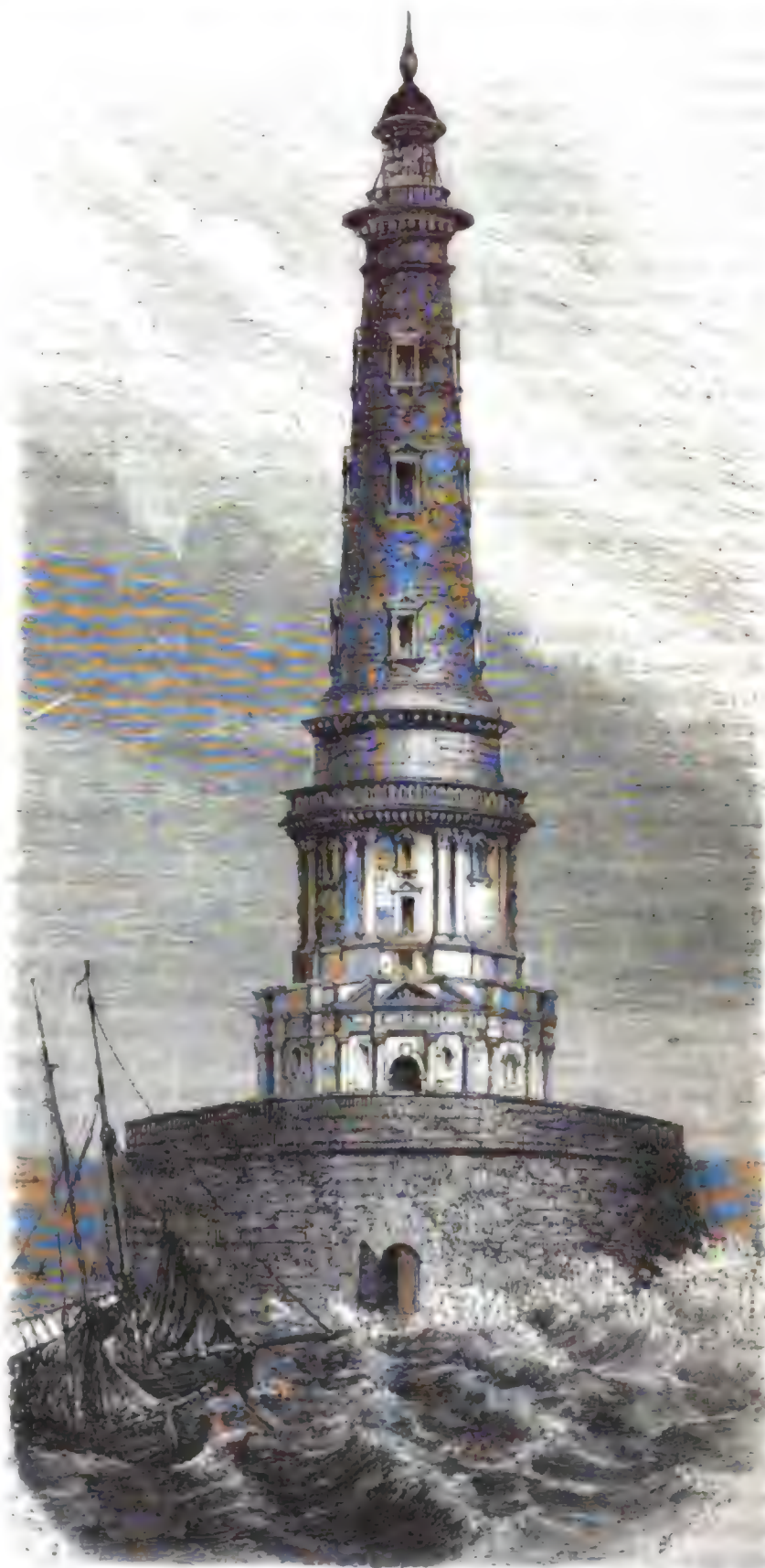
"I shall never forget," she writes, "the Lent of 1763, during which I every day carried that book to church, instead of the book of prayers. It was from this moment that I date the impressions and ideas which made me a republican, when I had never formed a thought on the subject." She was, in fact, only nine years of age at this time. After Plutarch, Fénelon made the deepest impression upon her. Tasso and the poets followed. Thus she grew up, and it may be supposed that her secluded sort of life and her manners would have tended to soften a heart that early philosophy had attempted to indurate. She says, "When I read behind the screen which closed up my chamber from my father's apartment, if my breathing was at all loud, I felt a burning blush overspread my cheek, and my altered voice would have betrayed my agitation. I was

Eucharis to Telemachus, and Herminia to Tancred. Yet, transformed as I was into them, I never thought of becoming anything to anybody. I made no reflection that individ-

ually affected me; I sought nothing around me; it was a dream without awaking. Yet I remember having beheld with much agitation a young painter named Taboral, who

called on my father occasionally. He was about twenty years of age, with a sweet voice, intelligent countenance, and blushed like a girl. When I heard him in the atelier, I had always a pencil of something to look after; but, as his presence embarrassed me much as it pleased me, I went away quicker than I entered."

To improve her education, she went for a time into a convent; she then returned to her father's house, near the Port Neuf, with view from its roof looking over the Champs Elysées and the houses of Chaulieu. She thought the district of the Isle Saint Louis then very beautiful, and, with her mother and her aunt Angelique, inhaled the fresh air with them on summer evenings, those straight quiet watching the course of the graceful river and the distant landscape. In the last time she accompanied her mother to market, and employed herself in the duties of the kitchen. Sometimes she was taken into metropolitan circles, as there she felt at once the pain and indignation resulting from the rude contr-



LIGHTHOUSE OF CORDOVAN, AT THE MOUTH OF THE GIRONDE

betwixt the ideal world in which her imagination indulged and the real one. She was deeply wounded by the manner in which she and her mother or aunt, who

treated. "My pride took alarm; my blood boiled; I blushed violently. I no longer inquired of myself why this lady was seated on a sofa, and my grandmother or aunt on a low stool. I saw the end of the visit with satisfaction."

But she also had a peep of royalty, and that pleased her no better. In her Grecian reading she had lived on terms of equality with Agis and Cleomenes at Sparta; she was one of the Gracchi of Rome; she retired with the people to the Aventine Mount, and voted for the tribunes. The abbé Morell, the parish priest, fearing the effect of these readings, had put into her hands some of the orthodox works of the defenders of the church; but the chief effect of this was to reveal to her the names of the sceptical writers whom they professed to refute, and so she procured from this clue "Bayle's Philosophical Dictionary," the "Encyclopædists," and their controversies; the works of D'Argens, Spinoza, Helvetius, Diderot, D'Alembert, and Raynal, as well as the "Système de la Nature" of Baron D'Holbach. Thus, from an ardent catholic and a worshipper of heroes, she was become not only a thorough republican but a free-thinker. We may therefore well conceive her feelings when she was taken to pass eight days at Versailles, in the palace of that king and queen whose throne she was one day to sap. This is Lamartine's account of the visit:—

"Lodged in the attics with one of the female domestics of the château, she was a close observer of this royal luxury, which she believed was paid for by the misery of the people, and that grandeur of things founded on the servility of courtiers. The lavishly-spread tables, the walks, plays, presentations, all passed before her eyes in the pomp and vanity of the world. These ceremonious details of power were repugnant to her mind, which fed on philosophy, truth, liberty, and the virtue of the often time. The obscure names, the humble attire of the relatives who took her to see all this, only procured for her mere passing looks and a few words, which meant more protection than favour. The feeling that her youth, beauty, merit, were unperceived by this crowd, who only adored favour or etiquette, oppressed her mind. The philosophy, natural pride, imagination, and fixeness of her soul, were all wounded during this sojourn. 'I preferred,' she says, 'the statues in the gardens to the personages in the palace.' And her mother, inquiring if she were pleased with her visit, she replied, 'Yes, if it be soon ended, for else, in a few more days, I shall so much detest all the persons I see that I shall not know what to do with my hatred.' 'What harm have they done you?' inquired her mother. 'The making me feel injustice, and look upon absurdity.' As she contemplated these splendours of the despotism of Louis XIV., which were drooping into corruption, she thought of Athens, the condemnation of Phocion. 'I did not then foresee,' she writes, in melancholy mood as she penned these lines, 'that destiny reserved me to be the witness of crimes such as those of which they were the victims, and to participate in the glory of these martyrs, after having professed their principles.'

Yet Maçon Philipon was a person to attract the admiration of any but *blacks* and sordid courtiers. She herself has told us that her beauty consisted more in expression than in feature; that her physiognomy kindled up with anima-

tion from the interest of the subject which engaged her thoughts, and that no painter or sculptor could catch it. But the picture drawn of her by Lamartine has great attractions:—"A tall and supple figure, flat shoulders, a prominent bust, raised by a free and strong respiration, a modest and most becoming demeanour, that carriage of the neck which bespeaks intrepidity, black and soft hair, blue eyes, which appeared brown in the depth of their reflection, a look which, like her soul, passed rapidly from tenderness to energy, the nose of a Grecian statue, a rather large mouth, opened by her smile as well as her voice, splendid teeth, a turned and well-rounded chin, gave to the oval of her features that voluptuous and feminine grace without which even beauty does not elicit love, a skin marbled with the animation of life, and veined by blood which the least impression sent mounting to her cheeks, a tone of voice which borrowed its vibrations from the very fibres of her heart, and which was deeply modulated to its finest movements—a precious gift, for the tone of the voice, which is the channel of emotion in woman, is the medium of persuasion in the orator, and this charm of voice Nature had bestowed on her freely. Such, at eighteen years of age, was the portrait of this young girl, whom obscurity long kept in the shade, as if to prepare for life or death a soul more strong and a victim more perfect."

There were numerous suitors for her hand, but all of her own class, and into that class her father wished her to marry; but she told her father that she would not marry any man who could not sympathise with her ideas. "I will not descend," she said, "from the world of my noble chimeras. What I want is not a position but a mind, and I will die single rather than prostitute my own mind in a union with a being with whom I have no sympathy."

Her father was particularly anxious that she should marry a butcher who had made a fortune of fifty thousand crowns. But she had been lately reading Rousseau's "Héloïse," and her imagination revolted at the butcher. At this time she had lost her mother, and her home was not very attractive; and her fate was decided by the appearance of Roland de la Platière. Roland was twice her age; a man, like herself, devoted to admiration of the ancients, but destitute of genius, and possessing a high opinion of his own merits. "I saw a man," she says, "nearly fifty years of age; tall, careless in his attire, with that kind of awkwardness which a solitary life produces, but his manners were easy and winning, and, without possessing the elegance of the world, they united the politeness of the well-bred man to the seriousness of the philosopher. He was very thin, with a complexion much tanned; his brow, already very scantily covered with hair, and very broad, did not detract from his regular but unpleasing features."

Such was the man whom this interesting woman consented to marry. Her father bluntly refused the application of Roland, declaring that he was a pedant, and would be a tyrant to his wife; and this madame Roland, to a certain degree, found him. He was dictatorial and exacting; he carried her off to Amiens, where he was inspecting manufactures; and there he was so jealous of her, that he would not allow her to associate with people of her own age.

"By dint," she says, "of occupying myself with the happiness of the man with whom I was associated, I felt that something was wanting to my own. I have not for a moment ceased to see in my husband one of the most estimable persons that exist, and to whom it was an honour for me to belong; but I often felt that similarity was wanting between us: that the ascendancy of a dominating temper, united to that of twenty years more of age, was too great a superiority. If we lived in solitude, I had sometimes very painful hours to pass; if we went into the world, I was liked by persons, some one of whom I was fearful might affect me too closely. I plunged into my husband's occupations, became his copying clerk, corrected his proofs, and fulfilled the task with an unreprising humility, which contrasted strongly with a spirit as free and tried as mine. But this humility proceeded from my heart. I respected my husband so much, that I always liked to suppose that he was superior to myself. I had such a dread of seeing a shade on his countenance, he was so tenacious of his own opinions, that it was a long time before I ventured to contradict him. To this labour I joined that of my house; and observing that his delicate health could not endure every kind of diet, I always prepared his meals with my own hand. I remained with him at Amiens four years, and became there a mother and nurse. We worked together at the 'Encyclopédie Nouvelle,' in which the articles relative to commerce had been confided to him. We only quitted this occupation for our walks in the vicinity of the town."

From Amiens they went to Lyons, where Roland held a similar office. During the summer, they went to live at La Platière, and we may dwell a moment on the scene there as given by Lamartine:—"At the foot of the mountains of Beaujolais, in the large basin of the Saone, in face of the Alps, there is a series of small hills scattered like the sea sands, which the patient vine-dresser has planted with vines, and which form, amongst themselves, at their base, oblique valleys, narrow and sinuous ravines interspersed with small verdant meads. These meadows have each their thread of water, which filters down from the mountains; willows, weeping birch, and poplars, show the course, and conceal the bed of these streams. The sides and tops of these hills only bear, above the lowly vines, a few wild peach trees, which do not shade the grapes, and large walnut trees in the orchards near the houses."

"On the declivity of one of these sandy protuberances was La Platière, the patrimonial inheritance of M. Roland: a low farm-house, with regular windows, covered with a roof of red tiles, nearly flat; the eaves of this roof projecting a little beyond the wall, in order to protect the windows from the rain of winter and the summer's sun. The walls straight, and wholly unornamented, were covered with a coating of white plaster, which time had soiled and cracked. The vestibule was reached by ascending five stone steps, surmounted by a rude balustrade of rusty iron. A yard surrounded by outhouses, where the harvest was gathered into presses for the vintage, cellars for the wine, and a dovecote abutted on the house. Behind was situated a small kitchen-garden, whose beds were bordered with box, pinks, and fruit trees, pruned close down to the ground.

An harbour was formed at the extremity of each walk. A little further on was an orchard, where the trees, inclining in a thousand attitudes, cast a degree of shade over an area of cropped grass; then a large inclosure of low vines, cut in right lines by small green sward paths. Such is this spot. The gaze is turned from the gloomy and lowering horizon of the mountains of Beaujieu, spotted on their sides by low pines, and severed by large, inclined meadows, where the oxen of Charolais fatten, and to the valley of the Saone, that immense ocean of verdure, here and there topped by high steeples. The belt of the higher Alps, covered with snow, and the apex of Mont Blanc, which overhangs the whole, frame this extensive landscape."

Here madame Roland, with her intense love of nature, might have been happy; for she divided her time between household cares, administering to the poor and sick, and long strolls among the valleys and woods. But her paradise was marred by a domineering mother-in-law, a rough brother-in-law who lived with them, and a commonplace, exacting husband.

But the first outbreak of the revolution put an end to this life of obscurity and subjection. Madame Roland's mind, nurtured on republicanism from a child, took instantly. Her conviction was, that this revival of liberty had come to regenerate the whole human race. All her internal disgust at the imperiousness and corruption of the monarchy rekindled; her glowing enthusiasm burnt away every fear of man; she became no longer the follower, but the leader of her husband. Her sentiments she communicated to all around her. She avenged herself, says her biographer, of her destiny, which refused her individual happiness by sacrificing herself for the happiness of others. Happy and beloved, she would have been but a woman; unhappy and isolated, she became the leader of a party.

At first, the opinions of monsieur and madame Roland excited the hostility of the commercial magnates of Lyons; but the current of revolutionary opinion soon set in, and raised them to the head of society there. Roland was elected to the municipality, and the municipal council sent him to Paris to defend the commercial interests of Lyons in the committees of the national assembly. Once in Paris, madame Roland drew around them all the most determined spirits of the revolution. Besides Brissot, Pétion, Buzot, Robespierre, who agreed to meet four evenings in the month in the salon of madame Roland, others came who were drawn on her enthusiasm by ranting about liberty. Lanthier, a young doctor, who afterwards betrayed his party—became more like an inmate of the house than a guest. Pache, Servan, Fabre d'Eglantine and Champfort, assembled there, and even Anacharsis Clootz showed his face, but found no favour. When the massacre of the Champ de Mars occurred, and the patriots fled to hide themselves, Roland and his wife sought out Robespierre to offer him an asylum. The man who afterwards sent this noble woman to the guillotine. Whenever Robespierre wanted a dinner, he used to go and ask for one of the woman whose blood he afterwards spilt. After the dissolution of the first assembly, Roland and his wife returned to La Platière, but they very soon quitted it again for Paris. The principal names at this period discussed in the newspapers in Paris were those of Condorcet

Brissot, Danton; in the departments, those of Vergniaud, Guadet, Isnard, Louvet, who were afterwards Girondists; and those of Thuriot, Merlin, Carnot, Couthon, Danton, Saint Just, who subsequently united with Robespierre, and were, by turns, his instruments and his victims. We have already mentioned the main features of the lives of several of these men. Amongst the Girondists, Condorcet was a philosopher, and he carried his peculiar philosophy into his politics. He was a disciple of Voltaire, D'Alembert, and Helvetius. His philosophy, therefore, was of the earth. He believed in the dignity of reason, and in the omnipotence

whilst refusing to believe in what all the ages, and the wisest and best men of all the ages, have believed, he was ready to put full faith in things which are opposed to daily and hourly experience; namely, he believed that science could extend human life indefinitely, and that, in fact, men only died because they were ignorant; simply because they had not as yet learned how to live for ever, but they might do so if they followed science devotedly. Condorcet had not the gift of eloquence like Mirabeau, therefore he did not shine in the assembly; but he had his newspaper, the *Cronique de Paris*, in which he ridiculed royalty and Christianity, and,



MADAME ROLAND. FROM AN AUTHENTIC PORTRAIT.

of the understanding, with liberty as its handmaid. Heaven—the abode of all ideal perfections, and in which man places his most beautiful dreams—was limited by Condorcet to earth; his science was his virtue; the human mind his deity. Intellect illumined by science was, in his eyes, omnipotent, and would necessarily triumph over all difficulties, and renew the face of nature and the spirit of society. He had made of this system a line of politics, whose first idea was to adore the future and abhor the past. He was, in fact, one of the shallow and, at that time, multitudinous school who mistook the thing for the maker of it; the workman's tool for the workman, the finite mind for the infinite, and would have believed in the sun's rays and not in the sun, were it not forced so absolutely on their senses. Like all that class,

though naturally of a mild and amiable disposition, grew fierce and uncharitable in his politics.

Brissot at this time, however, was the leading figure of the Gironde party. Although he had failed to obtain an entrance into the first assembly, he had become a member of this, and, both in the tribune and in his newspaper, the *Republican*, attacked the monarchy with the most undisguised and most unrelenting virulence. Brissot was the son of a poor pastrycook of Ouarville, near Chartres, in which city he had been educated with Petion. He had early taken to literature, in which he assumed the name of Warville, from the place of his birth, Ouarville. He edited, before the revolution, the *Courrier de l'Europe*, a newspaper of Boulogne. He became author of various works, as

"Rome Unmasked;" "Philosophical Letters on the Life and Writings of St. Paul," which he professed to be a translation from the English; "The Theory of Criminal Law;" the outline of a work on "Universal Pyrrhonism," with essays on Metaphysics and on Legislation. In all these, so far as laws and institutions were concerned, he had studied those of England, and he then proceeded—as Frenchmen have been so fond of doing for the last hundred years—to declare the ruin of England at hand. Notwithstanding this, when the French government suppressed the *Courrier* of Boulogne, he came over to England, where he set up a Lyceum in Newman-street, Oxford-street, which was to spread over the world enlightenment on all matters that concerned the government and social progress of the human race. He issued thence the *Journal of the Lyceum*, in which he attempted to teach to his own countrymen the free institutions of that England which was so soon to perish. By means of this Lyceum pretence he managed to swindle a M. Desforges, a money-lender, out of thirteen thousand livres, and was in close connection with Morande, alternately a French libeller of the government and a French spy, and with the marquis de Pelleport, the author of *Le Diable dans un Bénédictier*, "The Devil in the Holy Water Vessel." Being obliged to quit London to avoid arrest for the money so fraudulently obtained, he returned to France, and was seized by *lettre de cachet* and lodged in the Bastille. Yet he is accused at the same time of having been, whilst in London, in the pay of Vergennes, and, notwithstanding, writing against the French government. The *Courrier de l'Europe*, on which he had been engaged, it appears, was published really in London by a Mr. Swinton, and sent over to Boulogne for circulation. At this Swinton's house he became first acquainted with Morande. "He was one of those mercenary scribes," says Lamartine, "who write for those who pay best. He had written on all subjects, for every minister, especially for Turgot—criminal law, political economy, diplomacy, literature, philosophy, even libels. Seeking the support of celebrated and influential men, he had circulated round all from Voltaire and Franklin down to Marat." On being liberated from the Bastille in 1785 he went again to England, and thence to America, and wrote a work on the United States. On the breaking out of the revolution he returned to France, and started, first, the *Patriote Français*, and we have had occasion to notice his truculent articles, and his equally fiery speeches in the jacobin club. He had formerly lauded and supported Bailly and La Fayette; he was now equally active for the republic in the assembly, and in the salons of Roland, Condorcet, and Bidermann the banker. Robespierre was excessively angry with him, declaring that, with his "republic," he was throwing division amongst the patriots, and playing into the hands of their enemies by announcing that there was a party in France pledged to destroy the monarchy and the constitution. Marat, in his *Ami du Peuple*, and Manuel, in *Père Duchesne*, were equally violent against him, and so were much better men. He had won, in truth, a most unenviable name. "Brissot's old allies," says Lamartine, "returned from London, especially Morande, under cover of the troublous times, and revealed to the Parisians in the *Argus*, and in placards, the secret

intrigues and disgraceful literary career of their former associate. They quoted actual letters in which Brissot had lied unblushingly as to his name, the condition of his family, and his father's fortune, in order to acquire Swinton's confidence, to gain credit, and make dupes in England. The proofs were damning. The sum extorted from Desforges, under pretence of an institution in London, and expended on himself, was a mere trifle compared with the whole iniquity. Brissot, on quitting England, had left in the hands of Desforges twenty-four letters, which but too plainly established his participation in the infamous trade of libels carried on by his allies. It was proved to demonstration that Brissot had connived at the sending into France, and at the propagation of odious pamphlets by Morande. He was, besides, accused of having extracted from the funds of the district of the Filles-Saint Thomas, of which he was president, a sum for his own purse, long forgotten. Thus appeared upon the scene for the first time amid the hootings of both parties, this man, who attempted in vain to escape from the general contempt accumulated on his name." It required all the enthusiasm and the necessities of party to render such a man the guest and coadjutor of a madame Roland. From the time of his sojourn in America Brissot assumed the habit of a quaker, and was the first to abandon the wearing of hair-powder. He was the first victim of Robespierre.

Louvet, one of the most distinguished of the Girondists, was an advocate by profession, but had distinguished himself as a novelist, and especially by "Faublas," one of the most obscene and disgusting of French fictions; but, on that account, extremely popular in France. He was living in quiet, and pursuing his authorship at about twenty leagues from Paris, when the news of the revolution carried him like thousands of other young aspirants, to Paris. Louvet became a member of the jacobin club, threw the blame of the march to Versailles on the duke of Orleans, and continued to write romances calculated to spread the new ideas; advocating freedom of divorce, and heaping abuse on the aristocrats and the emigrants. He continued to charge the duke of Orleans with selfish aims, and to denounce Robespierre and Marat; yet he contrived to escape their bloody decimation, and became a member of the council of Five Hundred.

Gorsas, who had been a schoolmaster at Versailles, and edited the *Courier des Départemens*, was one of the most exciting and influential of the Girondists. Guadet was another; a lawyer by profession, and possessed of considerable eloquence. He was closely connected with Gensonné and Vergniaud, being from the same department. These two gentlemen were advocates of Bordeaux; they were both eloquent, but Vergniaud was deemed the most eloquent man of this second assembly. Isnard, the son of a perfumer at Grasse, a literary man formed on the old Greek and Roman model, was a thorough republican, and of an ardent and impetuous character. He was styled the *Danton* of the Gironde, as Vergniaud was the *Mirabeau*. Dugué was another young and enthusiastic Girondist, as Garam, a literary man, was the cool and calculating one of the party, and thus escaped to become a senator and consul under Napoleon Buonaparte. Such were the chief char-

acters of the Girondist or pure republican party, which now rose into prominent notice. Yet, at first, there was little distinction between the Girondists and the jacobins. The Girondists, in fact, claimed to be the true and pure jacobins. They were all alike ultra-revolutionists, but the jacobins were contented to retain the monarch so long as they could use him as a tool; the Girondists, having formed their conceptions on the classical times, scorned to admit any use or ornament in a monarch; they deemed monarchy unsuited to the dignity of man. In fact, the left side of the first assembly had become the right of this, so far as political views were concerned; the moderate men had disappeared, men of ultra ideas had taken their places. The greater portion of this assembly consisted of young, inexperienced persons. Almost all the white heads had disappeared, and with them the proud bearing of the noblesse, the austere gravity of the old deputies of the tiers-état, and the dignity of the clergy and magistrates. The French had shown how ill calculated they were for self-government by clearing the house of all that had been already learned of legislation by experience, and filling it with raw enthusiasm. "The great idea of France," says Lamartine, "abdicated, if we may use the expression, with the constitutional assembly; and the government fell from its high position into the hands of the inexperience or the impulses of a new people. From the 29th of September to the 1st of October there seemed to be a new reign; the legislative assembly found themselves on that day face to face with the king, who, deprived of authority, ruled over a people destitute of moderation. They felt, on their first sitting, the oscillation of a power without a counterpoise, that seeks to balance itself by its own wisdom; and, changing from insult to repentance, wounds itself with the weapon that has been placed in its grasp."

On the 1st of October, when the assembly met, Armand Gaston Camus, one of the Paris deputies, and a thorough jacobin, presented the book of the constitution to the members, and, all standing uncovered, swore to maintain it, and live free or die. Cerutti, an Italian, and ex-Jesuit, pronounced a high encomium on the late assembly—most of the members of which were present as spectators—and, after declaring that no Roman senate, or British parliament, or American congress had done so much, moved that a place of honour should be appointed in the house, where the members of the late assembly could attend and observe the proceedings. This was not acceded to; but a great number of such members took the liberty of seating themselves in the body of the house, where they communicated with their successors, and advised them what to say or do, so that the *Moniteur*, the official gazette, declared that they had constituted themselves into a second chamber; "so difficult," it observed, "was it, having been something, to consent to become nothing." It declared that they formed a permanent committee—were still governing the country through their successors.

A deputation of sixty members was appointed to announce to the king the definitive formation of the new National Legislative Assembly. Duchastel was at their head. They waited on the king on the evening of the 4th of October, about six o'clock. The king informed them that he would

receive them at one o'clock the next day. The deputation demanded admission immediately, and the king consented to give them audience at nine o'clock that evening. This was one of those needless irritations of the court by which it seemed to be driven by a fatality. It was desirable that the king and the new assembly should meet in mutual good-humour, but this was at once at an end. The king received them stiffly, and they showed a like stiffness. Louis asked Duchastel what were the names of his colleagues, and he replied, that he did not know. They were then retiring, when Louis called them back and said that he could not attend the house till Friday.

These proceedings excited great sensation in the assembly. Exception was taken to the word "sire," with which Duchastel had addressed the king. Sire was declared to be only a contraction of seigneur, which meant a sovereign, and a member demanded that it be abolished. Another protested against the assembly being called on to sit or stand, just as it pleased the chief magistrate. Couthon, a little lawyer from Clermont, destined to be one of Robespierre's sanguinary triumvirate, denounced the fine gilded fauteuil set for the king, and demanded that it should be removed and a chair placed for him precisely like that of the president, and side by side with it. His maiden speech was rapturously applauded, and Chabot protested against their standing when the king sat, or being uncovered when he was covered, or allowing the king to say that he would come at this or that time to the assembly, at his own pleasure. Coulon observed that this decree would induce confusion; some would remain covered, others would uncover to flatter the king. "So much the better," cried some one, "then we shall know the flatterers." It was therefore decreed that the assembly should be on a perfect equality with the king as to sitting or standing, being covered or uncovered, and that the gilded fauteuil should be removed. The report of these decrees spread consternation through the palace. It was clear that all harmony was destroyed in the very commencement, and the king summoning a ministerial council, said that he was not obliged to expose himself to the insults of the assembly, and would order ministers to preside at the opening of the legislative body.

This announcement struck the assembly with consternation on its part. When it met on the 6th, Voegien asserted that they were giving advantage to the enemies of the public welfare, and injuring their own respect by refusing that due to the king. Vergniaud declared that the titles of sire and majesty recalled feudality, and ought not to be retained, and yet he conceded that the assembly, as a mark of respect to the chief magistrate, should rise and uncover when he did so. Héroult de Séchelles demanded the repeal of the decrees of the previous day; and Champion, the deputy of the Jura, asserted that they were insulting the first assembly by refusing titles which it had thought proper to retain; that the founders of liberty were not slaves; that it was the people who had created royalty; that in honouring it they were honouring the people, whence it sprung. After a keen debate, the decrees were annulled; but the royalists were so imprudent as to triumph in the repeal as a proof of the assembly's weakness, and the returning power of the king. Some of the officers of the national guards menaced Cou-

pilleau, Couthon, Basire, Chabot, and others, as they left the hall. "Beware!" said they; "we will not suffer the revolution to advance another step! We know you; we will watch you; you shall be hewed to pieces by us, if you dare to disturb the constitution." The people, who dreaded another struggle on the approach of a severe winter, looked on, and permitted the menace. But the jacobin members flew that evening to their club, and raised loud outcries. They declared that all this had come about through the deputies of the late assembly having, contrary to all order, mingled amongst the new ones, and instigated them to their ruin. Goupilleau affirmed that he was not allowed to speak, and that Dermigni, an officer of the national guard, had threatened him with death. Goupilleau was the sworn ally of Robespierre and Danton, and Dermigni was summoned to the bar of the club, where he appeared in a great fright, and protested his intense attachment to liberty, and declared that, if he thought any injury would come to the constitution, he would go instantly and bury himself under a stone!

The king, appeased by the repeal of the obnoxious decrees, the next day presented himself at the assembly, and was received with unanimous applause. There were cries of, "Vive le Roi!" and even "Vive sa Majesté!" The king addressed them bare-headed and standing, and this soothed the pride of the assembly. He dwelt upon the state of the finances, of the army, and the foreign relations of France. He said, that in order that their labours might produce good, it was necessary that there should exist between the king and the legislative body a constant harmony and unalterable confidence; that enemies would seek to disturb their repose, but that the love of their country should ally them, and render them inseparable; that property and opinion in every man ought to be respected, so that no one should have an excuse for living away from the country; that he himself would use every exertion to produce these effects. Though the king, and the queen, too, had just really been writing to Leopold of Austria to assure him that, unless something was done by foreign powers to put a stop to the revolution, there would soon be not a crowned head in Europe, much less in France, yet the speech of Louis was delivered with so much seeming sincerity, that there were loud applause, and M. Parnot, the president, a moderate constitutionalist, replied that the royal speech was like a new oath to the constitution; that the revolution, so far from weakening his power, had rendered him the greatest monarch in the world. Louis retired amid acclamations, and the court and royalists entertained new hopes from the circumstance. But these impressions were destined to be speedily erased. The assembly was anxious to dispel the semblance of a momentary weakness which had thus possessed it. It already blushed at its moderation for a day, and was anxious to cast fresh jealousies betwixt the throne and the nation. There were three subjects on which it was necessary that the assembly should enter—the clergy, the emigration, and the impending war, and on each of these the court was secretly at variance with it. The very same day on which the king visited the assembly, the first topic was introduced by Couthon, who demanded rigorous measures against the un-sworn, or, as they were styled, unconstitutional priests. The constituent assembly never committed a greater legislative blunder than

when it imposed the civil oath on the clergy; that act at once divided the clergy into two factions—those who were willing to take it, and those who would not, and were therefore, ordered to be expelled from their cures. Dividing the clergy, it divided the people, who, according to their opinions, supported one ecclesiastical section or the other. The assembly, when it confiscated the church property, and made the clergy the pensioners of the state, should, as became a people professing itself free, have left freedom of conscience, and allowed the people to choose their own pastors. If they went further than this, and desired to break the power and tyranny of Rome, they should have left religion to maintain itself; but, paying such as consented to take this shibboleth of an oath, and rejecting the rest, it created an ecclesiastical civil war in the country, and a war which threatened, not only the peace, but the stability of the civil government. In the words of the historian of the Gironde, "The revolution, until then exclusively political, became schism in the eyes of a portion of the clergy and the faithful. Amongst the bishops and the priests, some took the civil oath, which was the guarantee of their existence; others refused, or, having taken it, retracted. This gave rise to trouble in many minds—agitation in consciences—division in the temples. The great majority of parishes had two ministers, the one a constitutional priest, salaried and protected by government; the other refractory, refusing the oath, deprived of his income, driven from the church, and raising opposition altars in private chapels or in open fields. These two ministers of the same worship excommunicated each other, the one in the name of the constitution, and the other in the name of the pope and the church. The population was also divided, according to the greater or less revolutionary spirit prevailing in the province. In cities and in more enlightened districts the constitutional worship was exercised almost without dispute; in the open country, and the less civilised departments, the priest who had not taken the oath became a consecrated tribune, who, at the foot of the altar, or on the elevation of the pulpit, agitated the people and inspired it, by instilling horror against a constitutional and schismatic priesthood, with hatred of the government which protected it."

But it went further than this. In La Vendée, Deux-Sèvres, and other remote and agricultural districts, the priests, strong in the devotion of their confiding people, resisted the law, and remained in possession of the churches in defiance of the assembly. The king, a sincere catholic, secretly sympathised with the non-juring clergy. The Girondists wished to compel him to declare himself, as this would be another step towards a republic, and therefore pressed the question. The circumstances of the court were serious enough to warrant the discussion. In Brittany the people adhered to their non-juring priests, and fled from contact with the sworn ones. On Sundays, bodies of many thousands, where they had been expelled from the churches, followed their pastors to remote localities for public worship. In other places they did stout battle for them in the churches themselves; in Caen blood had flowed before the very altar on such occasions.

The assembly had sent out a commission, consisting of Gallois and Gensonné, the latter a zealous Girondist, and

the 9th of October these gentlemen presented their report. It drew a startling picture of the state of things in La Vendée and Deux-Sèvres, to which they had been sent. They declared that the epoch of taking the ecclesiastical oath was the first epoch of the disturbances in La Vendée; till then the people there had enjoyed the greatest tranquillity. Remote from the common centre of all action and resistance; disposed by their natural character to the love of peace, to the sentiment of order, to respect for the laws, they reaped the benefits of the revolution, without experiencing its storms. In the difficulty of communications, the simplicity of a purely agricultural life, the lessons of childhood, and the religious emblems destined incessantly to engage the attention, had opened the soul to a multitude of superstitious impressions, which, in the present state of things, no kind of instruction can either destroy or moderate.

Nothing, the report said, had been neglected by the unsworn priests to influence the people through these means. Many of these priests were sincere in the doctrines they taught; many were zealous merely through faction. The bishop of Luçon had addressed a circular letter to the clergy of his diocese, enjoining them by all means to avoid all intercourse with the sworn priests; to refuse to say mass in the churches which such had usurped, although the decree of the assembly permitted this; to regard all churches in which these intruders had entered as polluted; to refuse to be married by them, as all the children of such marriages would be, in the eyes of God and of the church, illegitimate. Where the civil power refused a separate place of burial, or where the relatives objected to any cemetery but that at the old church, those attending funerals were enjoined to set down their dead at the church door and leave it, so as not to sanction the officiation of the intruding priest; to keep a separate register of baptisms, marriages, and deaths; and for the ejected pastor still to consider himself as the only true pastor.

These injunctions had been zealously enforced by missionaries, who had been established, about sixty years before, at the village of St. Laurent, district of Montaign, who had traversed La Vendée, Chatillon, and Deux-Sèvres, distributing medals, rosaries, and indulgences, and setting up calvaries of all forms by the roads. These missionaries had extended their labours all over the late provinces of Poitou, Anjou, Bretagne, and Aunis. They had been actively assisted by the grey nuns, called *filles de sagesse* (daughters of wisdom), also established in St. Laurent; that these missionaries, male and female, had written instructions with them, which had been found on their persons, commanding them to warn the country people against holding any communications whatever with the priests, whom they called intruders; to receive no sacrament at their hands; to consider that, if their children should be called illegitimate, they were not so before God; and that it was better that a marriage should be valid in the sight of God than of men.

They quoted an arrêt of the department of Maine and Loire, showing that the same state of things existed there. There, for the most part, the old non-juring priests remained; the newly-elected declined to encounter the enmity of the people. The grand-vicars and curés had bound themselves to maintain the secret coalition. When

removals had been effected, it had broken up families; wives left their husbands, parents their children, in these divisions. Municipalities dissolved themselves, that they might not be called on to enforce the removal of non-juring priests. The citizens had extensively renounced the service of the national guard from the same motives, and those acting could not be depended on for supporting this edict of the assembly. In many departments, judges and members of electoral bodies were odious to the people, as instruments for supporting this law. In other districts, where removals had been effected, you saw ten or twelve persons attending mass by the sworn priest, and whole villages going off from one to ten leagues to attend mass by a non-juring priest.

M. Dumouriez had to accompany the commissioners for a month to support their authority, for he was now a general, and could bring up military, if needed, for they could expect no assistance from the national guards or the gendarmerie. From La Vendée they proceeded to Chatillon. There they were universally petitioned to allow the old priests to remain, or, where they had been ejected, that they might have them back again. "We desire no other favour," they said, "than to have priests in whom we have confidence." They found, in all these departments, that the people had divided themselves into two parties on the subject: those who adhere to the unsworn priests styling themselves *aristocrats*, those who adhere to the sworn, *patriots*. Finally, they observed that, "examining the efficacy of this measure, we saw that, if faithful catholics have no confidence in the priests who have taken the oath, it is not the way to inspire them with more to remove from them in this manner the priests of their choice." Thus the opinion of the commission was adverse to the decree imposing the civil oath on the clergy.

The report being read, a powerful discussion took place upon it. It was opened by Fauchet, the new constitutional bishop of Calvados. The abbé Fauchet, as we have seen, was one of the heroes of the Bastille; he continued an ardent revolutionist, and was rewarded with one of the constitutional bishoprics by the first assembly. He now demanded a vigorous repression of the unsworn priests. "We are accused," he said, "of a desire to persecute. It is calumny. No persecution. Fanaticism is greedy of it; real religion repulses it; philosophy holds it in horror. Let us beware of imprisoning the non-jurors; of exiling, or even of displacing them. Let them think, say, write all they please against us; we will oppose our thoughts to their thoughts, our truths to their errors, our charity to their hatred. Time will do the rest. But, in awaiting its infallible triumph, we must find an efficacious and prompt mode of hindering them from prevailing over weak minds, and propagating ideas of a counter revolution. A counter revolution! This is not a religion, gentlemen! Fanaticism is not compatible with liberty. Look else at these ministers; they have swum in the blood of patriots. This is their own expression. Compared with these priests, atheists are angels. However, I repeat, let us tolerate, but do not let us pay them. Let us not pay them to rend our country to pieces. It is to this measure only that we should confine ourselves. What service do they render? They invoke ruin on our laws, and they say they follow their consciences! Must we

pay consciences that urge their possessors to the ruin of their country? What a saving of thirty millions of francs which the nation pays annually to her most implacable enemies! Why have we this phalanx of priests who have abjured their ministry?—these legions of canons and monks;

foment conspiracies against us both from within and from without? Go, say they to the nobility, combine your attacks with the foreigners; let blood flow in streams, provided we recover our privileges. This is their church! Who shall say that we ought to endow it?"



LA VENDEE.

these cohorts of abbés, friars, and beneficed clergy of all sorts, who are not remarkable except for their pretensions, inutility, intrigues, and licentious lives; or, as now, by their vindictive interference, their schemes, their unwearied hatred of the revolution? Why should we pay these men to preach emigration? to send coin from the realm? to

Tourné, the constitutional bishop of Bourges, replied to Fauchet with more tolerance. He contended that the priests were not guilty, they were only led astray by their peculiar ideas of the church and of government; that to punish them by a proscription of hunger, was not to enlighten them or their hearers, but only to envenom



AN EXPELLED PRIEST OF THE GIRONDE PREACHING IN THE FIELDS.

public feeling, and degrade the founders of liberty to persecutors; that it was much better not to see the errors of the non-juring priests. He declared that they had nothing to do but to found practical liberty on the base of tolerance; and he referred to Virginia and Germany, where opposite creeds alternately worshipped in the same churches. "That," he said, "is what we should tend to; these are the principles which ought to implant themselves widely amongst a people."

Ducos, a young and ardent Girondist, proposed the printing of Tourné's speech, and his motion was highly applauded; but, at the next sitting, Fauchet replied to it, and warned the assembly that the priests were intolerable tyrants, and would create civil troubles in return for mistaken tenderness. He begged them to remember what had lately occurred at Caen, where a crowd of fanatic women, excited by the priests, had fallen on a constitutional curé, dreadfully maltreated him, and endeavoured to hang him before his own altar. Gensonné proposed that all civil power should be taken from the priesthood; that marriages should be made valid by the magistrates; that all corporations of secular priests, like those of St. Laurent, and all associations of sisters, like the *filles de sagesse*, should be broken up; and that schools, alms-houses, hospitals, registers, &c., should be confided to laymen, and that the clergy, elected by their own parishes, should be left to preach in peace.

But, unfortunately for tolerance, the priests and their adherents showed none. Whilst these debates were proceeding, news every day arrived from La Vendée, Maine-et-Loire, and other departments, of thousands of men and women in arms, breaking open churches with axes, chasing away the sworn priests, or massacring them before the altars. The mob, pretending to go on pilgrimages, went about committing these excesses; they were besieging and threatening to burn down towns, where the constitutional priests were supported by the public, and there was every symptom of a coming civil war. "See!" exclaimed Isnard, the Girondist, rising for the first time in the assembly—"see whither your tolerance is conducting you! Toleration is always the source of great crimes, and is now the sole cause of the disorganised condition of society. Can we tolerate those who will neither tolerate the constitution nor the laws? Will it be when French blood has stained the waves of the sea that you will become sensible of the dangers of indulgence? It is time that everything should be submitted to the will of the nation; that tiaras, diadems, and censers, should yield to the sceptre of the laws. The facts you have just heard are but the prelude of what is about to occur in the rest of the kingdom. These troubles have sprung out of the defects of the constitution. The system was born there!" pointing to the right; "it is sanctioned at the court of Rome. The priests are privileged brawlers, who ought to be punished more severely than private individuals. Religion is an all-powerful weapon. 'The priest,' says Montesquieu, 'takes the man from the cradle, and accompanies him to the tomb.' Is it then astonishing that he should have so much control over the minds of the people? We must make laws to prevent priests, under pretence of religion, troubling the public peace; and I maintain that the only efficacious law is banishment from the realm."

Isnard, in a long and glowing speech, affirmed that all history—that Holland, England, America—were examples of the sufferings which nations have endured in being tolerant of rebels; that had Louis XVI. been rigorous in his measures of repression, that assembly would not be sitting there. But the vice of a despot was the virtue of a nation. Elated by his harangue, and by the agitation, the murmurings and acclamations that attended it, he exclaimed, "The law is my God—I have no other; the public good, that is my worship!" He would have every priest who refused to obey the constitution expelled the country; if his demand demanded more than that, that he should suffer death. Numbers demanded the printing of the speech. The Girondist party went wholly along with it. Leclerc, a constitutional bishop, declared that to print that speech was to authorise atheism. He was clamoured down. The debate continued fiercely. It was proposed that all refractory priests should be arrested and tried by the national court for treason, and punished accordingly. Gensonné read fresh accounts of the outrages in La Vendée, and Goupilleau stated that the inhabitants of the forest of Gené, incited by the priests, had attacked, defeated, and disarmed both the national guards and the troops of the line.

Under these excitements, the assembly, on the 29th of November, decreed that every priest, who had not yet taken the civil oath, should do so in the course of a week; that should, in future, receive no allowance from the treasury; that such non-jurors should be held guilty as suspected of rebellion, and be put under surveillance; that they should be removed from their usual place of abode, and those refused to go should be imprisoned for two years; that national churches should not be employed for any other service than that sanctioned by the state; no non-juring priest should officiate in them; but that citizens might use other chapels or buildings for their worship, provided they did not admit the non-juring priests, suspected of rebellion, as ministers. Able writers were invited to produce tracts in simple language, against fanaticism, which the assembly undertook to print and circulate amongst the people; and, under this stimulus, not only the priests of La Vendée, Maine-et-Loire, &c., but all priests and all religious were satirised; and cheap reprints of the most atheistical works of Voltaire, Diderot, &c., were made. These things, however, had no effect, except additionally to irritate the proscribed priests and their flocks, and extend the revolt of La Vendée. The Girondists were delighted with the opportunity of forcing this decree on the king, whose conscience revolted at it. If he accepted it, he became schismatic; if he refused, a traitor to the nation. Louis was compelled to accept it, and the Girondists advanced to their next point of assault upon him—the subject of emigration.

The emigrants had continued to flock to Coblenz, and their number, with their families, now amounted to near one hundred thousand of the most wealthy and influential class in France. They continued to make preparations for war, and it is no wonder that the people of France felt their menacing attitude with uneasiness. Though the king wrote publicly letters to the emigrants, desiring them to return to their country, and employ themselves, as good

citizens, under the constitution, there was a prevailing feeling that he privately gave them different advice. That the king did maintain a secret correspondence with some of the insurgents is certain; but it is neither proved, nor does it appear probable, that he sanctioned their intentions of making war on the country. Louis was always averse to the idea of bloodshed, and all his interests pointed towards having the influential royalists in the country, where they might join their efforts with the constitutionalists for the support of his person and throne. But their obstinate absence drove the assembly now to such severe measures against them as compelled Louis to exercise his veto in their favour, and he thus destroyed his popularity with the public, and caused himself to be considered as really in league with the emigrants. Nevertheless, it was the advice of all the king's ministers, as well as it appears to have been his own feeling, that they should return, for they might have added immensely to the influence in favour of the throne. Louis, therefore, again exhorted the emigrants to return; but they continued inflexible. He next wrote to the officers of the army and navy, deploring the information that he had received, that they were quitting the service, and that he could not consider those his friends who did not, like himself, remain at their posts; but this was equally ineffectual, and the minister at war reported to the assembly that one thousand nine hundred officers had deserted. The assembly was greatly incensed; the Girondists deemed it a good opportunity to force the king to deal a blow at the nobility and at his own brothers. On the 20th of October Brissot ascended the tribune, and demanded measures of severity against the emigrants. He declared that it was the mistaken indifference of the late assembly which had left the present menacing body of emigrants on the frontiers. Had there existed a thoroughly plebeian legislature, they would long ago have been dispersed. "Punish the chiefs," he exclaimed, "and emigrations and revolts will cease." He pointed to the attitude of the chief monarchs of the continent, to the late meeting at Pilnitz, and declared that the emigrants, in league with these enemies of France, were worse robbers and assassins than Cartouche, who had died on the wheel. He then divided the emigrants into three classes—the king's brothers and the prince of Condé; the public functionaries who had abandoned their posts; and the simple citizens, who had followed their example from fear or imitation. Against the first and second class he demanded the severest punishment; the third he would leave to time, which would at length send them home again. He observed that ministers would talk to them of considerations of state, family reasons; they must pay no attention to such arguments. They must address themselves to foreign powers, and compel them to discountenance the emigrants, or to declare themselves. He then considered what causes they had for dreading a conflict with these foreign nations, and concluded that they had none. "Unquestionably," he said, "you have declared to Europe that you will not attempt any more conquests; but you have a right to say to it 'Choose between certain rebels and a nation!'"

This speech placed Brissot at the head of the conspirators of the assembly. Condorcet mounted the tribune, and

followed in the same track as Brissot. Dumas, and some other moderate deputies, contended that the doctrine of Brissot was ferocious, and calculated to inflame the passions of the people; that it was not necessary to do more than to order all emigrants to return within three months, on pain of forfeiting their civil rights and citizenship. The assembly ordered Brissot's speech to be printed and sent to the departments.

On the 25th of October Vergniaud, the orator of the Girondists, ascended the tribune. Vergniaud professed to despise all the efforts of the combined emigrants and foreign powers against France, into which, he said, philosophy had infused the breath of liberty till there were no Pyrenees; that the tyrants trembled lest, on the day of battle, the two armies ready to combat should be converted into a band of brethren united against the despots. Vergniaud might therefore have well recommended them to leave the emigrants in deserved contempt. But, no! he was as fierce as Brissot himself against them. He demanded that they should forestall their enemies, and crush this swarm of insects ready to drink the nation's blood; that they should confiscate all their property; and as for the officers who had deserted, let them suffer the death and infamy prescribed by the penal code. Men, he said, talked of the profound grief this would occasion the king, on account of his brothers; but Brutus had immolated his guilty offspring at the shrine of his country, and the heart of Louis would not be put to so severe a trial.

M. Pastoret recommended moderate and gradual measures against the emigrants; but Isnard, another Girondist, defended the proceedings of the assembly, which had ordered the printing and distribution of the speeches of Condorcet and Vergniaud as well as of that of Brissot. He fully supported their views. At the close of the debate a decree was passed requiring the king's brothers to return to France within three months, on pain of forfeiting all their rights as citizens, and their claims as princes on the succession to the crown. On the 2nd of November a letter was read from a patriot who had acted the spy at Coblenz and other places, and was himself in the gallery of the house to support, if necessary, his statements. He affirmed that thirteen thousand emigrants were ready to invade France; that the priests had assumed arms; that an active correspondence was carried on betwixt these emigrants and the king's regiments near the frontiers; he charged Delauney, a relation of the late governor of the Bastille, and commandant of the volunteer guard at Longwy, of being in league with the emigrants, and not only he, but the king's war minister, Duportail, a friend of La Fayette. All this information, so well calculated to excite the passions of the assembly, and aid the object of the jacobins and Girondists, was received as gospel, and the man called to the bar of the house and publicly thanked. On the 9th of November a second decree was passed, declaring that all Frenchmen assembled on the frontiers were suspected of conspiracy against this country; that all such as should continue there till the 1st of January should be treated as traitors; princes and public functionaries were pronounced amenable to the same punishments; that the incomes of all such emigrants, from lands, moneys, or offices, should from the present moment be

sequestered; that a court should be appointed in January to try them; and that any Frenchman, after this, crossing the frontiers, or found guilty of endeavouring to seduce the people from their allegiance, should be put to death.

These two decrees were a terrible shock to the king and the court. The constitution gave to Louis the veto, but to exercise the veto in defence of the emigrants was to bring down destruction on himself. The Girondists rejoiced in this dilemma; they awaited with impatience the king's decision, which must force him to fly, or place him in their hands. The constitutional members of the late assembly, Desmeuniers, Baumetz, Talleyrand, Laroche-foucauld, drew up an address to the king, urging him to refuse his sanction to the decree against the non-juring priests, and a petition was presented from the directory of Paris urging the same resistance to the decrees against the emigrants. Louis was in a cruel strait. On the 12th of November the minister of justice announced to the assembly that his majesty sanctioned the decree against his brothers, but required time to consider the one against the emigrants at large. The minister was proceeding to give the king's reasons for this demur, but he was stopped, and informed that he could deliver the king's message, but that the constitution did not allow a minister to speak in his own person in the assembly. The minister then proposed to read to the assembly two letters which the king had addressed to his brothers, and a proclamation addressed to the emigrants generally; but he was informed that this was equally inadmissible, and he was compelled to withdraw. In the letters the king, with an air of great sincerity, declared that the constitution was finished, that he had sworn to it, and was determined to maintain it; that they could not do him a greater injury than by continuing abroad and keeping all France in agitation. He concluded by saying, "Your proper place is by my side; your interests, your sentiments alike urge you to come and resume it; I invite you, and, if I may, I order you to do so." The proclamation was in a similar tone and terms. These measures, however, had no effect. The princes replied that they considered the king as acting under compulsion, and declined to return, and the assembly was incensed at the king substituting these inoperative addresses for their vigorous decree; still worse was it for the king's popularity that he followed the advice of the constitutional members of the late assembly, and exercised his veto upon the decree against the priests of La Vendée. When this was announced to the assembly on the 19th of December, a violent effervescence took place. Delcher, a jacobin lawyer, called on the assembly to carry their decrees into execution in spite of royal vetoes. He told them that they were the representatives of the French people, and to them that people had intrusted the sovereignty. This was to set the king aside at once, and great commotion arose amongst the more moderate members. Delcher demanded that they should appeal to the nation to support the assembly; but several voices cried out, "This is preaching sedition!" and the assembly, amid much tumult, passed to the order of the day.

But the ferment spread out of doors. The jacobin journals declared that the king had now thrown off the mask, and that the assembly ought at once to convoke the high national

court, and proceed to carry out the decrees against the king's brothers, the emigrants, and the priests. Petitions poured into the assembly to this effect from different sections of Paris. Amongst the persons who presented themselves at the bar of the house with these petitions were Legendre, a butcher of Paris, and the notorious Camille Desmoulins, the Aristophanes of the revolution. This was the first appearance of Legendre, and, in presenting his petition, he made a speech in which vulgarity and bombast strove for the pre-eminence. He declared that the brave twenty-four millions of free Frenchmen would overthrow all the thrones of the world's despots, and roll the tyrants in the dust; he called on them to hang all the king's ministers, and arm the whole of the people. "Representatives!" he shouted, "let the eagle of victory and fame soar over your heads and arms. Say to the ministers, 'We love the people.' Let your punishment begin; the tyrants must die!"

Camille Desmoulins, who was accustomed to harangue the noisy mobs of the Palais Royale and the faubourgs, complained of the weakness of his voice, and requested that the abbé Fauchet might give his address the benefit of his sonorous tones. The address was nearly as grandiloquent as that of the butcher. He declared that nothing was more natural than for a king to veto the best decrees. Nothing was more natural than that the municipality of Paris, who had fired on the citizens in the Champ de Mars, should implore the king to protect the refractory priests, and should send their address to be signed by all the robbers, all the slaves, all the idiots, and all the fanatics of the eighty-three departments. He held the whole directory up to the vengeance of the nation. As for the priests and emigrants, he exclaimed, "So many grounds of accusation! The crime of these men is settled. Strike, then! If the head sleeps, shall the arm act? Raise not that arm again; do not raise the national club only to crush insects. A Varnier or a De Latre! Did Cato and Cicero accuse Cæthegus or Cataline? It is the leaders we should assail. Strike at the head!" These ferocious addresses were clamorously applauded by the galleries, and the assembly voted that the report of the day's debate, including these fiery documents, should be printed and sent to all the departments. But the next day the constitutional party succeeded in revoking the order, to the infinite disgust of Brissot and the jacobins and Girondists.

But though the constitutional party obtained this slight advantage, it was striving in vain to re-establish its ascendancy in the nation. Barnave, Lameth, and Duport were in communication with Louis, who vainly hoped that they would be able to put down the new and formidable enemies whom he saw in the Girondists. But it was too late. Their central place of meeting was the club of the Feuillants. The national guard, the directory of the department of Paris, the late mayor, Bailly, and all that party in the nation, still supported them. It was a party of repentance and terror. La Fayette, madame De Staël, and M. Narbonne, had a secret understanding with the Feuillants, and the object was to make Narbonne minister. This young man, count de Lara Narbonne, was of the royal blood, but of illegitimate birth. He had been educated by the aunts of the king, who were intensely attached to him, and therefore shared by

them the rumour of his parentage. He was very handsome, only thirty-six years of age, courteous, vain, witty, and ambitious. Madame de Stael, though married, was passionately in love with him, and her imagination invested him with all the qualities calculated to save a nation. "He was," says Lamartine, "but a brilliant, active, high-couraged man; she pictured him a politician and a hero. She magnified him with all the endowments of her dreams, in order to bring him up to her ideal standard. She found patrons for him; surrounded him with a prestige; created a name for him; marked him out a course. She made him a living type of her politics. To disdain the court, gain over the people, command the army, intimidate Europe, carry away the assembly by his eloquence, to struggle for liberty, to save the nation, to become, by his popularity alone, the arbiter between the throne and the people, to reconcile them by a constitution at once liberal and monarchical—such was the perspective that she opened for herself and M. de Narbonne. They were for war, and filled by their influence the personal staff of the diplomacy exclusively devoted to the emigrants or the king. They filled foreign courts with their adherents. M. de Marbois was sent to the Diet of Ratisbon; M. Barthélemy, to Switzerland; M. Talleyrand, to London; M. de Segur, to Berlin. They hoped to win England to their interests; they relied much on the enthusiasm of the Fox party for the revolution; they trusted, in the end, to obtain a second chamber, and thus control the jacobinism of the assembly. They hoped to secure as the generalissimo of their army the duke of Brunswick, the pupil of Frederick of Prussia, and who had won so much fame in the wars of Germany. Negotiations for this purpose were secretly carried on by madame de Stael, Narbonne, La Fayette, and Talleyrand. M. Custine was their agent; and he bore letters offering Ferdinand the generalissimoship of the French armies, three millions of francs annually, and princely rank equal to his own in Germany. These letters were signed by the minister of war and by Louis himself. Custine even held out hopes of Ferdinand succeeding to the crown, should Louis be deposed; but the duke was too wise to listen to these startling overtures.

These secret proceedings did not entirely escape the keen vision of the Girondist party. Their newspapers waged war against the coalition with strong animosity. Brissot, in his journal, exclaimed, "Number them! name them! Their names denounce them. They are the relics of the dethroned aristocracy, who would fain resuscitate a constitutional nobility, establish a second legislative chamber and a senate of nobles, and who implore, in order to gain their ends, the armed intervention of the powers. They have sold themselves to the Tuileries, and sell there a great portion of the members of the assembly. They have amongst them neither men of genius nor men of resolution; their talent is but treason, their genius but intrigue." It was thus that jacobins and Girondists prepared those enmities which, at no distant period, were destined to disperse the Feuillants.

Meantime, the spirit of the revolution was marching on. The constitutional priests had many of them begun to marry, and now those of them who were not quite so bold applied to the assembly for a decree to sanction the marriage of the clergy. It was contended that, as there was no

article in the new constitution against it, nor any new law to that effect, there required no law to sanction it. It was constitutional, and the administrators had no right to deprive married priests of their salaries or their cures. On this ground, the assembly passed to the order of the day, and the clergy thenceforward acted on this sanction—such as it was.

There was now also a demand made that the forty-one soldiers of the Swiss regiment of Château Vieux, who had been condemned to the galleys for their concern in the insurrection at Nancy, should be released. The jacobin club took up their cause, and sent Collet d'Herbois to the minister Montmorin to demand their liberation. The minister refused; and the jacobin club began a subscription for these soldiers, to aid one set on foot by the jacobin club of Brest, which declared them the victims of Bonille's tyranny. The matter was then introduced to the assembly by Goupilleau, and the assembly ordered their liberation. The refusal of Montmorin to gratify the jacobins on this head seems to have added double fury to their hatred of the king's ministers. Duportail was so bitterly assailed that he resigned. Duport-Dutertre, minister of justice, and Bertrand de Molleville were pursued with equal rancour, and Fauchet then fell on M. De Lessart, the minister of the interior, and accused him of high treason to the assembly; but, on the 22nd of December, De Lessart appeared in the assembly, and completely justified himself. We shall see, however, that Fauchet and Brissot never relaxed their persecutions till they had ruined him, and caused him to be massacred by the people. If there were any men in France more miserable than all others, they were the king and his ministers.

For a time, the leading Girondists frequented the jacobin club; Brissot even became its president. The members of the Cordeliers, too, fraternised frequently with the Société Mère, though the mother society neither sought the Girondists as a body nor the Cordeliers. The members of both clubs jointly set up a monthly review, after the fashion of the English reviews, in which not only the leaders of both parties, but several English people, as John Oswald, Helen Maria Williams, and Horne Tooke, as well as Thomas Paine, wrote. Towards the end of the year a deputation of English admirers of the French revolution, accompanied by some Americans, presented an address to the club, and another to Petion, the new mayor of Paris. They were received at the jacobin club with wonderful *éclat*; the flags of England, France, and America were suspended together, and very fine speeches were made to the deputation—one from a woman, who presented the English with a box containing a map of France, divided into the eighty-three departments, a cap of liberty, the new French constitution, their tricolour flags, the national cockade, ears of wheat, a civic crown, &c. The club also ordered, as proper ornaments for their hall, busts of Rousseau, the abbé Mably, Algernon Sidney, and Dr. Price.

Whilst the nation was growing every day more jacobinical, and the danger was becoming more imminent, the queen sent a secret agent to London to sound Pitt. She hoped to win him to an announcement of supporting the throne of France in conjunction with

the continental sovereigns; but Pitt showed his usual reserve. He declared that England would not allow the revolutionary spirit to put down the monarchy, but he said nothing expressly of supporting the monarch himself; and the queen, who was always suspicious that the duke of Orleans was aiming at the crown, and that he had made himself a party in England, was filled with alarm, lest Pitt's words only concealed the idea of such a king. Still the attitude of the continental powers became more menacing. The troops of the emperor, in Belgium and Luxembourg, pressed upon the very frontiers of France, and the emigrants were constantly augmenting in the territories of the electors of Treves, Mayence, and Speir. Two hundred thousand men, in fact, formed a line along the French frontiers from Basle to the Scheldt.

The French, exasperated beyond further endurance, on the 22nd of November entered on the question of war in the assembly in earnest. Koch, of Strasburg, the well-known historian, declared that no time was to be lost; that the German nations were every day violating the frontiers of France, and that the minister for foreign affairs was not to be trusted. He presented a report from the diplomatic committee, recommending the plans to be adopted, and concluded by demanding that the electors of Treves and Mayence, the bishop of Speir, and other German princes, should be called upon to disperse the armed emigrants collected in their states, and give instant satisfaction for the insult offered to French citizens. Isnard followed, on the 29th, in a very martial speech. He declared that a people in a state of revolution were in the very tone for achieving victories; that there was nothing to be feared except that the nation should think the assembly too slow. The enemies of France, he said, wanted to bring back the old state of things, the old noblesse, with famine, fire, and sword. They wanted to augment the prerogatives of a man who devoured thirty millions a-year, whilst millions of citizens, better than himself, languished in poverty and distress. He desired them to tell the king that he must reign by the people and for the people, and must stand by the constitution, which was, in truth, his only palladium; that he must proclaim to all Europe, that when the French took the sword, they would fling away the scabbard; that the war, once commenced, would not be a war of kings against peoples, but of peoples against kings; that the battles which nations fight at the command of despots, are like the blows which two friends, excited by a perfidious instigator, strike at each other in the dark. The moment a light appears they embrace, and take vengeance on him who deluded them. In like manner, if, when the hostile armies shall be engaged with ours, the light of philosophy bursts upon their sight, the nations will embrace one another before the face of dethroned tyrants, of consoled earth, of delighted heaven.

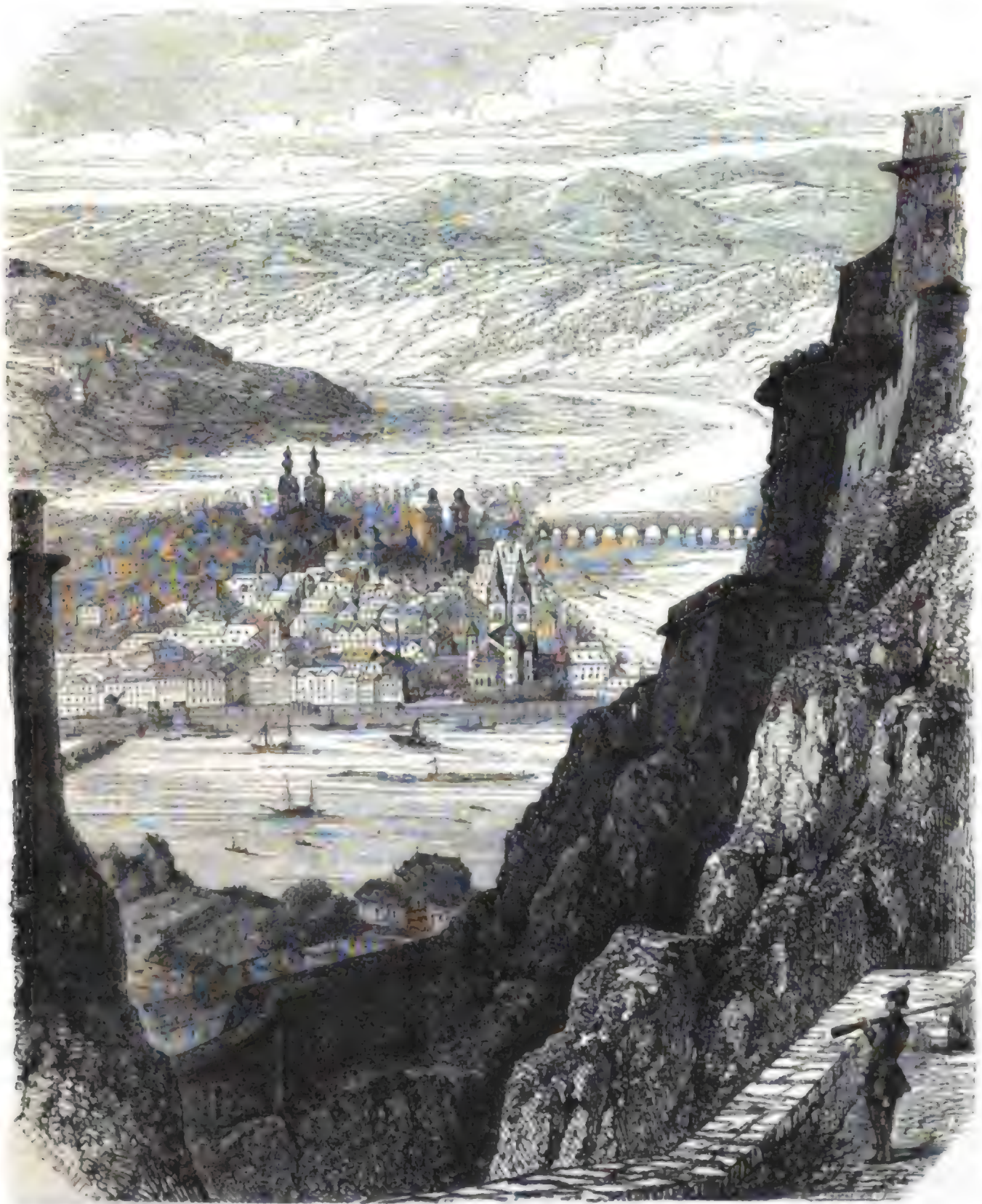
The enthusiasm which this speech excited was such, that the members crowded around Isnard to embrace him. His decree was instantly adopted. Twenty-four members, at the head of whom was M. Vaublanc, were deputed to carry this decree to the king. They were this time instantly admitted, for the king was anxious to do away with the effect of his exercise of the veto. M. Vaublanc, in

delivering the decree, said that it became the king to use the firmest language towards the emigrants and the princes who encouraged them; that the language of his ministers had not been hitherto sufficiently decisive; that if the French, driven from their country by the revocation of the edict of Nantes, had been protected by German princes, Louis XIV. would have speedily punished them; that the interests of the king and the grandeur of the nation demanded a language different to that of diplomacy; and that he must assure the German princes that, unless they dispersed the emigrants, the French would carry into their territories, not fire and sword, but the rights of man.

Louis promised everything, and, on the 14th of December, he went to the assembly, and assured them that he not only sympathised with them, but had already anticipated them in their wishes. He had sent requisitions to the German princes to remove the emigrants; the emperor Leopold had at once attended to it; and that he would now reiterate his demands to the electors of Treves and the rest, and that, if they did not attend quickly to his request, he would proclaim war against them. He retired amid loud applause, and, after his departure, the new minister of war, the count Narbonne, came forward to support these views. Madame de Stael and her party had succeeded in their design—Narbonne was minister. Madame de Condorcet, a very beautiful and fascinating woman, had lent all her influence to the same object. The point of union betwixt the constitutional party—that of madame de Stael—and the Girondin party, was their equal desire for war, but from different motives; and hence their co-operation for the elevation of Narbonne. De Lessart and De Molleville, Narbonne's colleagues, saw with consternation Narbonne's appointment. It overthrew all their own policy. The king, as usual, was all indecision, going first with one minister's counsel, and then with that of another. Narbonne, from the moment of his appointment, had been all activity and courtesy. He expressed the highest confidence in the assembly, and he now came forward to announce that Rochambeau, Luckner, and La Fayette, were appointed commanders of the troops, and that he had the utmost confidence in both soldiers and officers. He obtained twenty millions of francs for the necessary preparations for the war, and the rank of marshal for Luckner and Rochambeau.

Luckner, a German, had been engaged with high distinction in the seven years' war. The duke of Choiseul had engaged him in the service of France. He was much attached to the new constitution, and, though getting old, was in great vigour. Rochambeau, too, had distinguished himself in the seven years' war and in America. As for La Fayette, he had retired to his estate, when he was first called again into active service, much to the disgust of the jacobins, who heaped upon him the vilest abuse. Indeed, the jacobin club proposed that the assembly should declare itself dictator, abolish the appointments of Luckner, Rochambeau, and La Fayette, and replace them by patriots. But Narbonne, having obtained his supplies, had no time in setting out on a tour through the country, to put it into a state of defence. Three armies were formed. Rochambeau, who was now ailing, and out of humour, was appointed to that stationed in Flanders, and called the army

of the north; La Fayette was put in command of the central division stationed at Metz; and Luckner, of the one stationed in Alsace. Narbonne made a rapid journey, and squadrons, with artillery requisite for two hundred thousand men, and supplies for six months. This report was received with acclamations.



VIEW OF COBLENTZ.

returning, announced to the assembly that the different fortresses were fast assuming a creditable condition, and that the army, from Dunkirk to Besançon, presented a mass of two hundred and forty battalions, one hundred and sixty

War now was the great question: it was discussed in every quarter; at the clubs, in the assembly, in the council-chamber, and in the journals. All except the king and one other man appeared eager for war. The king was always

averse to it, from his innate repugnance to the shedding of blood, and because it was now directed against his own brothers, his most ardent friends, and against those powers who were anxious to liberate him from his thralldom and his degradation, and once more re-establish his throne on its ancient foundation. But Louis, thinking thus, dared not reveal his genuine sentiments; he was compelled to pretend to go along with the desires of the nation. The other man who was opposed to war, and who dared to express his opinion openly and boldly, was Robespierre. The minister Narbonne wished for war, because the party which had elevated him had made him believe that it would enable him to restore the monarchy to its pristine vigour. The Girondists and the jacobins wished for it, because they believed that it would put arms into the hands of the nation, which would, in its enthusiasm, beat down foreign despots, and lead the French nation to develop itself into a republic. This republic was the especial idolatry of the Gironde and of the vehement journalists, as Marat, Brissot, Fréron, and the like. There were certain of them that feared, at the same time, that it might lead to a military dictatorship in the hands of La Fayette, whom they hated, amongst whom was Camille Desmoulins. Danton, too, went for a time with the court, because, most mercenary of men, he was in its pay. But Robespierre was the most sagacious of them all. This man, who was now rising fast into a dictatorship himself, saw clearly that a war, successful or unsuccessful, must ultimately annihilate the popular power, on which he was building his ascendancy, and inaugurate a military despotism. If the war was unsuccessful, foreign armies would overrun France, and tread into the earth the new liberty; if successful, it would give the favour of the nation to aspiring military men. He knew that martial glory and ideas of aristocracy are inseparable; that the people, in their moments of grateful and proud excitement for victories, are always ready to sacrifice their wealth and their privileges to conquerors; that their national exultation is the most fatal of snares, and almost always puts their necks under the yoke of martial dominance, making all peaceful and civil virtues poor and pale in appearance; that England had had her Cromwell, and, far worse, her Monk, and a great and successful war by France would be the tomb of the constitution. Had Robespierre been as humane and noble a man as he was far-seeing, he would have been one of the greatest instead of one of the most detestable of mankind. How entirely he was right history has now taught us. This war, moreover, was destined, by the different views which they took, to break up the connection of Robespierre and the Girondists, and ultimately of the Girondists and the jacobins. Still more, to terminate in the destruction of both parties.

The question was debated at the jacobin club on the 12th of December. Brissot, the leader of the Gironde, declared absolutely and ardently for war. He declared that war was necessary to consolidate liberty, and to clear the constitution of all taint of despotism; that the reputation of France demanded that she should chastise and disperse that congregation of brigands at Coblentz, which kept alive the insolence of the aristocrats, and that she should humble those foreign despots who were perpetually menacing French liberty; that

they had the power to do this magnificently, and they must do it! This speech was received by a tempest of acclamation from all sides. Robespierre alone stood forth to call in question this universal feeling. He was for a time overwhelmed by clamour; but, with the unconquerable pertinacity of his character, he rose above all the tumult, and, instead of being dry, didactic, and merely pompous in his speeches, he now became animated and eloquent. The very men who resisted him became admirers, and Fréron, in his *Orateur du Peuple*, said, "Preserve these speeches; they are masterpieces of eloquence that should be preserved in every family, in order to reach future generations." At first, Robespierre rejected bluntly the idea of war, but at length he exclaimed, "I am conquered; I also demand war! What do I say? I demand a war more terrible, more implacable than you demand! I demand it, not as an act of prudence, of reason, of policy, but as an act of despair. I demand that it shall be deadly, heroic, such as the genius of Liberty declares against all despotism; such as the people of the revolution under their own leaders would render it; not such as intriguing cowards would have it, or as the ambitious generals and traitorous ministers would carry it on. Frenchmen! heroes of the 14th of July! who, without guile or commander, yet acquired your liberty, come forth, and let us form that army which you tell us is destined to conquer the universe. But where is the general—where that imperturbable defender of the rights of the people, who, born with a hatred to tyrants, has never breathed the poisonous air of courts, whose virtue is attested by the hatred and disgrace of palaces; this general, whose hands, guiltless of our blood, are worthy to bear before us the banner of freedom; where is he, this new Cato, this third Brutus, this unknown hero? Let him appear, he shall be our leader; but where is he? Where are the soldiers of the 14th of July, who laid down, in the presence of the people, the arms furnished them by despotism? Soldiers of Châteauneuf-Vieux, where are you? Come and direct our efforts. Alas! it is easier to rob death of his prey than despotism of its victims! Citizens! conquerors of the Bastille, come! Liberty summons you, and assigns you the honour of the first rank. Ye are mute. Misery, ingratitude, and the hatred of the aristocracy have dispersed you. For whole years you have demanded arms; you have been refused uniforms; you have been condemned to wander from department to department, the derision of ministers, the contempt of patricians, who see you only to enjoy your distress." Continuing in this strain, he again demanded where was the minister worthy to conduct this war, the general to command in it? Were they Narbonne and La Fayette? "The very word," he exclaimed, "has broken all the charm! Adieu, victory and independence of the people! if the sceptres of Europe shall ever be broken, it will not be by such hands."

Robespierre, by this use of rhetoric, had brought the people to that point where he was so omnipotent. He thus enabled himself to cast the most deadly suspicions on all who were to work out this war. He declared all these heroic illusions deadly pitfalls. That war was the mortal foe of liberty; that those who recommended it sought in it only treasonable plots against the revolution, for not all the

patriotism in the world, all the subtlest political common-places, could alter the nature of things. He called upon all true patriots to measure with a steady eye the depth of the abyss to which they were approaching; and he finished by declaring that, with the palatine of Posnia, he preferred the storms of liberty to the serenity of slavery.

Louvet and Brissot strove to move Robespierre, but in vain. There ensued a rupture betwixt the Girondists and Robespierre, whilst Marat and Desmoulins seized the opportunity to reopen the past life of Brissot, and to embitter the discussion. The cordeliers supported Robespierre, for they were, like Desmoulins, afraid of La Fayette's rising, through war, into a military dictatorship, and crushing both jacobins and cordeliers. Danton, in the pay of the court, vacillated betwixt the two parties. He declared that he was not against war, but against the men who were to manage it; that the policy of the kings would drive them into war, so that war France must have; but he desired the people not to precipitate it till they were sure of the fitness of the executive and the commanders.

At this moment, the duke of Orleans, seeing the dangerous lengths to which the jacobins, and especially the Girondists, were driving, and that there was little disguise as to the preparations for a republic, endeavoured to reconcile himself to the court, and to assist in checking the rapid tendency to the destruction of the monarchy. He had made a similar endeavour under the constituent assembly; his present attempt was doomed to be still more disastrous. This is Bertrand de Molleville's account of the circumstance:—"I made a report on the same day to the council of the visit paid me by the duke of Orleans, and of our conversation. The king determined to receive him; and, on the next day, he had a conversation with him of more than half an hour, with which his majesty appeared to be much pleased. 'I think, like you,' said the king, 'that he is perfectly sincere, and that he will do all that lies in his power to repair the mischief which he has done, and in which it is possible that he may not have taken so large a part as we have imagined.'

"On the following Sunday he came to the king's levée, where he met with the most humiliating reception from the courtiers, who were ignorant of what had passed, and from the royalists, who were in the habit of repairing to the palace in great numbers on that day, to pay their court to the royal family. They crowded around him, making believe to tread upon his toes, and to thrust him towards the door, so as to prevent his entering. He went down stairs to the queen, whose table was already spread. The moment that he appeared, a cry was raised, on all sides, of 'Gentlemen, take care of the dishes!' as though they had been sure that his pockets were full of poison. The insulting murmurs which his presence everywhere excited forced him to retire without seeing the royal family. He was pursued to the queen's staircase, where some one spat upon his head, and several times upon his coat. Rage and vexation were depicted in his countenance, and he left the palace convinced that the instigators of the outrages which he had received were the king and queen, who knew nothing of the matter, and who, indeed, were extremely angry about it. He swore implacable hatred against them, and but too faithfully kept this horrible oath. I was at the palace that day, and

witnessed all that I have here related." Thus did the imbecile aristocrats who surrounded Louis continually destroy every chance of his better fortunes.

Whilst the king's friends were thus every day ruining him by their mad acts, the clubs and the assembly were urging on the war spirit. In the assembly the Girondists carried the sway; but in the clubs the supporters of Robespierre ruled, and they were hostile to almost every man in the executive or at the head of the army. They relied on the support of the mob, now called the *sans-culottes*, men without breeches; and this ragged party, detesting everything of an orderly or aristocratic stamp, were urged on by Marat, Prudhomme, and Desmoulins, in their journals. They all agreed in denouncing Brissot, the opponent of Robespierre; but Brissot, on the other hand, was supported by Guadet, Gensonné, Vergniaud, Condorcet, and all the Gironde party. This party laboured incessantly for the war; and, on the 21st of December, Leopold, the emperor of Austria, furnished them with an excellent pretext for demanding an instant declaration. Leopold had declared, in reply to the request of Louis, that all menaces against France should cease, "that the sovereigns had united for the maintenance of public tranquillity, and the honour and safety of the crowns." On this there was a loud outcry in the assembly amongst the Girondists. It was thus clear, they said, that there was a conspiracy of the monarchs against France; that the ministers knew of it, and had concealed it. On the 25th Louvet demanded that the emigrant princes should be condemned for contumacy, since they had refused the king's request, that they should lay down their arms and return to France; and that war should be declared against all the enemies of the revolution. He was supported by Isnard; but Guadet thought they had better wait a week longer; and the question was adjourned to the 1st of January. On the 29th Brissot asserted that the kings were afraid of commencing war with France, and that, therefore, the emigrants might be at once dispersed, and that it ought to be done. On the 31st, the last day of the year, Louis sent his minister for foreign affairs, Duport, to communicate a message from the emperor, stating that the elector of Treves, alarmed at the menaces of France, had consulted him, and that he had ordered marshal Bender to advance with his army to the elector's defence. Louis professed to be greatly indignant at this reply, but, instead of admitting that it justified an immediate declaration of war, he said he would make one more energetic protest, and that, in case it did not produce the desired effect, he would be ready—in rather vague language—to maintain the dignity and security of the nation. The Feuillants raised some sounds of applause, but the Gironde expressed extreme disgust, and the abbé Fauchet and Goupilleau proposed that, on the coming new year's day, the usual visits of felicitation and compliment to the king should be omitted. Even the moderate Pastoret coincided with this, and it was accordingly decreed. With the abolition of this last token of respect towards the monarch, and with renewed preparations for war, the generals each hastening to their respective commands, closed the year 1791.

The year 1792 opened in England with a state of intense

anxiety regarding the menacing attitude of affairs in France. There were all the signs of a great rupture with the other continental nations; yet the king, in opening parliament, on the 31st of January, did not even allude to these ominous circumstances, but held out the hope of continued peace. George III. stated that he had been engaged with some of his allies in endeavouring to bring about a pacification betwixt the Russians and Austrians with Turkey, and that he hoped for the conclusion of the war in India against Tippoo Sahib, ere long, through the able management of lord Cornwallis. He also announced the approaching marriage of the duke of York with the eldest daughter of the king of Prussia.

Grey and Fox, in the debate upon the address, condemned strongly our interference on behalf of Turkey—a state which, from its corruption, they contended, ought to be allowed to disappear. They also expressed a strong opinion that the war in India would not be so soon terminated. Fox was very severe on the treatment of Dr. Priestly and the dissenters at Birmingham, declaring the injuries done to Dr. Priestly and his friends equally disgraceful to the nation and to the national church. He passed the highest encomiums on the loyalty of the dissenters. Pitt regretted the outrages at Birmingham, but slid easily over them to defend the support of Turkey as necessary to the maintenance of the balance of power in Europe; and he concluded the debate by stating that the revenue of the last year had been sixteen million seven hundred and seventy thousand pounds, and that it left nine hundred thousand pounds towards the liquidation of the national debt.

The opposition, headed by Fox and Grey, determined to attack the ministry on the score of their Indian policy. They allied themselves with Sir Philip Francis, and at their suggestion major Maitland, on the 9th of February, moved for papers regarding the war with Tippoo, and the conduct of this war by lord Cornwallis. Francis seconded him. These being produced, Maitland and Francis strongly condemned both the war and the conduct of it by lord Cornwallis. Ministers defended the war on the ground of Tippoo recommencing hostilities, and they carried a resolution in commendation of the conduct of lord Cornwallis.

Grey and Fox then made an equally brisk attack on the support of Turkey by ministers. They greatly applauded the czarina, and Fox affirmed that, so far from Turkey soliciting our interference, it had objected to it. On the same day, in the lords, the earl Fitzwilliam opened the same question. He contended that we had fitted out an expensive armament to prevent the conquest by Russia of Oczakoff, and yet had not done it, but had ended in accepting the very terms that the czarina had offered in 1790. Ministers replied that, though we had not saved Oczakoff, we had prevented, by terror of our fleet, still more extensive attempts by Russia. Though the opposition, in both cases, was defeated, the attack was renewed on the 27th, when the earl Stanhope—an enthusiastic worshipper of the French revolution—recommended, as the best means of preventing aggression by continental monarchs, a close alliance on our part with France, which had sworn to renounce all projects of aggrandisement, and this at the very moment that France

was about to burst forth on the most wholesale scale of aggrandisement that the world had ever seen! Two days afterwards, Mr. Whitbread introduced a string of resolutions in the commons, condemning the interference of ministers betwixt Russia and Turkey, and the needless expenditure thus incurred, going over much the same ground. A strenuous debate followed, in which Grey, Fox, Wyndham, Francis, Sheridan, and the whole whig phalanx, took part. On this occasion, Mr. Jenkinson, afterwards earl of Liverpool, first appeared, and made his maiden speech in defence of ministers. He showed that the system of aggression had commenced with Russia, and menaced the profoundest dangers to all Europe; that Britain had wisely made alliance with Prussia to stem the evil, and he utterly repudiated all the ideas of the moderation of the czarina, whose ambition he truly asserted to be of the most unscrupulous kind.

Prussia being introduced into the debate, on the 1st of March it was renewed by Mr. Martin, followed by Francis Fox, and others, who represented that the secret was thus out; we were fighting again on account of the old mischief—German alliances. Pitt ably defended the policy of ministers. He asked whether Russia was to be quietly permitted to drive the Turks from Europe, and plant herself in Constantinople, with Greece as part of her empire? In that case, Russia would become the first maritime power in the world, for her situation in the heart of the Mediterranean, and with Greeks for her sailors—the best sailors in that sea—would give her unrivalled advantages, and make her the most destructive opponent of English interests that had ever arisen. Pitt drew a dark character of the czarina—the Messalina of the North; reminded the house of her endeavours to strike a mortal blow at us during the American war; of her arrogance and insolence on many occasions, and said that he did not envy Fox the honour of having his bust ordered by this notorious woman from Nollekens, the sculptor. Fox well deserved this hard blow, for he had shown a strange blindness to the grasping designs of Russia, and confessed that, whilst in office, he had refused to concur in remonstrances to Russia against the seizure of the Crimea. The motion of Whitbread was rejected by a majority of two hundred and forty-four against one hundred and sixteen.

On the 7th of March the house of commons went into committee on the establishment of the duke of York, on account of his marriage. On this occasion Fox united with Pitt in supporting the recommendation that twenty-five thousand pounds a-year should be added to the twelve thousand pounds which the duke already had; besides that the duke had a private revenue of four thousand pounds a-year, making altogether forty-one thousand pounds a-year, besides the bishopric of Osnaburg, in Germany, which had been conferred on the duke, though a layman and a soldier. Notwithstanding the union of whigs and tories on this occasion, the vote did not pass without some sharp remarks on the miserable stinginess of the king of Prussia, who only gave his daughter the paltry sum of twenty-five thousand pounds as a dowry, and stipulated that even that should be returned in case of the duke's death, though in that case his daughter was to have a permanent allowance of eight thousand pounds a-year.

Fox, on this occasion, also introduced the subject of the prince of Wales's allowance, who, he contended, had far less than had been allowed to a prince of Wales since the accession of the house of Hanover, that allowance being one hundred thousand pounds a-year; and the present parsimony towards the prince being grossly aggravated by the royal civil list having been raised, in this reign, from six hundred thousand pounds to nine hundred thousand pounds, and the privy purse from six thousand pounds to sixty thousand pounds. Fox's remarks were rendered all the more telling because, when the house went into committee on the finances, Pitt had made a most flourishing statement of the condition of the exchequer. He professed to take off the taxes which pressed most on the poorer portion of the population, namely, on servants, the late augmentations on malt, on wagons, on inhabited houses, &c., to the amount of two hundred thousand pounds, and to appropriate four hundred thousand pounds towards the reduction of the national debt. Still blind to the storm rising across the straits of Dover, he declared that these were mere trifles compared with what we should be able to do shortly, for never was there a time when a more durable peace might be expected!

But not only nascent war, the anti-slavery movements of Wilberforce, Pitt's friend, were decidedly adverse to the expected increase of income. The abolitionists had now begun to abandon the use of slave-grown sugar, and they proposed to extend this to all the produce of the West India islands, till the slave trade should be abolished. This alarmed Pitt, as chancellor of the exchequer, and he prevailed on Wilberforce to discourage this project for awhile. The abolition cause received serious injury from the frightful insurrection which had broken out in St. Domingo, and from the outrages which the insurgent blacks had perpetrated on the whites. These were held up by the friends of slavery as the legitimate consequences of these novel doctrines of philanthropy. What made the matter more serious was, that Brissot and the worst of the jacobins were the authors of these bloody tragedies, by their violent advocacy of the universal adoption of the Rights of Man. All these men were enthusiastic applauders of the English abolitionists. Paine was a prominent abolitionist; and Clarkson, the great right-hand of Wilberforce, was an equal admirer of the French revolution, and gave serious offence by attending a great dinner at the Crown and Anchor, to celebrate the taking of the Bastille. These circumstances had a great effect when Wilberforce, on the 2nd of April, brought in his annual motion for the immediate abolition of the slave-trade. Fox and Pitt eloquently supported him; but Dundas, now become secretary of state, prevailed to introduce into the motion the words "*gradual abolition*." The Wilberforce party managed to carry a motion in the commons, for the abolition of the trade to the West Indies, on the 1st of January, 1796; but this was thrown out in the lords, where it was opposed by the duke of Clarence, who had been in the West Indies, and thought the descriptions of the condition of the slaves overdrawn. It was also opposed by Thurlow, by Horsley, bishop of St. David's, and a considerable majority.

During this session, a very important bill was introduced,

and passed both houses, for the improvement of the police, and the administration of justice in London. The old unpaid and very corrupt magistrates were set aside. The metropolis was divided into five districts, each having its police-office, at which three justices were to sit, each having a salary of three hundred pounds per annum. They were not allowed to take fees in their own persons, and all fines paid in the courts were to be put in a box towards defraying the salaries and other official expenses. Constables and magistrates were empowered to take up persons who could not give a good account of themselves, and commit them as vagabonds.

A great raid of reform was made in the opposition, and it fell first on the corruption of the boroughs, both in Scotland and England. The subject was brought on, as it were, incidentally. An inclosure bill, affecting some parts of the New Forest, Hampshire, was attacked, as a job intended to benefit Pitt's staunch supporter, George Rose, who had rapidly risen, from an unknown personage, to the post of secretary to the treasury. Rose had a house and small estate in the forest, and there was a universal outcry, both in parliament and in the public press, that, in addition to the many sinecures of the fortunate Rose, there was also a sop intended for him at the cost of the crown lands. The reformers were successful in casting much blame on ministers, and they followed it up, by charging Rose with bribing one Thomas Smith, a publican in Westminster, to procure votes for the ministerial candidate, lord Hood. Though the motion for a committee of the house to inquire into the particulars of this case was defeated, yet the debates turned the attention of the country on the scandalous bribery going on in boroughs. The Scotch, the countrymen of Rose, petitioned for an inquiry into the condition of their boroughs. Of the sixty-six boroughs, petitions for such inquiry came from fifty. They complained that the members and magistrates of those corporations were self-elected, and by these means the rights and property of the inhabitants were grievously invaded.

Sheridan introduced the subject on the 18th of April, and Fox ably supported him; but the motion was negatived. But this defeat only appeared to stimulate the reformers to higher exertions. On the 28th of April, a new reform society, entitled the Society of the Friends of the People, was formally inaugurated by the issue of an address, which was signed by no less than twenty-eight members of the house of commons, and a considerable number of lords, amongst them, the lords Lauderdale, John Russell, Dair, Stanhope, and Fitzgerald. Their title was unfortunate, for, though they were united only for parliamentary reform, this cognomen was so much in the French style, as to create suspicion and alarm. Many of the members were known to be warm admirers of the French revolution, and about the same time, another and decidedly French-admiring society started, calling itself the Corresponding Society, and prosecuting a zealous intercourse with the Girondists and jacobins. The admiration of French political principles rendered the conservative portion of the population quite determined to resist all innovations; and, as this Society of the Friends of the People was regarded as a direct imitation of the jacobin club, it was violently opposed and

stigmatised. On the 30th of April, Mr. Grey, as representative of this society, rose to announce that in the next session he meant to introduce a regular measure for the reform of

things in France, and to the effervescence which those principles of anarchy had produced here, to show the necessity of remaining quiet for the present; neither did he



MADAME DE STAËL. FROM AN AUTHENTIC PORTRAIT

parliament; that it was necessary, he said, had long been asserted by the two leading men of the house—Pitt and Fox. Pitt rose on this, and declared himself still the friend of reform; but he contended that this was not the time to attempt it. He had only, he said, to point to the state of

believe that the great body of the English people would support any immediate change in our constitution. Fox upbraided Pitt with the abandonment of his former sentiments, and contended that we had only to look at the money spent lately in the armament against Russia, money



TIPU SAHIB'S SONS DELIVERED AS HOSTAGES TO THE ENGLISH.

thus spent without any consent of the people, to perceive the necessity of reform in our representation. He referred to Pitt's remarks on revolutionary books and pamphlets recently published, and declared that he had read very few of them. He had only read one of the two books of a *native of America*, Thomas Paine, the "Rights of Man," and did not like it. If the rest of his information on this subject was not more correct than that regarding the native country of Paine, it was not worth much. Burke replied to him, and drew a most dismal picture of the condition of France under her revolutionists. He said that the French assembly was composed of seven hundred persons, of whom four hundred were lawyers, and three hundred of no description; that he could not name a dozen out of the whole, he believed, with one hundred pounds a-year; and he asked whether we should like a parliament in this country resembling it. In this debate, the further dissolution of the whig party became obvious, by Wyndham and others taking the side of Burke.

Immediately after this debate the government took active steps to crush that spirit of free discussion in books and pamphlets, and in associations, which, no doubt, had been greatly stimulated by the excitement of the French revolution, and which they professed to believe were aiming at the same object—the destruction of the monarchy. But, in attempting to check this spirit, they adopted the un-English plan of fettering the press and individual opinion, which never can be effected in this country. In combating unconstitutional measures, they became unconstitutional themselves; for the freedom of the press and of private opinion are essential rights of Englishmen, and never can be assailed by any government without its incurring the deepest odium, and, ultimately, the most signal defeat. The present course adopted by Pitt's government produced years of turbulence and bitterness in England, in which ministers endeavoured to tread out the last sparks of freedom, but which ended finally in the great reform bill. Ministers at this moment issued a proclamation against seditious books, and societies corresponding with the republicans across the water; and magistrates were desired to make diligent inquiries as to the authors of seditious books and pamphlets, to put down all mischievous associations, and to take the promptest means of suppressing and preventing all riots and disturbances. An address in approbation of this proclamation was moved by Mr. Pepper Arden, the master of the rolls, in the commons, and a short debate was the consequence. In this, Grey and Fox declared that the proclamation was unconstitutional, mischievous, and oppressive; that it was a stimulus given to the hot-headed and bigoted magistrates all over the country to invade the freedom of the press and of private life, on pretence of preventing disturbance; that the true constitutional remedies for any wrong opinions promulgated by the press was their regulation by right and sound opinions; that the blow was aimed against the society of the friends of the people, and intended to crush reform, and divide the whig party; that, in truth, the riots and instigations to anarchy came not from the reformers, but from the church, the magistracy, and the tories; and they appealed for the truth of this to the disgraceful scenes which had occurred at Birmingham. They reminded government

that in 1782 Pitt had joined the duke of Richmond, May, Cartwright, and Horne Tooke, in a meeting, at the Thatched House Tavern, for reform; that they, the whigs, had never gone to the length of Cartwright and Horne Tooke in their principles of reform, as Pitt had done; and they upbraided the minister with his shameful inconsistency. Lord John Russell, Francis, Lambton, and others, supported Grey and Fox; and Wyndham, lord North, Dundas, &c., supported Pitt. The address was carried; and, when sent up to the lords, produced another striking exhibition of the changes going on in the whig party; for the prince of Wales, who had hitherto been in such close union with them, and had been so zealously supported by them, rose, and gave his decided approbation to the address, declared that he had been educated in admiration of the established constitution, and was determined, so far as in him lay, to support it. These words were received with triumph by the government party, the address was carried almost unanimously, and was followed by an immediate prosecution by the attorney-general of the "Rights of Man," which caused it to be far more generally read than it otherwise would have been.

It appeared to be the design of the whigs to agitate the session a series of questions connected with freedom of opinion, which, from the spirit of the times, they could not have the slightest chance of carrying, but merely to maintain the cause of liberty and liberality against the spirit of alarm and the spirit of tyranny that dogged its steps. On the 11th of May, Fox moved for leave to bring in a bill to repeal certain old statutes affecting the dissenters, but his principal remarks were directed against the outrages perpetrated on Dr. Priestley and the unitarians at Birmingham, his tone being taken from a petition from that body, presented a few days before. Burke replied to him, and asserted that this body of so-called religionists were rather a body of political agitators. He noticed, in proof, the close connection of Drs. Price and Priestley, and their adherents, with the French revolutionists. He quoted Priestley's own writings to show that they avowed the design to destroy the national church. He expressed his conviction that, from the intolerance shown by this party in the prosecution of their views, they would, did they succeed in destroying the church and the constitution, prove worse masters than those whom the English nation had had. He had no desire to see the king and parliament dragged after a national assembly, as they had been by the admired reforms of Priestley, Price, and that party, and much preferred to live under George III. or George IV. than under Dr. Priestley or Dr. Kippis. Pitt expressed his unwillingness to give more power to a party that avowed its desire to overturn both church and constitution: and Fox, in reply, attacked Burke's "Reflections on the French Revolution," saying that Paine's "Age of Reason" was a libel on the constitution of Great Britain, but that Burke's was a libel on every free constitution in the world. The motion was rejected by one hundred and forty-two votes against sixty-three.

Fox was more successful in re-introducing his bill to enable juries to decide on the law of a case as well as on the facts, which was carried through both houses. Lord Russell again attempted to mitigate the condition of debtors, but

prisoned by their creditors, but did not succeed; and, after Dundas had drawn a very flattering picture of the condition of India in presenting his annual statement of Indian finance, and had procured some regulations for insuring the payment of seamen's wages to themselves or their families, the king prorogued parliament on the 15th of June, still congratulating the country on the prospect of peace, and of reducing substantially the national debt.

During the recess of parliament there was an active contest betwixt the new French opinions and the old constitutional ones. One called forth and provoked the other. Clubs and societies for reform were more after the model of the wholesale proceedings of France than the old and sober ones of England. The society of the friends of the people was compelled to disclaim all connection with the society for constitutional information in London, which was in open correspondence with the jacobins of Paris. It was compelled to disown societies in the country of the same stamp, and especially to check a branch of the society for constitutional information in Sheffield, which, in May of the present year, called on the society of the friends of the people to establish a *convention* in London. To allow of no mistake as to their principles, the society of the friends of the people held a great meeting on the 5th of May, in which they announced that they had no other object but to obtain parliamentary reform by strictly legal and constitutional means, and that this end once secured they should dissolve themselves. Yet, notwithstanding this, there were those in the society who deemed that they were in connection with persons and associations whose views went farther than their own, and, on this ground, on the 9th of June, Mr. Baker, who had been the chairman at the late meeting at the Freemasons' tavern, lord John Russell, who had been deputy-chairman, Dudley North, Mr. Curwen, and Mr. Courtney, withdrew from it.

On the other hand, the corresponding society and the society for constitutional information kept up an open correspondence with the national convention of France, even after the bloody massacres of September of this year, which we have yet to relate. Unwarned by these facts, they professed to see, in the example of Frenchmen, the only chance of the liberation of the English nation from the oppressions of the crown and of an overgrown aristocracy. They made no secret of their desire to establish a republic in this country; and the society for constitutional information included amongst its members a number of red-hot Americans. These societies and the revolutionary society in London continued to send over glowing addresses to the French convention, declaring their desire to fraternise with them for liberty and equality, and their determination never again to fight with Frenchmen at the command of despots.

These proceedings called forth an opposite class of associations, in which the clergy of the establishment took the lead. The bishop and clergy of Worcester, and Dr. Watson, the bishop, and the clergy of Llandaff, met and presented addresses to the king, expressing their abhorrence of the doctrines of these associations, which made no secret of their demand for "the rights of man—liberty and equality, no king, no parliament;" and they expressed their conviction

that this country already possessed more genuine liberty than any other nation whatever. They asserted that the constitution, the church, and state had received more improvements since the revolution of 1688 than in all previous ages; that the dissenters and catholics had been greatly relieved, the judges had been rendered independent, and the laws in various ways more liberalised since the accession of his present majesty than for several reigns previously. They asserted boldly that in no country could men rise from the lowest positions to affluence and honour, by trade, by the practice of the law, by other arts and professions, so well as in this; that the general wealth everywhere visible, the general and increasing prosperity testified to this fact, in happy contrast to the miserable condition of France. As for the French, they said, and said truly, "The excesses of these ruffian demagogues have no bounds; they have already surpassed the wildest frenzies of fanaticism, superstition, and enthusiasm—plundering and murdering at home, and propagating their opinions by the sword in foreign countries. They deal in imposture, fallacy, falsehood, and bloodshed. Their philosophy is the talk of schoolboys; their actions are the savage ferociousness of wild beasts. Such are the new lights and the false philosophy of our pretended reformers, and such the effects they have produced where alone they have unfortunately been tried!"

They concluded by recommending the formation of counter associations in all parts of the country to diffuse sound constitutional sentiments, and to expose the mischievous fallacies of the democratic societies. This advice was speedily followed, and every neighbourhood became the arena of conflicting politics. The democrats, inoculated by the wild views of French licence, injured the cause of real liberty and progress by their advocacy of the mob dominion of Paris; and the constitutionalists, urged by the alarm and the zeal inspired by opposition, grew intolerant and persecuting. The eyes of thousands, who had at first hailed the French revolution as the happy dawn of a new era of liberty and brotherhood, were now opened by the horrors of the massacres of the French clergy in September of this year, and by the sight of swarms of them, who had fled for security to London, and were everywhere to be seen in the streets, destitute and dejected. A public meeting was called at the London Tavern towards the close of this year, and a subscription entered into for their relief.

Some important changes in the ministry took place during the recess. Thurlow, the lord chancellor, who had continued—in consequence of Pitt's coldness to him, on account of his double-dealing at the time of the king's lunacy, and the agitation of the regency question—to thwart and abuse ministerial measures, was now dismissed, and the great seal was put into commission, in the hands of chief baron Eyre, Mr. Justice Ashurst, and Mr. Justice Wilson. Lord Loughborough, some time after, was appointed to succeed Thurlow. On the 5th of August, also, died lord Guildford, the lord North of the unfortunate American war; and the king conferred the wardship of the Cinque Ports, worth about three thousand pounds a-year, which he had held, on Pitt.

In March of this year lord Cornwallis had brought a war in India with the implacable enemy of the English to a very

successful close. Early in the preceding year, 1791, he had reinstated our ally, the rajah of Travancore, in his dominions, and had further seized nearly all Tippoo's territories on the Malabar coast. He then determined to strike a decisive blow, by marching upon Tippoo's capital, Seringapatam. In February he took the city of Bangalore, and early in May he was on his route for Seringapatam. Tippoo was in the deepest consternation. In his fierce hatred of the British, he had adorned his city walls with paintings, representing the English in a variety of degrading positions. The Mysoreans were defeating and killing them, and they were exhibited as subjected to all kinds of indignities. Tippoo now made haste to cover all these with whitewash, and to prepare for a retreat with his women and treasures. He had trained a number of English boys as dancers and singers, in order to insult the nation. These he had privately assassinated; and the prisoners of the former war, who ought to have been long ago liberated, were treated the same, carried out of the city, and buried with the greatest secrecy, in order that they might tell no tales of his cruel treatment. Proofs of these murders were afterwards obtained by the English, who took up some of the bodies from the places where they were informed they were buried. Lord Cornwallis arrived in the neighbourhood of Seringapatam on the 13th of May, and immediately attacked Tippoo, who was drawn up with a large force. The Mysoreans broke and fled before the British bayonets. The English army was in full view of the capital, and expected a rich booty, when Cornwallis was compelled to order a retreat. The forces of general Abercrombie, who had to make his way from another quarter through the mountains, had not come up; neither had the Mahrattas, who were to join with twenty thousand men. The rains had set in, and the army was without provisions, for Tippoo had laid all the country waste. Under these circumstances, Cornwallis, somewhat precipitately, destroyed his battering guns, and retired from before Seringapatam. He sent word to Abercrombie, who was now approaching, to retire also. On the 26th of May, the very first day of his retreat, the Mahrattas arrived; but, as the rains continued, and his soldiers were suffering from illness, he determined to retreat to Bangalore, where he procured four battering trains; and, having laid in plentiful stores, and obtained strong reinforcements, as soon as the season was favourable, he again set out for Seringapatam. After taking different forts on his way, he appeared before that wealthy city on the 5th of February, 1792, in company with general Abercrombie and a native force belonging to our ally, the nizam. Tippoo was drawn up before the city, having the rapid river Caverry betwixt himself and it, and the place extremely well fortified and defended by batteries. He had forty thousand infantry and five thousand horse; but he was speedily defeated, and driven across the river into the city. There the English followed him, and, under the guidance of the brave generals, Meadows and Abercrombie, they soon penetrated so deeply into the place, that Tippoo was compelled to capitulate. In these actions the English were said to have lost about six hundred men, Tippoo four thousand.

The conditions proposed by lord Cornwallis were, that Tippoo should cede one-half of his territories; that he

should pay three crores and thirty lacs of rupees; that he should restore all the prisoners taken since the time of his father, Hyder Ali; and that two of his eldest sons should be given up as hostages for the faithful fulfilment of the articles. On the 26th the boys, who were only eight and ten years old, were surrendered, and part of the money sent in. Lord Cornwallis received the little princes very kindly and presented each of them with a gold watch, with which they were delighted. When, however, they came to the surrender of the territory, and lord Cornwallis insisted that the dominions of the rajah of Droog should be part of them, Tippoo refused, and began to make preparations for resistance; but lord Cornwallis's active firmness soon compelled him to submit. He ordered the captive children to be sent away to Bangalore, and prepared to storm the town, for which both our soldiers and those of the nizam were impatient. Tippoo gave way; and the surrender of the territory according to the treaty was completed.

These acquisitions were more valuable for the defence which they afforded the English than for the direct income which did not amount to more than half a million a-year sterling; but they included all Tippoo's dominions on the coast of Malabar, thus cutting off his mischievous communications with the French by sea. There was also a district surrounding Dindigul, and other districts on the western frontiers of the Carnatic, with the Barots and the lower Ghauts. The Mahrattas received back their former territories as far as the river Toombuddra, and the nizam obtained the country stretching from the Krishna to the Pennar, with the forts of Gunjegotah and Cadapa. It would have been easy, at this time, to have stripped Tippoo of the whole of Mysore, but it was not deemed politic. We were far from having great faith in the continued fidelity of the Mahrattas, and it was deemed necessary not to remove the check which the existence of Tippoo's power, and his desire for revenge on the Mahrattas, presented. Besides the finances of India were in a very embarrassed state, and the name of Indian war was most unpopular in England. With all the territory resigned to the Indian allies, lord Cornwallis could not avoid giving deep offence to the Mahrattas, who desired to obtain a regiment of British troops in pay. The ill-concealed jealousy betwixt them and the nizam made an outbreak betwixt these states very possible; and the moody resentment of Tippoo, writhed under his humiliation, added greatly to the uncertainty of long-continued peace. On the other hand, the soldiers were highly discontented at not having had the opportunity of plundering the opulent city of Seringapatam, and, to soothe them, Cornwallis and general Meadows, second in command, surrendered to them their shares of prize money, and Cornwallis ordered them, besides six months' batta out of the money paid by Tippoo.

It was during lord Cornwallis's campaign in Mysore that lord Macartney made his celebrated embassy to China, to endeavour to induce the Chinese to open their ports to trade with England; but his lordship succeeded in very little beyond making the Chinese and their country better known in the work written by his secretary, afterwards John Barrow.

Very important events had during this time been taking

place in Europe. In the north, Russia, checked in its encroachments on Turkey for the present, turned its eyes on the inviting region of Poland. Poland, after neglecting its own internal improvement, and the raising of the condition of its people, so as to give them a real interest in the defence of the country, had suddenly set about establishing a new constitution, very much on the model of the French revolutionist one. So long ago as 1780, the chancellor, Andrew Zamoycki, had proposed to reform the Polish constitution on a wise and generous plan—To abolish many ancient abuses, and to free the “serfs”—that is, the mass of the labouring people, who continued much in the same state of thralldom and depression as the common people of Europe had been in the fourteenth century. These salutary and necessary reforms had been rejected by the nobles, who, whilst talking much of the rights of Poland, were a proud, riotous, and selfish race, ready to draw their swords on one another in the diet, but blindly refusing all liberty and moral training to the people at large. Had they granted these advantages to the people in time, neither Russia nor any combination of despots could have conquered the country. Nations are not deprived of their freedom if they are worthy to retain it.

In 1789 the diet began to plan reforms. They were then on friendly terms with both Russia and Prussia, and both these powers expressed themselves as quite satisfied to see the Poles attempting to improve their constitution. In 1790 Frederick William of Prussia made overtures for the cession of Thorn and Dantzic, which would throw open the navigation of the Vistula into the Baltic to him; and he offered to make over other territories in exchange. The diet refused this, making a decree that no portion of the kingdom should ever be alienated. This refusal lost them the friendship of the king of Prussia, and prepared him to unite with Russia on the first occasion for the suppression of Polish independence. The diet then declared the throne hereditary, and not elective, as hitherto; and Stanislaus Augustus, the king—that is, Poniatowski, the former lover and favourite of Catherine of Russia—was wholly agreeable to this. The diet proposed the elector of Saxony as Poniatowski's successor, the king having no children. It also admitted the burgher class into its body. As there was a strong party, however, in opposition to the popular party, the patriots met secretly, and not only pledged themselves to the new constitution, but to pass it *en masse* and at once, without canvassing the particular articles of it. The king, being privy to this, on the 3rd of May, 1791, entered the hall of the diet. The new constitution was read, passed by a majority, and signed by the king. Stanislaus then led the way to the cathedral, where he was followed by all the nuncios except twelve, and there both he and they swore to maintain this new constitution. The articles of this constitution were—That the religion of the state should be catholic, the king being always of that religion, but that there should be perfect toleration of other forms of Christian worship; that the throne should be secured to the elector of Saxony and his heirs; that there should be an upper and lower chamber of assembly; that the king should have a suspensive veto on the acts of the assembly from one diet to another; that he should have command of the army, but

not the right to declare peace or war without the diet. The nobles were to retain their ancient rights and privileges, but the other classes were to become admissible to the army and the diet, and capable of being ennobled.

An unexpected difficulty was found in persuading the elector of Saxony to accept the crown; for, though both Russia and Prussia still professed friendship for Poland, he was too well aware of the designs of Russia on Poland to accept the dangerous post without much hesitation. At length, in the month of April, 1792, the elector gave his reluctant consent, but not without stipulating that they should give more power to the sovereign, and limit more that of the diet; that the right of determining peace and war should belong to the king, as well as the authority over the army. He objected to a number of things, evidently borrowed from the revolutionary French, as the oath taken to the *nation*, and the education of the heir by the diet, just as the national assembly had claimed the right to educate the dauphin.

But now Catherine of Russia had concluded her entanglements with Turkey. It was the August of 1791, and her eyes turned immediately on Poland, and she pretended to take great offence and alarm at the new constitution, as full of French and revolutionary principles, and therefore intolerable to any neighbouring state. These were her pretences, for she had no fear whatever of Poland. She knew that the Poles had neglected till too late to expand the principles of their government, and thereby to give to the great mass of the people a living and energising interest in it. She began to negotiate with Sweden, and Prussia, and Austria, to co-operate with her in her design against Poland. Prussia was easily led to adopt her ideas, for the king was like herself, greedy of his neighbour's dominions, and had been repulsed by the Poles in grasping at Thorn and Dantzic.

Leopold of Austria was, by his connection with the royal party of France, through his sister, naturally ready to put down any influence from the French revolution in a neighbouring country; but he was indisposed to war, and too just and moderate for aggression. His death, on the 1st of March, 1792, removed this obstacle, and Francis, his successor, was found to be more accessible to the czarina's selfish arguments. Russia, Prussia, and Austria were all agreed on the plunder of Poland, whilst they still preserved the most hypocritical appearance of caring only for its unity and national interests. As for Gustavus III., of Sweden, brave and honest man as he was, he was of such chivalrous and, to a certain degree, insane character, that he was easily led on by the artful empress of Russia to lend himself to her designs, without being aware of them. He had declared himself the knight of Marie Antoinette, and had sworn to rescue her. He was avaricious of military glory, and, like his predecessor, Charles XII., he was desirous only of conducting some great and brilliant enterprise. He desired to lead an army against the French, now bursting out under the revolutionary general, Custine, on Germany, and, joining with the army of the emigrants, eighteen thousand in number, to beat back the democratic general, march into France, and restore the throne of Louis and Marie Antoinette. But he had no money; the empress of

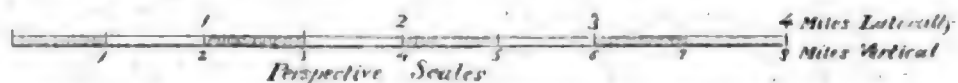
Russia, who wished him employed at a distance, and especially in keeping back the French democrats whilst she carved up Poland, offered him both money and arms. But the empress was relieved of the high-minded Gustavus in a manner which she had by no means contemplated. He fell, on the 16th of March, in his own capital, by the hand of an assassin.

Gustavus III. had, as we have formerly related, reduced his refractory nobles to obedience, and made a change in the constitution of Sweden, which rendered them his mortal

but afterwards had taken the counts Horn and Ribbing into his scheme. They tried first to seize the king at Gefla, when he convoked the diet in the present year. They were there prevented, and they next resolved to dispatch Gustavus at a masked ball in the theatre at Stockholm. Gustavus received various warnings of his danger, but he treated them with contempt, declaring that he could never believe any Swede capable of becoming an assassin. The very evening of the ball, whilst at supper, he received an anonymous letter, which strongly dissuaded him from going to the



1. Caricatta Pagoda; 2. Tinnan Village; 3. Chazgumam Village; 4. Pagoda; 5. Maxwell; 6. Cornwallis; 7. Meadows; 8. English Batteries; 9. Tipsoo's Camp (1792); 10. Eighteen Guns; 11. Ford; 12. Gate and Bridge; 13. Agra Village; 14. Storming Parties; 15. Batteries; 16. Parado; 17. Wellesley's Attack; 18. English Camp; 19. Nizam; 20. To Mysore; 21. River; 22. To Agra; 23. To Pangalore; 24. Pagoda; 25. Ford; 26. River; 27. Bag; 28. Temples; 29. Avenue; 30. Hyder Ali's Palace; 31. Citadel; 32. Canal.



PERSPECTIVE PLAN OF SERINGAPATAM, INDICATING SEVERALLY THE BRITISH POSITIONS IN 1792 AND 1799.

enemies. Amongst these was one who did not belong to the higher nobility, but rather to the gentry, John James Ankerström. Ankerström was an officer in the army, and a member of the diet. When Gustavus, in 1789, suppressed the senate, and arrested many of the nobility, he was one who, in presence of the king, spoke violently against his proceedings. He was also accused of having spoken against the king previously, before an assembly of peasants, and had been, on that account, dismissed from the royal guards and confined in different fortresses, though the charges had not been proved against him. This had greatly embittered him, and he conceived the idea of murdering the king. At first, it would appear that he contemplated this deed alone,

theatre, as there was a design to assassinate him. He showed the letter to several of his friends, who implored him to take the advice, and stay away. It was in vain; he treated the letter as a contemptible hoax, and went in domino dress. But scarcely had he entered the ball, leaning on the arm of Count Ersen, the master of the house, when count Horn, behind whom followed Ankerström, accosted the king, saying, "Good day, fair mask!" This was the signal—Ankerström discharged a pistol, which wounded the king mortally in the thigh and loins. Gustavus, with the greatest presence of mind, ordered all the doors to be instantly closed, and all present to be unmasked. This was done, but no discovery was made; in fact, Ankerström had



MARRIAGE OF HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE DUKE OF YORK, IN THE CHAPEL ROYAL, ST. JAMES'S.

already quitted the apartment. A pistol and dagger, however, were found on the floor, and these the maker, whose name was on them, identified as the same that he had recently sold to Ankerström. He was arrested and subjected to torture, when he declared himself the perpetrator of the deed; that he had been most unjustly treated, and was weary of his life; that, at first, he had no accomplices, but that afterwards he had, and that they had made several attempts besides the one which succeeded. In consequence of Ankerström's revelations, or from other causes, counts Horn and Ribbing, barons Pechlin, Ehrensvarld, Hartsmandorf, Von Engenstrom, and others, were arrested. Ankerström had an open trial, and then he denied that he had had any active accomplices, but merely that a number of persons knew of his design. He was condemned to a most barbarous death: to be publicly flogged on three successive days; to be exposed, in front of the senate house, to the people, with an iron chain about his neck; to have his right hand cut off, then his head, and these three sections of his body to be distributed in various parts of the city. Ankerström, who was but thirty-three years of age, suffered the sentence with the utmost stoicism. Two of those accused as accomplices destroyed themselves in prison. The anonymous letter was traced to count Liljihorn, who was arrested, and confessed that he belonged to the conspiracy. He and counts Horn and Ribbing were banished for life: and others suffered imprisonment and confiscation of property. These severities belonged to the laws rather than to the chivalrous Gustavus. Though he continued to linger eleven days in great agony, he expressed no desire for vengeance on his assassins, but summoned around his dying bed not only his family and friends, but all his court, without distinction of friend or foe, and reconciled himself to the most violent opponents of his measures, counts Fersen and Braké. Gustavus was in his forty-sixth year, and died on the 26th of March, 1792.

Catherine of Russia, thus rid of the only two monarchs who were likely to trouble her with scruples, hastened her grand design of absorbing Poland. She professed to be greatly scandalised and alarmed at the proceedings of the king, who had attended a great dinner given by the municipality of Warsaw on the anniversary of the passing of their new constitution, at which he had not only responded to the toast of his health by drinking to the nation and the municipality, thus sanctioning them as great powers, as the French had done, but had sate complacently amid the loud cries of "Long live liberty! Long live the nation, and our citizen king, the friend of the Rights of Man!" The Poles had certainly become enthusiastic imitators of the French; they had established clubs in imitation of the clubs of Paris, had sent a deputation to congratulate the French on their revolution, and had passed various decrees of a jacobin character. Whilst Catherine professed to be terrified at these proceedings, nothing could give her greater satisfaction; for they furnished her with the very pretences that she wanted for marching into the country. Neither did she lack a sanction from the Poles themselves. There had always been violent parties in that kingdom; and, at this time, a number of nobles, who opposed the new constitution, sent a deputation with a memorial to the empress at St.

Petersburg, inviting her to assist them in restoring the old constitution. Catherine gave them a ready promise, and, on the 14th of May, Felix Potocki, Branicki, Rzewuski, and eleven other nobles, met at Targowica, and entered into a confederacy for this purpose. This confederacy was followed, only four days after its signing, by a protest issued by Bulgakoff, the Russian minister, at Warsaw, against the whole of the new institutions and decrees. In this lengthy document, the minister claimed, in the name of the empress, the right conferred on her by former treaties and benefactions to watch over the rights and liberties of the Polish nation; she expressed the most magnanimous anxiety for the preservation of these rights and liberties, and she complained that they had, by their new constitution, overthrown the whole ancient and salutary fabric of the laws; that the new decrees left not a *shadow* of freedom to the Poles! She complained of their making the throne hereditary—a singular complaint for a despotic sovereign; that they had put down the legitimate constitution by treachery and armed force; that they had made encroachments on the Greek religion, the church of Russia; and had treated her own character with offensive rudeness. The democratic Poles had indeed made very free with the stories of her scandalous amours. She then announced that she was not only called on, by her sense of what was due from her to Polish liberty and national integrity, but by the voice of the most distinguished Poles themselves; and that she had ordered her troops to march into the country to restore its former "liberty and independence." She promised, however, to pass over all this list of offences, if the Poles consented to revoke the new constitution and faithfully restore the old.

Never, perhaps, were the most nefarious designs covered by more shockingly hypocritical language. On the 18th of May, the same day that this proclamation was issued at Warsaw, a hundred thousand Russian troops marched over the Polish frontiers, attended by some of the Polish confederates of Targowica, and others of that party.

The diet issued a counter-proclamation rebutting Catherine's long catalogue of charges *seriatim*, and denying the right of any nation, under any pretences whatever, to interfere with the internal changes of another nation executed by the proper authorities and representatives of the people. Stanislaus Augustus issued an address to the Polish army, calling upon it to defend the national rights from the domination of Russia, and bidding them call to mind the curses which the pretended protection of Russia had already brought upon the nation; the forcible seizure of men of all classes, from the prince to the peasant, who dared to resist Russian insolence; whole tribes of peasants having been carried off to found new Russian colonies. He bade them remember that Poland had already suffered one dismemberment at the hands of Russia; and he warned them that, if they did not now unite as one man to resist the Russian arms, notwithstanding the fine sentiments put forth by the empress, she would not only again dismember the country but would utterly extinguish the Polish name!

No one could better understand the sinister policy of Catherine than the king who had formerly been her favourite and confidant, and who had been placed as the

throne of Poland by her power. But, unfortunately, Poland was in no condition to cope with the might of Russia. No pains had been taken to organise the army in years past on any scale capable of defending the nation; the new rights conferred on the people were too new to have given them yet any interest in them. Poland, therefore, in all haste, made solicitations for help to Prussia, Austria, England, Sweden, and Denmark; but all in vain. Sweden and Denmark had, now that Gustavus was dead, determined to have no concern in wars resulting in any way from the French revolution. Frederick William of Prussia, who had so warmly congratulated the Poles on their new constitution, now made it a direct ground of complaint. He pretended to have predicted all this offence to Russia, by the alarming measures of the diet, and protested that had it not been for these, Russia would never have taken the decided step which she had now done. He, however, coldly professed himself ready to unite with Russia and Austria to restore the former state of things in Poland. As for Austria, she lay cold and neutral in appearance; but, though Poland was not aware of it, both Prussia and Austria were in the secret league for the dismemberment of this unfortunate country.

England was anxiously sought for aid; but Pitt, who had raised so powerful an armament to check the attacks of Russia on Turkey, showed no disposition even to denounce the attempts of Russia on Poland. If England, and if Pitt, in particular, both before and after this time, had maintained a proper non-intervention system, as it regarded continental nations, little blame could have attached to him for his apathy regarding the fate of Poland. He might be blamed for refraining from exerting the moral power of England in condemnation of the unprincipled aggression of Russia, but he could not be expected to take arms in defence of Poland, so far removed from the influence of a maritime nation. But Pitt showed the utmost indifference to the destruction of Poland, though he afterwards involved this country in one of the most gigantic wars which the world had ever seen, merely to reinstate a fallen dynasty on a throne, in opposition to the wishes of the nation concerned. Colonel Gardiner, our minister at Warsaw, was instructed by our secretary for foreign affairs, lord Grenville, Pitt's cousin, to express a friendly interest towards Poland, but to take care to avoid giving any expectations of assistance. The Poles, repelled by Prussia and Austria, and finding no warmth of sympathy in the agent of England, dispatched count Bukaty, in June, to London, to make a zealous pleading for aid. But Pitt was cold and immovable, as if the absorption of this large country, in the centre of Europe, would not formidably increase that preponderance of Russia, which he had lately professed so greatly to dread, when there was a question of the absorption of Turkey. No aid, not even of money, was promised. No motion, condemnatory of Russia's grasping schemes, was made in parliament; it seemed to England a matter of no moment that one of the chief nations of Europe should be torn in pieces by rapacious powers, contrary to all moral and all international law. The whigs, those great advocates of revolution and of popular freedom, were dumb. In fact, what could they say? for Fox and his admirers had all along been lauding

the Russian empress as one of the greatest, ablest, and most innocent of monarchs, simply in opposition to Pitt and his endeavours to repress her schemes of aggrandisement. Fox had even sent Mr. Adair as his emissary to St. Petersburg, to congratulate Catherine on her successes, and to assure her of the admiration of Englishmen. Such are the fatal perversities into which men are driven by party spirit! At this very moment Fox and the whigs were flattering and patting Catherine on the back, when her bandit armies had already their feet on the doomed soil of Poland, and they were still applauding the revolutionists of France, when they were already beyond the Rhine, on that crusade of conquest which plunged all Europe into more than twenty years of the most horrible bloodshed. They saw all this when too late. For the present, all that was done for Poland was to call a meeting at the Mansion House, and open a subscription for the suffering Poles.

Poland, abandoned to her own resources, made a brave but ineffectual resistance. She had neither an army, nor money, nor mountains into which her patriots might retreat, and thus cope, in some degree, with the heavy legions of Muscovy. Her troops did not exceed ten thousand men; her bankers had lent their money to the very powers that were now combined to crush them, and they had to contend, on wide, defenceless plains, with the overwhelming hordes of Russia. They conferred, however, on the king unlimited powers for conducting the war; they voted thirty millions of crowns and one hundred thousand men, but the money could not be raised, nor, consequently, the army. They were in want of both artillery and ammunition, and, before these could be obtained from distant countries, their fate was decided. Stanislaus Augustus was in earnest, for he was sick of the yoke of Russia, but he was never a man of extraordinary powers, and he was now growing old and inactive. He made his nephew, prince Joseph Poniatowski, commander-in-chief, but he controlled his actions through a council of war which he had formed, and which was as timid and hesitating as himself. Joseph Poniatowski had mustered fifty-six thousand men by great exertions; the bulk of them were ill disciplined and ill armed—serfs called from their fields to withstand the well-drilled and seasoned soldiers of Catherine. But they were full of spirit, and, on all occasions, when they came in contact with the enemy, acted with great bravery, and gained many advantages over the invaders. But, instead of leaving prince Joseph to fight, step by step, with the foe, and to lay waste the country as he advanced, thus cutting off the provisions of the Russians, Augustus ordered the prince to fall back behind the river Bug, so as to concentrate the troops for the defence of Warsaw. In vain that prince Joseph represented the disastrous consequences of such a retreat; that it would discourage his raw levies; that it would enable the Russians to advance unmolested into the very heart of the country; and that the line of the Bug was perfectly indefensible. Joseph was compelled to retreat, and everything fell out as he foretold. Notwithstanding, the Russians received several severe checks in their advance. At Zielence, at Palorma, and, finally, at Dulienska, the Poles fought them gallantly. At the latter battle, on the 17th of July, the gallant patriot, Kosciusko, made a terrible

havoc of the Russian lines, and was only prevented utterly routing them by his flank being turned by another arrival of Russians, whom the emperor Francis, of Austria, had allowed to march through Galicia.

This was a most discouraging fact, for it showed that Francis, who pretended neutrality, was also in league with Catherine. The Russians, thus pouring in from all sides, well supplied with everything, whilst the brave Poles were destitute of everything, continued to advance, in spite of all resistance. The timid and the calculating began to flock to the confederacy of Taragowica, and the numerous Jews, who monopolised nearly all the trade of Poland, contrived to conceal their supplies from the Poles, who had no money, and passed them to the Russians, who paid liberally. The division of the army in Lithuania, originally commanded by prince Louis of Wurtemberg, but afterwards successively by Judycki and Michel Zabiello, was also in retreat before the heavy masses of the Russian Kreczetnikoff. In that province another confederacy had arisen on the same principle as that of Taragowica, who acted in union with the Russians, and called on all Poles to join them for the support of liberty, which they boldly asserted the diet had destroyed.

Stanislaus Augustus, totally disheartened, had, so early as the 22nd of June, written to Catherine, offering to have her grandson, Constantine, nominated as successor to the throne of Poland, on condition of her withdrawing her troops; but she only replied by upbraiding him with the violation of the *Compacta Conventa*, and demanding that he should at once accede to the Confederacy of Taragowica, and hasten to restore the constitution to its ancient condition, as it existed down to the 3rd of May, 1791. Stanislaus was compelled to comply, and to publish a humiliating declaration of his sincere approval of the old constitution and of the court, the most despotic and most degrading to the people at large that the world had ever seen. He was compelled to congratulate his unfortunate country on the generous and disinterested protection of the empress of Russia, who, he declared, had restored tranquillity to the republic, guaranteed its sacred rights, and promised to open up new sources of happiness and prosperity to the people. This declaration was published in the beginning of August throughout Poland. Those who could escape from the promised happiness did, by expatriating themselves; those who could not leave their estates without utter ruin, hastened to join the confederacies of Taragowica and Lithuania, as insuring them protection from Russian vengeance.

The Russians advanced to Warsaw, took regular possession of it, and of all the towns and military forts through the whole country. They dismissed the patriot officers of the army, and dispersed the army itself in small divisions into widely-separated places. They abolished the new constitution, thrust the burgher class again out of their newly-acquired privileges, and put the press under more ignominious restrictions than before. They confiscated the estates of those nobles who had advocated the new reforms, and even the hurried attempt to shield themselves by joining the confederations of Taragowica and Lithuania did not save others. Count Oginski, who had been one of the

leading reformers, and who had been complimented by the king of Prussia on his discretion and moderation, found himself stripped of his estates for what he had thus been applauded. He therefore had the boldness to hasten to Petersburg and to solicit the restoration of his property from the empress herself. He was received with courtesy, so far as words went, and Catherine assured him that she was the best friend of Poland, and was only protecting the Poles from being swallowed up by Austria and Prussia. Both she and her ministers treated the idea of any partition of Poland as the most groundless and ridiculous of notions. They pointed to the invasion of Germany already by Custine, the French revolutionary general, and justified the temporary occupation of Poland as necessary to the security of both Poland and the neighbouring states.

We must leave the three robber-powers, Russia, Prussia, and Austria, therefore, gloating over their prey, and ready to rend it asunder, in order to continue the narrative of the wild explosion of France. The Girondists were, at the opening of the year 1792, vehemently urging on war against the emigrants and the emperor of Germany. On the very 1st of January, Gensonné, a leading orator of that party, declared that war was inevitable, and he moved that Monsieur, the king's brother, the prince of Condé, count d'Artois, Calonne, Mirabeau the younger, and some others, should be accused of conspiracy and high treason, for being in arms against France, and that they be put upon their trial. At the decree of accusation, which was passed, was not submitted to the king, no veto could be apprehended. Another decree pronounced them condemned, and their revenues appropriated to the state. To this the king offered no opposition. The assembly took possession as an indemnity for the war, and Monsieur was deprived of the regency.

On the 14th of January Gensonné presented a report on the last dispatch of the emperor. He declared that the treaty of alliance with Austria of 1756 was destroyed by the declaration of Pillnitz, which had raised an armed conspiracy of sovereigns against France; that the refractory emigrants were still encouraged, notwithstanding the assertions of the elector of Treves to the contrary; the white cockade was still worn beyond the Rhine, and the national one insubordinate. Guadet followed, and proposed that every Frenchman should take part in a congress for the purpose of modifying the constitution should be declared a traitor. It was resolved that the king should demand a final explanation from the emperor before the 1st of March, and that an answer should be held tantamount to a declaration of war. A few days afterwards, the assembly decreed that there were reasons for believing that the king of Spain contemplated an attack on France, and orders were issued to increase the troops on the Spanish frontier. Some objections being raised to war on account of the enormous cost of it, Lacombe exclaimed, "Have no fears on the subject of money; victory will bring us plenty of money." This was the adopted principle of the revolution — so make the invaded countries pay for their own oppression; and by this principle the French were afterwards enabled to overrun Europe. Prudhomme announced in his paper that there was a grand conspiracy existing betwixt Austria, Prussia, and England with the court at the Tuileries.

invade France, and that the royalists had collected sixty pieces of cannon into Paris, simultaneously with a movement on the frontiers, to break open the prison doors, and release all the aristocrats and priests, when there would be a general massacre of the people. He reiterated these falsehoods in the journal, again and again declaring that the Feuillant club, the Barnaves, Lameths, the queen, the princess Lamballe—who had, fatally for herself, again returned to Paris—Narbonne, the minister at war, and his mistress, Madame de Staël, were all deep in the plot. The other journals joined in these cries, thus preparing the people for the bloody scenes of the following September in the prisons of Paris.

That excitable city was now in a condition of riot from the scarcity and consequent dearness of sugar and coffee. The great French colony which furnished the bulk of these articles was in open rebellion on the part of the negroes, who grew the articles, in consequence of the teachings of the declaration of the "Rights of Man," which Brissot had sent thither, for which he had been applauded by La Fayette, Condorcet, the abbé Raynal, and the other members of the society of the friends of the blacks. Two hundred thousand slaves, at this unexpected proclamation, rose to demand their liberty. The mulattoes, who were free, but without the privileges of citizens, and felt themselves despised by the whites, their fathers, put themselves at the head of the blacks. Ogé, a mulatto, who had been in Europe to plead the cause of the half-castes, and had been in communication with Clarkson and Wilberforce in England, with Barnave and others in France, put himself, with two hundred mulattoes, at the head of the blacks. He was defeated, taken, imprisoned, tortured, and put to death. He died on the wheel, and his mutilated carcass was left on the highway. The mulattoes swore a terrible revenge. In one night they fell on sixty thousand slaves to the massacre of their masters. Within a circuit of six leagues round the Cape, they burnt down every plantation, and murdered men, women, and children. The outrages of centuries were repaid in a few hours, and that with tortures and abominations still more appalling than they themselves had suffered. They became the masters of a great part of the island, and, by the destruction of the plantations, and the black population now wielding guns and swords instead of hoes, the produce of coffee and sugar was for a time at an end. A fierce outcry arose in the faubourgs, and that of St. Antoine marched in a body to the national assembly on the 26th of January, demanding their coffee and sugar. With the constant practice of mobs, they did not perceive the true cause of the deficiency—the destruction of the plantations, and the cessation of labour amongst the slaves, now, like themselves, enjoying the rights of man—but they attributed the dearth of sugar and coffee to the conspirators, forestallers, and monopolisers, and demanded "Death to them all!" The assembly was helpless, and the jacobin club discussed the same topic, and swore to abandon the use of these articles. But they were in a very ill humour over their new abstinence, and Manuel, the introducer of the motion on this subject, fell all the more bitterly on the emigrant priests and nobles, and on the king, who, he declared, was in league with them, protesting that he ought not to reign,

nor even to live, and he wrote a letter to poor Louis in the same deadly strain.

Brissot and the Gironde maintained a determined war on the king's ministers, as men not to be trusted with the affairs of the country in the approaching crisis. The ministers were at strife amongst themselves. Bertrand de Molleville was jealous of the popularity of Narbonne; Narbonne complained, not only of the conduct of Molleville to him, but of his unconstitutional sentiments, and implored the king to dismiss him. Molleville and his party, on the other hand, represented the popularity of Narbonne as dangerous, and that he was aiming at governing the whole cabinet. The king was inclined to dismiss Narbonne rather than Molleville. Brissot and the Girondists raised a loud cry in favour of Narbonne, and the generals of the three divisions of the army wrote a letter to the king, deprecating his dismissal. The king, looking on this as dictation, dismissed Narbonne at once. The assembly was greatly excited, and declared that Narbonne had retired with its full confidence. In this state of growing exasperation, Herault de Sechelles denounced Molleville as guilty of various crimes, and the assembly called on the king to dismiss him. Louis complied, for he did not dare refuse. Two days after, Brissot denounced De Lessart, the foreign minister, for having professed unconstitutional doctrines in his correspondence; and for having given Kaunitz, the Austrian minister, a false notion of the state of France. Vergniaud followed up the attack, for the Girondists were resolved to drive the ministry from office, and force their own men into their places—thus securing the government of the country. Vergniaud accused De Lessart of having delayed when minister of the interior, the union of Avignon to France, and of having thus occasioned a horrible massacre, which had taken place there in August, 1791. In that city the secretary, Lescuyer, had been murdered by the mob. A band of volunteers had united themselves with a band of plunderers and assassins. At their head was that ruffian butcher, Jourdan, called "Coupe-tête," who had plucked out the hearts of Foulon and Berthier, before the Hôtel de Ville, in Paris, in 1789, and who had cut off the heads of two of the body-guards at Versailles, on the 6th of October, and stuck them on pikes, reproaching the people that they had let him decapitate only two! This monster and his accomplices had, on the 30th of August, closed the gates of Avignon, broken into the houses of the citizens, and committed a frightful massacre of men, women, and children, attended by the most scandalous indignities to the women. They had done all this as taking vengeance on persons whom they deemed enemies to the revolution. The assembly professed to be horrified at the details of these atrocities; the president fainted whilst reading them; yet the jacobins protected the fiend, and he was permitted to return to Avignon to avenge himself of his accusers.

These crimes, which the Gironde had not the vigour or the virtue to expiate with the blood of the arch-murderer, they now piled on the head of De Lessart, who was totally innocent of them. A decree of accusation was passed against him, and he was consigned to the prison of Versailles for trial before the high court established at Orleans; but his trial not coming on in September, he was massacred

by the mob in the general carnage which then took place.

Louis was deeply affected at this treatment of a minister whom he esteemed for his moderate and pacific sentiments. Duport-Dutertre and Cahier de Gerville, the other ministers, resigned, in terror of a like fate, and the king was left at the mercy of the Gironde. General Dumouriez, whom we have seen assisting Gensonné in the commission to La Vendée, obtained the post of minister for foreign affairs. Charles François Dumouriez was born at Cambray in 1739,

against Russia. He saw the Polish leaders ruined by discord; he saw the Russians prevail, and he quitted the country, despairing for ever of an aristocracy without a people, of a kingdom which he called "The Asiatic nation." At the outbreak of the French revolution he joined the revolutionists, having himself been a prisoner in the Bastille, and he contrived to conciliate all parties, foreseeing that in such a state of things war must come, and generals would be wanted. He had courage for anything; he was extremely fascinating in his manners; and, with a certain looseness of



WILLIAM WILBERFORCE. FROM AN AUTHENTIC PORTRAIT.

and, consequently, was now in his fifty-third year. He had led a life of adventure; he had fought bravely in the German wars; he had played a questionable part in the events which made over Corsica to France; he had been sent by Louis XV. into Poland to support the Poles—though not as the avowed agent of France, but, as it were, an adventurer on his own account—against their enemies, Russia, Prussia, and Austria. He found the Poles debased by misery, slavery, and the custom of bearing a foreign yoke. He found the Polish aristocracy corrupted by luxury, enervated by pleasures. He fought bravely but vainly

principle—for everything must, in him, give way to his thirst for fame and leadership—he was inclined to the good and the generous. In his intercourse with Gensonné in La Vendée, he had made a deep impression on that eloquent member of the Gironde, who introduced him to all the leaders of the party—the Rolands, Condorcet, Brissot, Vergniaud, and the rest. They were seeking able instruments, but not masters, for they were determined to rule themselves. They were enchanted with Dumouriez, who seemed calculated to serve their views admirably as a general; they had no dread of him as a dictator. (Yet



ASSASSINATION OF GUSTAVUS III., BY ANKERSTROM, AT A MASKED BALL.

Dumouriez not the less continued to conciliate Robespierre, and to attend at the jacobin club.

Dumouriez saw at a glance that madame Roland was the soul and intellect of the Gironde party, and he paid all court to her. He affected to be the humble servant of the coterie; and, accustomed to compliment women, he endeavoured to win the full confidence of madame Roland; but there he failed. Her keen glance read his real character, and she felt at once that he was too able and too ambitious to remain long a subordinate. "Have an eye to that man," she said to her husband; "there is a master concealed under that smiling exterior." The Girondists had introduced Dumouriez to De Grave; De Grave introduced him to the king. When the assembly had accused De Lessart, and handed him over to the high national court, Louis offered Dumouriez the post of foreign affairs till De Lessart should prove his innocence and be restored. But Dumouriez was too experienced a diplomatist; he refused the office *pro tempore*. The king was pressed by circumstances, and conferred it upon him permanently.

Petion, Gensonné, and Brissot were consulted respecting the completion of the ministry. Louvet was strongly recommended by the Rolands as minister of justice; but Robespierre, whom he had totally opposed, immediately denounced him, and it was not deemed prudent to rouse still more the wrath of that man, now every day becoming more and more the idol of the people. Duranton, advocate of Bourdeaux, but a weak man, was introduced into that post, and De Grave succeeded Narbonne as minister at war. Clavieres, a deaf stockbroker, from Geneva, and formerly an opponent of Necker, was made minister of finance, Lacoste of marine, and finally, Roland was selected as minister of the interior. Not one of the most brilliant men of the Gironde was included in this ministry, except Dumouriez. Roland was distinguished rather by his republican gravity than anything else; the rest were remarkable only for their insignificance. The courtiers dubbed them "The Sans-Culotte Cabinet." Roland, on presenting himself at court, appeared, as usual, in his round hat, and with strings in his shoes; for both he and the main part of the Girondists affected a sort of republican simplicity. The master of the ceremonies, who did not know who he was, refused to admit him, till it was explained that he was minister of the interior. The astonished master observed to Dumouriez, who entered next, "Ah, sir, no buckles in his shoes!" to which Dumouriez replied, with affected amazement, "Ah, sir, all is lost!"

Scarcely had these republicans seen and conversed with Louis, when they found him a different man to what party spirit had represented him, and, like Barnave, began to respect him. Madame Roland, who was not under the same influence, as she did not see the king daily, like the ministers, was alarmed lest they should all become royalists; and she had to labour hard to impress upon honest Roland that Louis was not to be trusted, and that the courtiers would impose on him, who was, she said, too virtuous for a courtier. Madame Roland, in fact, was the minister of the interior: Roland was her automaton. So completely did she keep at his elbow and regulate everything, that even Condorcet, one of their own party, observed, "When I wish

to see the minister, I can never get a glimpse of anything but the petticoats of his wife." Notwithstanding all her caution, however, the feeling of the king's honest intentions spread amongst the members of the Gironde, and Guadet, Gensonné, and Vergniaud were soon in correspondence with him.

As for Dumouriez, he showed himself a courtier amongst the courtiers. He had none of the starch preciseness of his colleagues. His business was, after a long career of adventures with little profit or promotion, to make himself a name and a position; and when the courtiers laughed at the "sans-culotte" ministers, Dumouriez laughed too, and returned joke for joke. The king, like every one else who conversed with him, except madame Roland, was soon pleased with him, and, from his representations, the queen wished to see him. At first, she was very warm in denunciation of the continual encroachments on the royal prerogatives. Dumouriez reminded her of the necessity of the king observing the constitution. Marie Antoinette, not expecting this plain speaking, grew more angry. Dumouriez paid her some compliments on the nobility of her character, and declared that those traits of her nature had made him her firm friend. For that cause, he was anxious to maintain a good understanding betwixt the king and the people; but that, if he was in any way an obstacle to her plans, she had only to say so, and he would instantly resign. This candour appeased her, and she conversed calmly and freely on the affairs of the day. But the councils of those around, and the infamous papers continually issued by Marat and the jacobins, soon drove her into measures contrary to Dumouriez's advice.

Just at this crisis died Leopold of Austria, and was succeeded by his nephew, Francis II.; and war became more inevitable, for Francis had not the same pacific disposition as Leopold, and the Gironde was bent on war. The internal condition of France also seemed to indicate that there must soon be war abroad or civil war at home. The ministers were soon at variance; the jacobins and Girondists were coming to an open and desperate feud; the people, both in Paris and all over the country, were excited by the jacobin publications to the utmost pitch of fury against the royalists and the priests. The more they were menaced by the royalists on the frontiers, the more they became rabid against the royalists who remained at home. In Paris, Brissot insisted that every man should be armed with pikes, and that the *bonnet-rouge*, or red nightcap, on which the tricolour cockade was displayed, should be universally worn, as the true emblem of liberty. Members of assembly immediately assumed this badge; Dumouriez went to the jacobin club and put it on, and, when upbraided for this as a minister by the king and court, he replied that it was merely to keep the people in good humour. The dames de la Halle appeared at the assembly, announced that they had formed themselves into an amazonian brigade, and demanded pikes, that they might manœuvre in the Champ de Mars in their red nightcaps. The women of the Faubourg St. Antoine appeared already armed with pikes, to assert their patriotism.

The king, alarmed at this universal arming of the people, sent for Petion, the mayor, and requested him to take measures for putting an end to this dangerous state of things. Petion promised, but contented himself with issuing an order

that the people should not appear in the streets armed, and of this order no notice was taken. Throughout all France similar demonstrations were making, and the people, in many places, did not content themselves with arming—they proceeded to frightful outrages. We have mentioned those at Avignon, under the leadership of the infamous Jourdan. Similar atrocities were reported from other quarters, and a deputation from Marseilles, headed by Charles Barbaroux—whose handsome person turned all the heads of the ladies, including that of madame Roland—declared that the people of Marseilles, armed with pikes, were ready to march to Paris, and assist the jacobin club in exterminating all internal tyrants. Joseph Ignace Guillotin, at this crisis, recommended to the assembly the instrument for cutting off by wholesale the heads of their enemies, which became known by his own name. This notorious machine was approved of by the assembly, and ordered, by a special decree of the 20th of March of this year, to be universally used. The Girondists, so many of whom fell under its axe, were as unanimous for the guillotine as the most ultra-jacobins, and thus all the revolutionists were already looking forward to the destruction of those who did not agree with them. Matters were fast ripening. After all, the guillotine was no original invention at this period. An instrument of precisely the same construction was in use in this country in the time of Edward III. It was of very ancient use on the continent, in Germany, Bohemia, and Italy, and was introduced into Scotland, under the name of "The Maiden," in 1578. The Halifax maiden was also well known. The tradition in Scotland is, that the regent Morton, who introduced the maiden, was the first to suffer by it; but Dr. Guillotin did not experience the same fate from his revival of this ancient machine. He died quietly in his bed, in 1814. He was proud of the engine, saying, that through it his name would live in history.

Work for the guillotine was fast preparing. The Gironde party, incensed at the constant opposition of Robespierre and his party, and at his evident increase of popularity, notwithstanding his opposition to the war, and his opposition to atheism—for this sanguinary man dared to denounce war in the jacobin club, and in a journal which he had now established, called "The Defender of the Constitution," though in reality it laboured to destroy the constitution, and the Gironde now determined to denounce him. Brissot, Condorcet, and Guadet were to lead the attack; but Robespierre was soon apprised of the plot, and instantly took the initiative himself. He set on Collot D'Herbois to denounce Condorcet and Roxlerer, whilst he and Tallien denounced Brissot and Guadet. They declared that the jacobin society wanted purging; that those members were in league with Barnave, La Fayette, and the Lameths to betray the constitution to the court. Chabot joined in declaring that Narbonne, the ex-minister of war, was also scheming to play the Cromwell in France, and was actively supported by madame de Stael and madame Condorcet; that they had already seduced the bishop of Calvados, Fauchet, and were secretly supported by the Girondists. On the 25th of April Brissot and Guadet retaliated by a desperate attack on Robespierre and his friends, but they were signally defeated; Robespierre was triumphantly supported by the club, and his victory was

proclaimed by the journals of Marat, Desmoulins, Collot D'Herbois, and the rest. The Girondists saw, to their consternation, that, though they were nominally in power, there was a still more terrible power possessed by this persevering man, who knew how at once to oppose the mob, and yet to flatter and fascinate them.

Whilst the Gironde was thus weakened by this implacable and incurable feud with the jacobins, Austria was making unmistakable signs of preparation for that war which Leopold had often threatened, but never commenced. Francis received deputations from the emigrant princes, ordered the concentration of troops in Flanders, and spoke in so firm a tone of restoring Louis and the old system of things, that the French ambassador at Vienna, M. De Noailles, sent in his resignation to Dumouriez, saying that he despaired of inducing the emperor to listen to the language which had been dictated to him. Two days after, however, Noailles recalled his resignation, saying he had obtained the categorical answer demanded of the court of Vienna. This was sent in a dispatch from baron Von Cobenzel, the foreign minister of Austria. In this document, which was tantamount to a declaration of war, the court of Vienna declared that it would listen to no terms on behalf of the king of France, except his entire restoration to all the ancient rights of his throne, according to the royal declaration of the 23rd of June, 1789; to the restoration of the domains in Alsace, with all their feudal rights, to the princes of the empire. Moreover, prince Kaunitz, the chief minister of Francis, announced his determination to hold no correspondence with the government which had usurped authority in France.

Dumouriez advised the king to communicate this note to the assembly without a moment's delay. There was an immediate dissension in the royal council; Clavieres and Roland took one view, and Dumouriez, De Grave, Lacoste, and Duranthon, another. This was the first commencement of the division in the Gironde ministry, which quickly destroyed it. Dumouriez proceeded with the king, followed by the rest of the ministers, and a number of courtiers, on the 20th of April to make that announcement which was to decide the fate of France and of Europe. Roland and the more determined Girondists had recommended that the king should himself make the declaration of war; but as the war itself was most repugnant to the king, Dumouriez had advised that he should only consult with the assembly on the necessity of this declaration, and thus throw the responsibility on that body. There had been the division of opinion amongst ministers, and now Dumouriez read a detailed account of the negotiations with Austria, and then Louis, who looked jaded and anxious, stated that he had followed the recommendations of the assembly, and of many of his subjects, in various parts of France, in these negotiations, and, as they had heard the results, he put it to the assembly whether they could any longer submit to see the dignity of the French people insulted, and the national security threatened. The speech was received with loud acclamations and cries of "Vive le Roi!" The president said they would deliberate, and the result was that a decree was passed resolving upon war. This resolve the assembly justified by the declaration that the emperor of Austria had concerted with

the emigrants and foreign princes to threaten the peace and the constitution of France; that he had refused to abandon these views and proceedings, and reduce his army to a peace establishment, as demanded of him by a vote of the 11th of March of this year; that he had declared his intention to restore the German princes by force to the possessions they had held in Alsace, although the French nation had never ceased to offer them compensation; and that, finally, he had closed the door to all accommodation by refusing to reply to the dispatches of the king.

The decree of the assembly was received by the galleries with loud cries of "Vive la Guerre!" "Vive la Liberté—Mort aux Tyrans!" and then Condorcet rose and read a long paper, endeavouring to prove that the French were not violating the article of their constitution which bound them not to become aggressors in war; that this war was forced on them by the acts of the foreign despots; and that they had no alternative—although it is a fact that Dumouriez had, at the very time that he and the king communicated the message from Austria, a subsequent message, in which Austria offered to depart from this apparent ultimatum, and had sent it by an agent empowered to treat on a different basis. Condorcet avowed the bold opinion that France had a right to do whatever it pleased with Alsace and Avignon; and he denied indignantly that Louis was a prisoner on the sophistical plea that he was only prisoner to the laws which to break was treason—as if these very laws had not been made in open violence to the king's free will and consent. Vergniaud recommended that this great event should be celebrated by a new oath and by a great national festival.

A festival, however, had been held only five days before in the Champ de Mars, calculated to stamp contempt and infamy on national festivals in any country except France. It had been a festival in honour of mutiny amongst the national troops, and of those members of citizens of a different political opinion—a festival calculated to destroy the last principles of order in the community. It was a part of that policy of the jacobins which had for its object the extirpation of every rank and class in the country but the mere mob, and to leave such men as Robespierre and Marat to rule over this savage and debased herd as dictators. During the last year the jacobins and the royalists, the sworn priests and the unsworn, the officers and their soldiers, had been in continual conflict. At Caen, the two parties attached to the old and new clergy fought in the very cathedral; the quarrel spread to the regular troops and the national guards, and they fought in the streets. There were similar bloody feuds all over La Vendée, amongst the mountains of the south, La Lozère, Hérault, Ardèche, &c. At Mende, a village in La Vendée, there was a sanguinary battle in the square betwixt the national guards and a body of troops sent from Lyons. But the national guard, which was royalist, beat the troops of the assembly by aid of the people of the country round; insulted the emblems of the revolution; hooted the constitution; ransacked the hall of the jacobins, and burnt down the houses of the chief members of the club. At Brest, where jacobinism prevailed, the club exerted itself to raise insurrection amongst the sailors. They attacked M. Lajaie, a captain of a vessel ordered to San Domingo to reduce the negroes to order; nearly killed

and then threw him into prison. At Cambrai, the soldiers rose against the officers, and imprisoned them. Blood flowed everywhere; the clubs seduced the regiments, denounced the generals, and filled the minds of the people with suspicion against the officers. "The officer," says Lamartine, "was a prey to terror; the soldier to mistrust. The premeditated plan of the jacobins and Girondists was to destroy, in concert, this body, that was yet attached to the king; deprive the nobility of their command; substitute plebeians for nobles as officers, and then give the army to the nation. In the meantime, they surrendered it to anarchy and sedition, but finding that the disorganisation was not sufficiently rapid, they wished to sum up in one act the systematic corruption of the army, the ruin of all military discipline, and the legal triumphs of insurrection." This was the secret of arming the whole people with pikes, and of the grand festival which they had just celebrated.

The reader will recollect the mutiny of troops at Nancy, their suppression by Bouillé, and the condemnation of forty-one Swiss soldiers to the galleys by a court-martial of the Swiss regiments. The amnesty proclaimed by the king, for crimes committed during the troubles of the revolution, could not apply to these Swiss; they were condemned by their own authorities, and could alone be released by them. Repeated applications had been made by the ministers to the Helvetican jurisdiction for their liberation in vain. The assembly, therefore, recently had taken upon itself to discharge them. The king had, for a little while, withheld his sanction from this decree, not to offend the Swiss confederation. This was immediately seized on by the jacobins as a crime in the ministers. "The moment is come," exclaimed Manuel, "when one must perish for the safety of all, and that man must be a minister; but they all appear to me nearly equally guilty." "All! all!" vociferated the tribunes. At this moment, Collot D'Herbois announced that the liberated Swiss were free, and advancing to Paris to thank their liberators, and that he would have the honour of presenting these heroes to the assembly. In fact, the jacobinised people all along the road were feting those men, whose only merit was rebelling against their own officers, actually murdering captain Desilles, and proposing to have the chief royalists.

The jacobins of Paris prepared to give these liberated mutineers a grand triumph. In vain did the Feuillants and constitutionalists protest against this insult to all order and government. André Chénier, the poet, Dupont de Nemours, and the poet Roucher, were vehement in condemnation of it: but Robespierre, Collot D'Herbois, the player, and all the jacobins and cordeliers, were equally impatient for it, as a means of increasing the hatred to the higher classes, and of especially damaging La Fayette. Chénier, in his eloquent protest against this scandalous fête, declared them Swiss assassins, and asked, "Is the honour of Paris interested in feting the murderers of our brothers? Is it necessary to invent extravagances capable of destroying every species of government—recognise rebellion against the law—crown foreign satellites for having shot French citizens—an émeute?" The walls of the Palais Royale were covered with placards in honour of this fête, and any counter-placards were torn down by the jacobins. Petition, the

mayor, sanctioned the fête, whilst pretending, in his double-faced way, to preach moderation to the mob. Dupont de Nemours, the friend and counsellor of Mirabeau, published a severe paper on Petion, declaring that Paris was receiving from twelve to fifteen hundred bandits every day ready to seize any occasion of pillage; that the mob of Avignon had broken open the prison of the monster, Jourdan Coupe-tête, who would be at the fête with Mainville and Pégavin, and all the cold-blooded scoundrels, who, in one night, had killed sixty-eight defenceless persons, and violated females before they murdered them.

Petion published a miserable and contemptible apology for his conduct; but the audacious Robespierre mounted the tribune of the jacobins, and exclaimed, "Against whom think you that you have to strive? Against the aristocracy?—No. Against the court?—No: against a general who has long entertained great designs against the people. It is not the national guards that view these preparations with alarm. It is the genius of La Fayette that conspires in the staff. It is the genius of La Fayette that conspires in the municipality. It is the genius of La Fayette that perverts the minds of so many good citizens, who would otherwise be for us. La Fayette is the most dangerous of all the enemies of liberty, because he wears the mask of patriotism." He declared that he had only obtained the command of the French armies to turn them against the revolution. He declared that it was not Bouillé who had crushed these brave Swiss and their fellow-patriots at Nancy, but La Fayette by his hand. This was turning all the pikes and guns of the jacobin mob of France against the head of La Fayette. The monster was already anticipating blood.

At the opening of the sitting of the assembly, a member demanded that the soldiers of Châteauneuf, these Swiss, should be admitted to pay their respects to the legislative body. M. de Jaucourt resisted this with indignation; he declared that it was the way to create universal insurrection. M. Gouviou, who had a brother in the national guards at Nancy, pierced with twenty-five bayonet wounds by these mutineers, demanded whether he was to be condemned to behold the assassins of his brother? In vain; the Swiss were admitted, and Collot D'Herbois presented them, and made an harangue in their honour. Gouviou, scarlet with indignation, quitted the assembly at one door as the Swiss entered by the other, vowing that he would never again enter a place where the murderers of his brother had been welcomed. He applied to the minister of war for a commission in the army of the north, and fell there.

The Swiss entered, attended by the national guard, and filed through the hall, with drums beating and cries of "Vive la nation!" After them marched crowds of people, with tricolour flags and pikes on their shoulders, men and women; then came all the clubs of Paris, displaying before the president the flags of honour given to the Swiss by the departments through which they had just passed; then Gouchon, the agitator of the faubourg St. Antoine, with a red cap on a pike, announced that that faubourg had manufactured ten thousand pikes to defend the liberties of their country. This scene in the parliament of the nation was strange enough, but it was far surpassed on the following

Sunday. This is Lamartine's summary of this unparalleled procession and fête:—

"It was no longer the people of liberty but the people of anarchy in high revel—revolt armed against the laws. For instance:—Mutinous soldiers as conquerors; a colossal galley, an instrument of punishment and shame, crowned with flowers, as an emblem; abandoned women and girls, collected from the lowest haunts of infamy, carrying and kissing the broken fetters of these galley-slaves; forty trophies, bearing the forty names of these Swiss; civic crowns on the names of these murderers of citizens; busts of Voltaire, Rousseau, Franklin, Sidney—the greatest philosophers and most virtuous patriots mingled with the ignoble busts of these malefactors, and sullied by the contact; these soldiers themselves, astonished, if not ashamed of their glory, advancing in the midst of a group of rebellious French guards, in all the glorification of the abandonment of their banners, and the want of discipline. The march closed by a car, imitating in its form the prow of a galley; in this car the statue of Liberty, armed, in anticipation, with the bludgeon of September, and wearing the *bonnet rouge*—an emblem borrowed from Phrygia by some, from the galleys by others. The book of the constitution, carried processionally in this fête, as if the constitution must be present at the homage decreed to those who were armed against the laws; bands of male and female citizens, the pikes of the faubourg, the absence of the civic bayonets, fierce threats, theatrical music, demagogue hymns, derisive halts at the Bastille, the Hôtel de Ville, the Champ de Mars; at the altar of the country vast and multitudinous rounds danced several times by chains of men and women round the triumphal galley, amid the foul chorus of the air of the 'Carmagnole;' embraces more obscene than patriotic between these women and the soldiers, who threw themselves into each other's arms; and, in order to put the copestone on this debasement of the laws, Petion, the mayor of Paris, the magistrates of the people, assisting personally at this fête, and sanctioning this insolent triumph over the laws by their weakness or their complicity. Such was this fête, a humiliating copy of the 14th of July—an infamous parody of an insurrection, which parodied a revolution. France blushed, good citizens were alarmed, the national guard began to be afraid of pikes, the city to fear the faubourgs, and the army herein received the signal of the most perfect disorganisation."

The effect of these diabolical lupercalia was instant all over the kingdom. The rabble and the national guards, awed by the rabble, were in frightful disunion. Whilst the people of Paris were still fêting the rebel Swiss, the people of Marseilles rose on a Swiss regiment, on the plea that it was aristocratic in its feelings, compelled them to lay down their arms, and expelled them from Aix, where they were quartered. Everywhere emissaries were sent from town to town to rouse the people to fall on the sellers of corn and flour, which were scarce. The mayor of Estampes, Simoneau, a bold man, endeavoured to convince the rioters there that this conduct, by terrifying the sellers of grain from the market, would make flour still dearer; but, finding it vain, hoisted the red flag, proclaimed martial law, and advanced against the insurgents at the head of the municipality, but was speedily attacked with pitchforks and guns, and murdered. The

government, which had witnessed the mob fête with amazement, remained helpless and paralysed by this state of national anarchy. The Feuillants, with the hopeless expectation of producing a reaction, on the 3rd of June held a fête of their own in the Champ de Mars. They carried an image of Law, as the jacobins had carried one of Liberty, and, instead of singing hymns and burning incense to that goddess, they sang hymns and burnt incense before a bust of the murdered mayor of Estampes. It was like a poor burlesque of the popular festival, and, instead of reaction, produced only further exasperation.

Such was the state of things at the moment that war was about to burst abroad, and to deluge all Europe with long years of bloodshed and misery. Dumouriez had no sooner come into office than he laid down a great military plan. He proposed that wherever France extended to what he called her natural limits—that is, to the Rhine, the Alps, the Pyrenees, and the sea—they should act only on the defensive; but in the Netherlands, where the territory did not extend to the Rhine, and in Savoy, where it did not extend to the Alps, there they should act on the offensive, and carry France to what he called its boundaries by the genuine laws of nature. This plan was adopted. There were three French armies stretching across the north-west frontiers. Rochambeau lay with his division of forty thousand infantry and eight thousand cavalry between Dunkirk and Philipville; Luckner lay on the Rhine, between Weissenbourg and Basle, with nearly as strong a force; and La Fayette occupied the central position between Philipville and Weissenbourg with forty-five thousand infantry and seven thousand cavalry. As Rochambeau was old and ill-disposed, La Fayette was intrusted with the invasion of the Netherlands. The Austrians had only thirty thousand men in Belgium, and La Fayette was to make a dash on that division of the Netherlands. To enter at Namur, and push on for Liege, which would make him complete master of the Netherlands, La Fayette was to be strengthened by a reinforcement of thirty thousand infantry, so that he would be seventy-five thousand strong before the emperor could advance to his attack. The plan was for La Fayette to march from Givet on Namur, at the same time that a division of his army of ten thousand men, under general Biron, should march upon Mons, where Beaulieu, the Austrian general, was posted with only two thousand five hundred men. On the same day, major-general Theobald Dillon was to advance with three thousand six hundred men from Lille, in Tournay, and to surprise that place. The French calculated on the Belgian population, which had been strongly inoculated with the spirit of the revolution. The two smaller divisions were punctual in their movements; but La Fayette, instead of marching simultaneously, remained strengthening himself in his position at Givet. General Biron set out from Valenciennes, and, on the 29th of April, crossed the Belgian frontiers, and the next day marched towards Mons. But no sooner did the French cavalry come in sight of some light troops, said only to amount to about five hundred men, than they fled, crying that they were betrayed. Beaulieu's horse pursued and captured Biron's baggage and military chest. On the very same day, Dillon's division, on their march from Lille

to Tournay, fled, with the very same cry, from nine hundred Austrians who had issued from Tournay. The French officers found all endeavours, in both cases, to rally their men in vain; and Dillon was murdered by his own men on re-entering Lille with a lieutenant-colonel and an unsworn priest. La Fayette, hearing this strange news, did not venture to quit Givet.

The news of this astonishing cowardice of the soldiery caused great consternation in Paris. La Fayette and Rochambeau wrote complaining of Dumouriez and the Gironde ministry; the Girondists accused the jacobins of inciting the troops to this conduct; and the jacobins blamed the incompetence of the Gironde. De Grave, the minister of war, a young man of no ability, who had acted under the councils of Dumouriez, threw up his post, which was taken by Servan, who was in league with madame Roland against Dumouriez. All parties blamed La Fayette, who had boasted of hastening to Liege, and there giving the law to the Netherlands and to Austria. The jacobins loudly vociferated that nothing better could be expected from confiding an army to officers who were not patriots. This was the very thing which the jacobins had all along been preaching against; this was at the bottom of the fête to the insurgent Swiss, and of the arming of the people with pikes. The simultaneous flight of two French forces in different places, with the cry of being betrayed, told plainly enough that it was the work of the jacobins. It was an occurrence that appeared completely to justify all the speeches of Robespierre on the war. And now, indeed, Marat, in his paper of the 3rd of May, told the soldiers and the people that he had, six months before, assured them that this would be the case; that the generals, all varlets of the court, would betray the nation, and deliver up the frontiers; and he proposed that all the generals should be hanged. One member of the assembly moved that Marat should be proceeded against, for this atrocious proposition, by the assembly; and another that Royon, editor of the *Ami du Roi*, a Feuillant paper, should be proceeded against for his denunciations of the jacobins.

There was an internecine war amongst the factions. Carra, the Girondist editor, charged the ex-minister Montmorin and Molleville, as being in league with a certain secret Austrian committee in the palace for the betrayal of the country; and he declared that he had his information from three members of the assembly, Merlin, Bazire, and Chabot, who were also members of the committee of research, and also active members of the cordelier and jacobin clubs. The accused ex-ministers cited Carra before the juge-de-peace, Larivière, to make good his charges; and this magistrate arrested Merlin, Bazire, and Chabot; but these men pleaded their inviolability as members of the assembly, and were released. Larivière was then summoned before the assembly for daring to arrest members of the assembly; and he declared before that body that he had only acted according to the forms of his office; and he added that he could trace no secret committee in the Tuilleries, that he had examined madame de Lamballe and other persons, and was satisfied that the whole was an empty and malicious report. The bold and honest magistrate was committed to the prison at Orleans to be tried by the high



"SANS CULOTTES" DANCING THE "CARMAGNOLE."

court there, for having infringed the privileges of the assembly, in the persons of its members; and he was massacred in prison in September, with the other prisoners.

Larivière being removed out of the way, Brissot and Gensonné pledged themselves to prove the existence and pernicious doings of the Austrian committee. They promised proofs, but they produced none but mere garbled scraps of the letters of the ex-ministers; and they demanded a decree of accusation against the late ministers, Montmorin, Molleville, and Duport. But, before this decree could be drawn up, the attention of the assembly was called to a report from the committee of research, that there had been a great burning of mysterious papers in a furnace of a china manufacturer at Sevres, belonging to the king. It was stated that, on the 26th of May, M. Laporte, treasurer to the civil list, had paid an unexpected visit to the china manufactory, and that, in the afternoon of the same day, there arrived fifty-two bales of papers, which had been consumed in the furnace. Merlin immediately declared that it was probable that these papers were from the correspondence of the secret Austrian committee. M. Laporte was immediately summoned before the assembly, and he stated that not fifty-two but thirty bales of paper had been burned by his order; that they were merely the edition of a life of a notorious woman, madame de la Mothe, which had been bought up as obscene, and which he thought it better for public morals should be destroyed; that the work had nothing to do with the question of liberty. M. Regnier, director of the works, and several workmen, were examined; but they had not read any of the papers, which they said appeared to be all printed like a book. The simple facts of this burning we have from madame Campan. She says that the king had indeed many private papers and letters which would compromise many persons, if found. He had, therefore, a closet made in an inner corridor of his apartments, by a locksmith, who had worked for him for more than ten years, but who was yet secretly a traitor; that the opening into this closet was so coloured as to look like the rest of the wall. But madame Campan, suspecting the locksmith, informed the queen, and advised her to warn the king. Accordingly, a portfolio of the most dangerous papers was taken out, and committed to the keeping of madame Campan. Amongst these papers was one showing that the king had expressed to his council a strong opinion against the war. There were others, which the queen thought would be fatal to the king should he be brought to trial, and these papers be found. But the papers burnt at Sevres, madame Campan says, like M. Laporte, were a scandalous life of madame de la Mothe, the woman who had been so infamously mixed up with the affair of the diamond necklace. This life was full of vile calumnies against Marie Antoinette. It was printed in London by a Mr. Robinson, and sent over to Paris to be sold. The publisher there offered the whole edition, through a priest, to the queen, who refused to buy it up. Whilst madame Campan was telling Marie Antoinette at dinner what had now taken place about this scandalous book in the assembly, she says, "The king blushed, and hung down his head over his plate. The queen said, 'Do you know anything of this, sir?'

The king made no answer. Madame Elizabeth begged him to explain the meaning of this. Still he kept silence. I quickly withdrew. In a few minutes, the queen came to me, and told me that it was the king who, out of tenderness for her, had caused the whole edition printed from the manuscript which had been offered to her, to be bought up, and that M. de Laporte could not devise any more secret way of annihilating the work than to cause it to be burnt at Sevres, among two hundred workmen, of whom, at least, one hundred and eighty were jacobins."

Such was the simple cause of all this alarm. But the assembly made the most of it. Bazire, one of the members who had been arrested by Larivière, declared that the assembly and the country were in danger; that he would prove that the constitutional guard allowed to the king had been corrupted by the introduction of unsworn priests, servants of the expelled aristocrats, and men who had been with the emigrants at Coblenz; that they were not to be trusted; that there was a design to carry off the king, and that it was intended to be done whilst the people were celebrating the fête of liberty; that the city guard ought to be doubled every night, and that the mayor should be ordered to report every morning the state of the city. The assembly declared itself in permanent session.

The scenes which now took place in this permanent session were of a kind which exceeded almost every thing which had been seen in that place since the revolution began. The jacobins and Girondists appeared mad with fury against the constitutionalists, and with the thirst of blood. The Girondists were unconsciously sharpening the axe of the guillotine for their own necks by joining Robespierre, Danton, and Marat, in sowing the most deadly suspicions. Pétion, on the 29th of May, made his first report to the assembly; declared that plots were rife amongst their enemies in the heart of Paris, and he called on them to intimidate their foes by severe measures. Bazire declared the king's guard rotten with aristocracy and anti-revolution. He demanded the impeachment of the duc de Brancas, the commander of the guard, who had dared, he said, to put a cock and a royal crown on the hilts of the men's swords. The aristocrat officers, he said, had shouted, "The Austrians have taken Valenciennes. Bravo! They will be in Paris in fifteen days, and we will meet them with the white flag, the king's own colour!" He added that they had been trying to corrupt a number of young guardsmen, and induce them to join the emigrants at Coblenz; amongst them, Joachim Murat, the son of the post-master and milk-keeper of La Bastede, near Cahors. This Murat was destined to become the king of Naples. Whilst Bazire was making these declarations, some soldiers from the Invalides appeared at the bar of the house, and accused M. Sombreuil, the governor of the Hôtel des Invalides, of having given some very suspicious orders—namely, that the soldiers on guard round the Hôtel at night should give up their posts to the king's guards or the national guards, and that it was plain that it was meant to massacre all the patriots in Paris. Though the very idea was atrocious—the king's guard not reaching two thousand men, and the national guards of Paris and places adjacent exceeding a hundred thousand, with half a million of armed people to

support them—the assembly and the galleries went into a paroxysm of fury indescribable. The shouting and stamping were tremendous. A fierce debate ensued. A crowd of patriots, armed with pikes, with red nightcaps stuck on them, came in, with drums beating and flags flying, swearing they would stand to the death in defence of the assembly. M. Sombreuil was summoned to the bar, and interrogated in a most insulting style. He replied that the simple cause of his order was to maintain a guard round the hospital, because its chapel had been entered and sacrilegiously robbed of its plate; but that, wishing to avoid any collision with the national guard or the king's guard, he had commanded that, if by any chance any of these came that way, the guard should retire into the court. The assembly seemed to doubt about the robbery, and asked why he put a guard around the place without orders from his superiors. Sombreuil replied that, had he put them there a little sooner, he might have saved the plate from the scoundrels of Paris, whom he described as of unexampled audacity. He was ordered to withdraw; but the unfortunate Brissac, the commander of the royal guard, was, on the motion of Bazire, which was supported by the Girondists, Guadet, Vergniaud, Gensonné, and others, ordered to be sent to the prison of Orleans, where he was, like so many others, massacred in September. The Girondists were as fierce for denunciations of all persons opposed to them as Robespierre himself. Guadet declared that "suspicions were enough to justify a decree of accusation against any citizen." Fatal words! which he and his colleagues must have reflected on bitterly when they themselves, the victims of these suspicions, were on their way to the guillotine. Spies were now in full employment, and the armed rabble surrounded daily the Tuileries, singing "Ca ira," and dancing the "Carmagnole." The king shed tears when the duke de Brissac was dragged to prison. He had more cause to weep for himself and his family.

On the 31st of May the assembly terminated its permanent session. During this rabid period, it had dissolved the king's guard; but with the view of keeping up the alarm, the Girondist Vergniaud declared that they were only dispersed through Paris to spread disaffection, thus pointing them out to the suspicions and pikes of the patriots. Nor did the assembly separate without passing terrible decrees against treachery and cowardice in the army, and against all persons taking up their residence in Paris without passports. Every inn-keeper or lodging-house keeper was forbidden, under severe penalties, to take in any one without such passport; and every one was bound to furnish lists of the inmates of their houses.

In the jacobin club Robespierre continued his exertions to destroy La Fayette, against whom he had a mortal hatred, and to drive every man of any birth or station out of the army. He inserted a discourse delivered at the jacobin club in his newspaper, "On the Means of Making War Successfully." This was not only to purge the French army of everything aristocratic, but to circulate the rights of man amongst the Belgians and Germans, by which these nations might be induced to rise against those classes, and exterminate them; and then the common people would fraternise with the common people of France. A more

monstrous doctrine never issued from the mind of man. Camille Desmoulins and others heaped the most deadly accusations on La Fayette.

The jacobins then commenced open war on the Girondists. Tallien denounced citizen Roland. St. Hurugue declared that the Girondists were corrupting the clubs by giving government places to their members; and Robespierre supported this by saying that not even the members of the mother society had been proof against these seductions. The club demanded measures not only against the Gironde, but against the unsworn priests; and Legendre, a butcher, recommended to send them out in flat-bottomed boats to sea and sink them. This was doubtless the fruitful idea afterwards adopted, of drowning priests and others in flat-bottomed boats in the Seine. Robespierre, finally, denounced the Girondists as the greatest curse of France, and singled out by name especially Brissot, Condorcet, Guadet, Vergniaud, Gensonné, the Rolands, and others. He asserted that, by their corruptions since in office, they had done more to deprave the public mind, to damage the revolution, and to restore despotism and aristocracy, than all the royalists together.

At this moment the Girondists hit upon a measure which, by a singular blindness, put a weapon into the hands of the jacobins, and sealed their own destruction. They proposed, through Servan, the minister of war, to form a federal camp a little to the north of Paris, by having five federalists sent up from every canton of France, who should meet in the Champ de Mars on the 14th of July, the anniversary of the taking of the Bastille. This camp would, at least, amount to twenty thousand men. The jacobins, in an astonishment of joy, rapturously caught at this proposition, for they knew that every man of this body must be a red-hot jacobin. The motion was carried immediately. Dumouriez, who had not been consulted on the proposal, was thunderstruck; he assured the king and council that not twenty thousand, but forty thousand jacobins would obey the summons; that the consequence would be the destruction of the Girondists, and, ere long, of the throne. The Girondists now saw their error; but it was too late. Dumouriez told the king that, being passed by the assembly, there was nothing for it but to sign it; and also a decree, which followed on its heels, for the banishment of all the unsworn priests. Louis hung back in alarm; and at this instant, Roland committed another gross absurdity, by reading to the king, in full council, a letter, really drawn up by madame Roland. In this letter—which Roland had three days before privately sent to the king, assuring him that it should remain known only to themselves—he told the king that it was useless endeavouring to withhold his assent to the two decrees, and that the revolution would be completed in blood, if not prevented by measures still possible. The king was highly incensed at the conduct of Roland, and at the tone of the letter. He immediately dismissed Roland, Clavières, and Servan, retaining Dumouriez, Lacoste, and Duranthon, and appointing Morgues as minister of the interior, and Beaulieu for the finances. Roland, to fill up the measure of his folly and his treachery to the king, wrote to the assembly announcing his dismissal from the ministry, and inclosing his letter to Louis. The letter was read amid the acclamations of the

assembly, was ordered to be printed and circulated throughout France, and it was decreed that Roland, Clavières, and Servan retired from the ministry amid the regrets of the nation. Such was the end of the Gironde cabinet, and such the ominous condition of France at the midsummer of 1792.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE REIGN OF GEORGE III.—(Continued.)

Louis XVI. refuses to sanction the Edicts for a Federate Camp, and for the Banishment of the Priests—Dumouriez resigns, announcing the Plot to dethrone the King—La Fayette writes to the Assembly, calling on it to put down the Jacobins—The Jacobins and Girondists determine to destroy both La Fayette and the Monarchy—Attack on the Tuileries on the 20th of June—Schemes for the Flight of the King—The Assembly pronounces the Country in Danger—Louis dispatches a Secret Letter to hasten the March of the Austrians and Prussians—Temporary Reconciliation of the Jacobins and Girondists—The King visits the Assembly—Progress of Mob Law—La Fayette goes to Paris, and, in the Assembly, announces the Necessity of putting down the Clubs—Vain Attempt of La Fayette to do this.

THE Roland or Gironde ministry being dismissed by Louis XVI., with the exception of Dumouriez, Lacoste, and Duranthon, Dumouriez was made war minister, Morgue, a protestant, of Montpellier, minister of the home department and *pro tempore* minister of finance, and Naillac, minister for foreign affairs. Dumouriez immediately presented himself before the assembly, and reproached the ex-minister, Servan, with having ordered the levy of no less than two hundred and forty thousand men, without taking any proper measures for arming and equipping them; he also severely blamed the assembly for taking no active orders for suppressing mutiny and mob rule. He declared that instead of having on the frontiers a well-disciplined and trustworthy army, the troops were corrupted by the clubs, and disorderly from lack of enforced subordination. He declared this dangerous state of things to be the fault of the officers, and previously of the assembly. Such a speech was not made without violent opposition, and cries of "Send him to Orleans!" "So much the better," replied Dumouriez, "for I shall then take the mineral baths there, and the milk diet, of which I stand in need, and shall have rest." He quitted the assembly with a smiling countenance, showing the utmost carelessness of the furious menaces of the *côté gauche*.

Dumouriez was immediately attacked by the jacobins and Girondists, in the journals, with charges of having peculated the public money. He had demanded, and received, six millions of livres, on accepting office, as secret service money. Brissot and others declared that he had spent the greater part of this large sum in his secret pleasures, and in extravagant living. Dumouriez, like most Frenchmen, had a mistress, madame Beauvert, the sister of count Rivarol, a royalist, and it was asserted that he had not only spent a great part of this money on her, but had, through her connections, allowed the plans of reform to be revealed to the royalists, and so counteracted by them. Dumouriez replied that the simple fact was, that the bulk of this money was yet actually untouched, but that he had offended the Girondists by depositing it in the hands of M. Amelet, the keeper of the national treasure, instead, as they wished, of placing it with their partisan, Bidermann, the banker. He also turned the tables on Brissot, by affirming that he and

his party were only incensed because they had not been allowed to appropriate the whole of this sum; and he declared that he would soon publish a statement of the payments, and the names of those who had received them. Brissot defied Dumouriez to do so; but other and more startling matters speedily drove this question from the public attention, driving Dumouriez also from office. No sooner did that general return to the Tuileries from the assembly, than the king congratulated him on his triumphant defeat of the Gironde. But Dumouriez replied that the triumph would not be complete unless the king at once conceded his sanction to the two decrees ordering the federate camp near Paris and the banishment of the unsworn priests. Louis refused peremptorily, and even angrily, saying, "Do not think, sir, that I am to be terrified by menaces; my resolution is fixed!"

Dumouriez immediately resigned, and all the ministers with him, except Duranthon and Lacoste. In their stead succeeded a number of Feuillants or moderates, Lagard, Chambonas, Terrier de Mont-Cile, men of no mark or consideration, but friends of La Fayette, were appointed. This took place on the 17th of June; and the very next day a letter was presented to the assembly and read from La Fayette himself. It was written from his camp, and called on the assembly to put down with a firm hand the tyranny of clubs and mobs, which he declared was become intolerable, and had scarcely left a remnant of liberty in France. This letter raised a most terrible commotion. The assembly was furious. The Girondists were beside themselves. Vergniaud declared that such language could not be allowed in the commander of an army to the assembly. He must be dismissed. Guadet pronounced La Fayette to be treading exactly in the steps of Cromwell; he was aiming at the destruction of all liberty by the assumption of a military dictatorship. He pointed out that the letter spoke of the dismissal of Dumouriez, and yet that dismissal could not be known at the frontier at the date of that letter. The signature must have been affixed to a *carte blanche*, and filled up in Paris by his partisans, or else some calumniator of La Fayette must have forged his name. He demanded that the letter be submitted to the committee of twelve for examination. The committee pronounced the signature genuine; and the assembly declared that there was no longer a constitution, if the general of an army could dictate laws to it.

Robespierre and the ultras were in ecstasies at this step of La Fayette's. They saw that it would rouse all the passions of the clubs and of the mob, and precipitate, not only his destruction, but that of the throne—the object of their deadliest desire. Robespierre, in the jacobin club and in his paper, opened afresh his implacable hatred of La Fayette. He heaped upon him every term of reproach—he called him coward, traitor, intriguing, dictator. He declared that the assembly must destroy him, or be destroyed itself. Brissot, Condorcet, Murat, Desmoulins, all the bloodthirsty tribe of journalists and club orators, joined in the murderous cry. There was a universal stir and agitation throughout the faubourgs of Paris. Pétion, the mayor of Paris, whose business it should have been to take all possible measures for keeping order, on the other hand, was calling together the most violent red republicans—Santerre, the brewer; Le-

gendre, the butcher; Chabot, Harague, and others—to hold meetings in different quarters of the city. At these meetings they called on all the citizens to be ready, with their pikes and other arms, on the 20th, to celebrate the anniversary of the Jeu de Paume, by presenting a memorial to the assembly and another to the king; by erecting a Mai, or maypole, the Tree of Liberty, on the terrace of the Feuillants, and by other acts of demonstration. A demand for this fête was made to the commune, but Petion did not make any communication to the assembly, or even to the departmental directory, till the 18th. The directory, on receiving his communication, immediately issued an order forbidding any such meeting on the 20th, and enjoined Petion and the national guards to do everything possible to prevent it. On the next day, the 19th, the directory informed the assembly of the proposed demonstration on the morrow, and Barbaroux, at the head of a deputation of citizens of Marseilles, appeared at the bar of the house, and demanded that the patriotic men of the south should be summoned in arms to Paris; that the revolution was in danger from traitors, and that it must be finished and forever established. The proposal was received with acclamations, and thus another measure of the jacobins and Girondists was accomplished. Barbaroux had been put on this movement by them and Petion. Petion—now called the virtuous Petion—and Robespierre made up their differences, and thus all the instigators of mob rule were, for the moment, combined for a great blow at the monarchy.

Amid the cheering for Barbaroux's proposition, the letter of the departmental directory was introduced. Jacobins and Girondists united to oppose its being read. In this they failed; but they succeeded in inducing the assembly to pass to the order of the day, and thus Paris was left to the mercy of the furious populace, without any preparations for the defence of the palace and the royal family.

That night Petion, instead of being engaged in taking measures to insure the peace of the city the next day, hastened to the house of Santerre, the brewer, in the Faubourg St. Antoine, where soon arrived Robespierre, Manuel, procureur-syndic of the commune; Sillery, the husband of madame Genlis; Alexandre, commandant of the Faubourg St. Marceau; Legendre, the butcher; Sergent and Panis, whose names, at a later period, were connected with a terrible event; Rossignol, a journeyman goldsmith, of rabid republican character, and others of the same stamp. There were numbers of desperate jacobins, too, summoned by Santerre from the neighbouring towns and villages. At midnight Petion wrote to the directory, soliciting it to authorise the assemblage by permitting the national guards to receive the citizens into its own ranks. The directory replied, at five o'clock in the morning, to this extraordinary demand, by refusing it. Petion then, according to his own statement, doubled the guard at the Tuileries; but he did nothing more, and he knew very well that the majority of these guards would not lift a hand against the people. Chabot went and harangued the section of the Quinze-Vingts, and declared that the assembly was waiting for them with open arms.

At dawn of day the drums beat in the Faubourgs St. Antoine and St. Marcel; these districts were all in commo-

tion, and at eight o'clock they were formed into column. At about eleven Santerre put himself at their head, attended by a strong force of invalids, and the march commenced towards the Tuileries. This sans-culotte army was interspersed with women and children, uttering ferocious cries, and nearly all were armed with pikes or other weapons. They carried standards, bearing many such mottoes as "Tremble, tyrants: the sans-culottes are coming!" "Down with all tyrants!" One standard consisted of a pair of black silk breeches extended on a pole, with the motto, "Without breeches, but free!" A bullock's heart was carried on a pike, to represent an aristocrat's heart. And this was the style in which Frenchmen in 1792 pretended to be on their way to present a petition to the assembly.

Before they reached that body, Roederer, the procureur-syndic of the department, entered, and warned the members of the style in which this armed rabble was approaching. He reminded them of the laws enacted against armed assemblages, and of the standing resolution not to admit more than twenty to present petitions, and entreated them to close their doors. But the jacobins and Girondists declared that, as they only wanted to present a petition, they ought to be received with all respect. Vergniaud contended that this was not the first time that armed petitioners had not only been received, but allowed to file through the hall, and that they could not, on this occasion, be excluded. Dumas opposed their admission, as tending to establish a monstrous abuse, and render both the king and assembly the merest slaves in the eyes of all Europe. But the mob was already at the door, with fierce shouting and beating of drums. A letter was hauled in by Santerre to the president, stating that the petitioners wanted to be admitted to the bar of the assembly to confront their calumniators, and prove themselves still the men of the 14th of July, 1789. Vergniaud urged their immediate admission, saying they were uneasy about the future, and wanted to show that they were ever ready to defend it. There were cries of, "They are only eight thousand in number!" To which Calvet replied, "And we are only seven hundred and forty-five!" But the debate was cut short by the noisy crowd bursting into the hall, with Santerre and Harague at its head, with drawn swords in their hands. Santerre then read, in a loud voice, the petition, which was couched in the most insolent and violent terms. It complained of the perfidious chateau of the Tuileries, of the dismissal of the patriot ministers, Roland, Servan, and Clavières; of the inaction in the armies on the frontiers; and it denounced revenge and the death of all traitors. It justified its proceedings by the second article of the Declaration of the Rights of Man, commanding resistance to oppression: called for the guillotine, and intimated that "the people would be obliged to take the sword of the law into their own hands, and exterminate, by one terrible blow, not only all the state prisoners, but all those who would not execute the laws upon them."

This bloodthirsty petition was loudly applauded by the assembly, and then the sovereign mob filed through the hall, thirty thousand men, women, and children, so that the place was not clear of them till four o'clock in the afternoon. As they left the assembly, they marched to the Place

du Carrousel, and there collected for an assault on the palace. They marched along by the railing inclosing the court of the Tuileries, with the so-called heart of the aristocrat on the pike. Seeing all the gates closed, and battalions of national guards drawn up within, they marched round to the front of the palace in the gardens. There they saw detachments of national guards, extending from the Feuillants to the river. They had intended to plant their tree of liberty on the terrace of the Feuillants; but the appearance of the troops prevented them. Searching all the side gates in vain for entrance, the king at length ordered the garden-gate to be opened to them. They rushed in,

Santerre, who had staid some time behind at the assembly, arrived, and assured them that the municipal guards were secretly their friends. He assured them that, if they would not open the gate, he would blow it open with the piece of cannon they had dragged thither.

As for defence within, there was no body of troops that could be depended upon. A number of the king's friends, of the aristocratic class, had flocked to the palace, as on the day of poignards; but the king had feared that their presence might excite a repetition of the outrages of that day, and had prevailed on most of them to go away again. Almost every regiment well disposed to the king had, on one



PALACE OF THE TUILERIES, PARIS, IN THE REIGN OF LOUIS XVI.

and they filed off under the windows of the palace, before the national guards, but without making any hostile demonstrations, only crying, "Down with the veto! The sans culotte for ever!" They then moved off by the garden-gate leading to the Pont Royal, along the quay, and through the wickets of the Louvre to the Place du Carrousel again. This place, now so spacious, was then intersected by numerous streets. Instead of that immense court, extending from the body of the palace to the gate, and from one wing to the other, there were small courts separated by walls and houses. Ancient wickets opened from each of them into the Carrousel. They crowded round the royal gate, but were refused entrance. Some of the municipal officers addressed them, and had just prevailed on them to retire, when

pretence or other, been sent by the assembly to a distance from the capital. It was hoped that the gendarmes and the national guards would stand firm, but it was soon found that they were resolved not to fire on the people. No sooner was the mob aware of this, than the "ça ira" was struck up, the Carmagnole was danced, and, on the repeated demand for entrance, about five o'clock two municipal officers suddenly threw open the gates. The crowd streamed in, and, Santerre and the cannon at their head, made for the door of the palace. A number of respectable citizens, surrounding Santerre, endeavoured to persuade him not to force an entrance, assuring him that he should be held responsible for it. Santerre appeared for a moment alarmed; but, encouraged by the butcher Legendre, he exclaimed, "Gentle-



THE POPULACE COMPELLING LOUIS XVI. TO ADOPT THE "RED CAP."

men, bear witness that I refuse to go into the king's apartments." But the crowd well understood what this meant; they pushed on Santerre, by their mass, before them; they poured into every part of the palace, dragged their piece of cannon up the main staircase, and commenced a furious attack with bayonets and butt-ends of pikes on the doors closed against them. The door to the room in which Louis was, he ordered to be opened, and advanced boldly to meet the in-rushing multitude, followed by the old marshal de Mouchy Aelouque, *chef de bataillon* M. de Bougainville, and others. The officers of the national guards present also closed around him to defend him. "What is it you want?" demanded Louis, calmly; and, at sight of him, some of the fiercest ruffianflies recoiled, but they were soon forced forward again by the throng behind, and Louis was carried forcibly back into the room. De Bougainville commanded some grenadiers, who entered at a side door, to form between his majesty and the mob; and, conducting the king to an embrasure of a window, they made a barricade, in front of him, with benches and tables. "Sire," said one of the grenadiers, "fear nothing!" Taking the man's hand, and placing it on his heart, Louis said, "Feel whether I fear." The fact was that Louis XVI. had no want of personal courage; had he had as much moral courage and promptitude, he would never have been reduced to this situation. The queen, who was with the children in an adjoining apartment, could not reach the king before he was thus imprisoned by the mob, and continued in a state of extreme alarm; but the princess Elizabeth, who was present, endeavoured to rush to her brother to reassure him. The mob mistook her for the queen, and assailed her with a volley of the most terrible curses and epithets. "Let them think it is the queen," said this courageous and devoted woman, "so that she may have time to escape!" Not being able to reach the king, and being surrounded on all sides by the ferocious mob, the grenadiers, assisted by the courtiers, made an effort, and succeeded in getting her into the council chamber, where the queen and children were. There, placed in an embrasure of a window, like the king, these ladies, and the princess Lamhalle, the princess Tarente, and three other ladies, remained imprisoned during this fearful scene. A grenadier handed to the queen a tricolour cockade, which she placed in her cap, and which probably saved her life.

Meantime, the king was surrounded by the infuriated patriots, shouting, "No veto!" "no priests!" "no aristocrats!" One of these fellows poked at the king a red night-cap on the point of a pike, the symbol of liberty. Louis took it, and put it on his head; and, to appease the rabid mass, joined in the cry of "Vive la liberté!" "Vive la nation!" shouted they, and Louis cried, "Yes; vive la nation! I am its best friend!" The heat and stench of the chamber, from the dense press of so unclean a multitude, and from the hot weather, were overwhelming. Louis complained of it, and a man handed him a bottle of wine that he had brought with him. Though he had long lived in fear of being poisoned, he took a good draught—to the health of the nation. This produced a burst of loud applause. But this was lost for a moment; a tall man mounted on a table in front of the king, and began a fierce harangue, every word

of which was violent accusation. He demanded, in the name of the hundred thousand souls which surrounded him, that the patriot ministers should be instantly recalled; that the decrees against the priests, and for the camp of twenty thousand men, near Paris, should be sanctioned. Louis, standing on a chair, assured them that he would do everything that was proper, but that was not the place or manner of expressing his consent. He would stand by the constitution. This only produced a fresh torrent of threats from butcher Legendre and others, who told him, that, if he did not instantly yield his assent, he should perish.

In this most humiliating and perilous condition Louis continued for more than two hours, when mayor Petion arrived, and affirmed that he had only just learned the situation in which the king was. Louis replied, "That is very astonishing, for I have been in this situation these two hours." Every one who has attended to this narrative, and has seen Petion preparing all the steps of this outrage, must be astonished at the deliberate falsehood of the man. He had held very different language as he crossed the court to the palace. Addressing the mob, he said, "The eighty-three departments will follow your example; the king will not be able to avoid acquiescing in the manifest will of the people." When in the presence of the king, and an eye and ear witness of the violent insult, and menace used towards him, Petion did nothing. Some of the constitutionalists present told him to look to his conduct, for he would be called to account for it. He then warned them that they had come to petition, and the petition having been read, amid the confusion, by Huguenin, he desired them to depart, lest their enemies should misrepresent their conduct. The assembly now, too—its members having first gone to dinner, well aware of what was doing at the palace—sent a deputation to demand the evacuation of the palace. By the joint efforts of the mayor and these members of assembly, the mob was at length induced slowly to retire; but not before poor Louis had been four mortal hours in that condition of insult and violence. All this time the queen, her ladies, and the children, had been under similar circumstances. The mob had crowded upon them, and vilified them. The most scurrilous and obscene language was applied to the queen. To a woman who was thus casting filth and curses upon her, she asked whether she had ever done her any injury? The jacobins said, "No, but that she was the curse of the nation, and the cause of all its troubles." "You have been told so," said Marie Antoinette; "but you have been deceived. I am the wife of the king of France; I am mother of the dauphin; I am, therefore, a Frenchwoman. Never shall I see my own country again; never can I be happy or unhappy but in France. I was happy when you all loved me." The woman was melted by this appeal; she burst into tears; and she saw that the queen was really a good woman, and went away.

During this terrible time a jacobin had thrust a red cap on the dauphin's head. Santerre, as he was helping to clear the apartment, saw the child smothering under the heat and the cap, and snatched it from his head. These were all the little touches of human nature that marked this cruel scene. So soon as the royal family could meet after the departure of the mob, they sat down, and shed torrents

of tears. The king was so absorbed by the impressions of what had occurred, that he did not perceive that the red cap was still on his head till the queen reminded him of it, when he tore it off, and flung it from him in indignation. Fresh deputies soon arrived from the assembly to learn the state of the palace. The queen went over the house with them, showing them the shattered doors and demolished furniture, and was not sparing of her resentment on this treatment. Merlin de Thionville, one of the staunchest of republicans, was moved to tears by her emotion. "You weep," said the queen, "to see the king and his family treated so cruelly by a people whom he has always wished to render happy." "It is true, madam," replied Merlin, "I weep over the misfortunes of a beautiful, tender-hearted woman, the mother of a family; but do not mistake; there is not one of my tears for the king or the queen; I hate kings and queens! This is the only feeling they inspire me with—this is my religion!"

This Merlin de Thionville, a bailiff and municipal officer from the Moselle, made up with Chabot and Bazire what was called the triumvirate, who, every day through the session, made it a point to denounce the ministers, as Cato denounced Carthage. We shall soon see him again exerting all his influence, spite of the tears he shed to-day, for the destruction of the king.

The next day great indignation existed in the public mind, at least in that portion of it which was not altogether given up to jacobin influence, at the outrage committed upon the palace and the domestic life of the royal family. There was a considerable reaction: it was declared by the constitutional party that it had been an attempt to murder the king. The *Feuillants*, in the assembly, proposed a law against armed petitions, and against suffering armed bodies to file through the hall. This was consented to. M. Davierholdt called for proceedings against the disturbers. "Proceedings," exclaimed a member, "against forty thousand people!" "Well, then," replied the proposer, "if you cannot punish forty thousand men, at least punish the guard which made no defence—at least do something."

Towards evening, there was a fear that the mob were about to renew the scenes of the day before. Rœderer, the procureur syndic, a most active officer of the directory of the department, appeared at the bar of the assembly, and announced that fresh riots were on the eve of breaking out; that a great mob was already collected round the palace. The jacobins and Girondists ridiculed the message, and said, if the king was afraid, let him take refuge again in the assembly. But they had soon evidence that there was plenty of irritation abroad betwixt the opposing parties. The grenadiers of the section Filles St. Thomas, which was an aristocratic quarter, had mounted guard in front of the Tuileries, and kept the gathering mob in awe. As Petion was on his way to the palace to report on the condition of the city, followed by a sans-culotte throng, the grenadiers reproached the mayor for his neglect of yesterday, rattled their muskets on the pavement, and told him they were ready for him and his riotous crew to-day. Very soon a deputation from the portion of national guards that had accompanied Petion demanded a hearing by the assembly, and charged the grenadiers of Filles St. Thomas with insulting the suite of the mayor, pulling the noses of some, and

tripping up the heels of others. Petion very soon appeared himself, and reported that order everywhere prevailed. On this the jacobins cried out that Rœderer had been imposing on the assembly with lies, though it was equally evident that their own friends of the national guards must, in that case, have told a false story too, for they had equally appealed against that disorder which Petion affirmed existed nowhere. The report of Rœderer, however, was soon proved to be true enough; the mob had only been kept in check by the firm aspect of the grenadiers.

In the evening, Petion presented himself before the king, and assured him that there was no cause of alarm: that the people in the morning were not armed, and had only wanted to plant a tree of liberty. The king was naturally full of resentment at the conduct of Petion and the municipality; Petion replied that their proceedings would soon be known. "They ought," said the king, "to be known to all France; that it was a scandal to all France that a mob should be allowed to break open his doors, force his guard, and insult the person of the king and his family." Petion replied that the king ought to know that his person would always be respected. Louis was so incensed at this that he bade Petion, in a loud, angry tone, to hold his tongue. Petion continued to speak. "Be silent!" said Louis. "It befits not the magistrate of the people," said Petion, "to be silent when he does his duty and speaks the truth." "The tranquillity of Paris," said the king, "rests on your head." "I know my duty," replied Petion; "I shall perform it." "Enough, then; go and perform it," cried Louis—"Retire!" With that he turned his back on the mayor, and left him.

The queen, who had witnessed the scene, though apt to speak out smartly herself, was alarmed at this undisguised anger on the part of the king. "Do you not think the king has been very sharp?" she said to Rœderer. "Do you not believe that this will injure him?" Rœderer, evidently to abate her alarm, said the king was very right to bid a man hold his tongue who would speak and would not listen. The royalists lodged a complaint against Petion and the municipality before the departmental directory, accusing them of inciting the mob to attack the palace, instead of preventing them, as was their duty. The directory suspended Petion from his functions as mayor; but the assembly, immediately on hearing Petion at their bar, restored him to the exercise of his powers. Both parties appealed to the public by proclamation. The king, in his proclamation, declared that a multitude, instigated by certain factious persons, had broken, by force of arms, into his house, and grossly insulted his person and office. The proclamation added, "The king has opposed to the threats and the insults of the factions nothing but his conscience, and his love of the public weal. He knows not where the factions will stop, but to whatever excesses they proceed, they shall never wring from him a consent to anything that he deems contrary to the public interest. If those who wish to overthrow the monarchy have need of another crime, they have it in their power to commit it. The king recommends all the administrative bodies and municipalities to provide for the safety of persons and property."

To neutralise the effect of the royal proclamation, Petion

issued another. He assured the public that efforts were making to sow dissension betwixt the armed and the unarmed citizens; that the most innocent meetings of the people were misrepresented, and he warned them to avoid appearing in arms, and to avoid snares that were being laid for them.

These proclamations tended only to render more bitter and determined the two parties to whom they were addressed. The jacobinised portion of the public, of the national guards, the municipalities, and patriot clubs, applauded Petion's proclamation, and were all the more determined to prosecute their designs on the monarchy, but at the same time to keep out of the way of grape-shot as long as possible. They compelled the ministers to go down to the assembly and state what they had done to prevent mischief resulting from the royal refusal to banish the unsworn priests, and to establish the camp of twenty thousand men near Paris. On the other hand, the constitutionalists, whether in the assembly, the national guards, or in the provinces, spoke out strongly on the breach of the laws, and on the outrage to the king. A great number of addresses were sent up from the country in this tone. In Paris, an address of this kind received twenty thousand signatures. From Rouen, Havre, the Ain, the Seine, the Oise, the Pas de Calais, the Aisne, and numerous other districts, poured into the assembly petitions strongly condemning the proceedings of the mob and the apathy of the Paris municipality;—from Arras, Herault, and other places, came petitions excusing and almost approving of them.

But the constitutional party was not content with mere petitions. They consulted with La Fayette, and it was resolved that a decided step should be taken to mark their indignation at the events of the 20th of June. La Fayette felt this indignation deeply, and he was fully prepared to carry out this design. His regiments were in the act of sending up addresses to express their sense of the outrage upon the king; but La Fayette ordered them to be suppressed, assuring his troops that he would go up personally and declare to the assembly his own and their feelings on the subject. He induced marshal Luckner to address a letter to the king, which would support him in his personal proceedings. He then went to Paris, calculating on the cordial co-operation of the court and of the national guards. He arrived on the 28th of June, and the same day presented himself at the doors of the assembly, and requested a hearing. His arrival had already spread wonder and curiosity throughout Paris. He was admitted and welcomed with plaudits by the right side, but with silence by the tribunes and the left.

La Fayette then stated that he had arranged with marshal Luckner for the security and activity of the camp during his absence. He said that his letter of the 16th had been denied to be really his. He was come to assure them that it was his, and to make the sentiments more impressive by his personal affirmation. The outrages of the 20th of June, he said, had excited the deepest indignation both in himself and in his army. The army had been preparing numerous addresses, but he superseded them, by coming voluntarily to make their feelings known to the assembly and the nation. He then called upon the assembly to prosecute the ringleaders of the atrocities of the 20th of June, and he renewed his onslaught on the jacobins and

Girondists, by calling on the assembly to suppress a sect which grasped at the national sovereignty, and whose speeches and journals left no doubt respecting the wickedness of their designs.

The president replied in the usual formal style, "That the assembly would uphold the laws, and would examine his petition." He was invited to the honours of the sitting: whereupon he seated himself on the benches of the right. The jacobins and Girondists, who were not likely to forget or forgive his denunciation of them, cried out that his place was on the bench of the petitioners; and though the right warmly resisted this, La Fayette rose and removed to the petitioners' bench. Guadet, the Girondist, immediately launched a fierce philippic at him. He asked whether the minister at war had given the general leave of absence from his army; and he desired that the extraordinary commission should report on the question, whether a general had a right to address the assembly on a purely political question. It asked if the enemy was vanquished and the country saved, since M. La Fayette could quit his army and resort to Paris. "No!" he exclaimed, answering for himself; "the country is not delivered, and our situation is not changed, yet the general of one of our armies is in Paris!" Raymond defended La Fayette, and moved that his petition should be examined by the extraordinary commission, which, after a violent debate and two divisions, was carried.

La Fayette then proceeded to the palace, where he sought to induce the king and queen to avail themselves of his presence to escape to the army whilst there was time; believing that he could command a sufficient number of the uncorrupted national guards, or of grenadiers of the section Filles St. Thomas, to protect him on the way. He told them that he was come to devote himself to them; but he was received with the utmost coldness. The most abusive expressions were repeated around him amongst the groups of courtiers; the king had the royal family around him, and they declared that they were convinced that there was no safety for them but in the constitution. "Never," says La Fayette, "did Louis appear to express himself with more confidence than on this occasion. He added, that he considered that it would be very fortunate if the Austrians were defeated. It so happened that the king was next day to review four thousand men of the national guard. La Fayette asked permission to accompany him, apprising him, at the same time, of his intention, as soon as his majesty had retired, of addressing the troops. But the court did everything in its power to thwart La Fayette, and Petion, the mayor, countermanded the review an hour before daybreak."

There can be little doubt that the court had apprised Petion of the intentions of La Fayette, in order that he might defeat them. In short, the king and the queen had the utmost suspicion of the general at the moment when he seems to have been sincerely desirous to make reparation for the mischief he had done, by too promptly sending after them to Varennes. Deeply mortified, he retired from the palace to his own house, where he found a detachment of national guards drawn up, who received him with acclamations, and planted a tree of liberty before his door. They kept guard there all night, or, as he himself in his *Memoirs* confesses, the jacobins might have destroyed him, for having

come with the design to destroy them. During the evening and night a considerable body of the leading Feuillants assembled at his house, and it was discussed what was the best to be done. Lally-Tollendal boldly proposed to march with the faithful portion of the national guards against the jacobins—who were, at the same time, assembled in great force at their club, and were sending their emissaries through Paris, to keep the *sans-culottes* on the alert—and to disperse them at the point of the bayonet, wall up the doors of the club, and prevent them reassembling there. The terror that the jacobins were in shows that, had the king been in earnest to escape through the means of La Fayette, and had there been a portion of the national guards devoted enough to the cause, Louis might yet have been saved. But the officers of the more constitutional part of the guards asked the king whether he wished them to support the plans of La Fayette whilst he was in Paris, and he answered, decidedly, "No!" To others who detailed to him La Fayette's scheme, he replied that it would be very good if they could count on the national guards. The court party had, in fact, no faith either in La Fayette or the guards.

Thus disappointed by the court, La Fayette was nevertheless anxious to strike his proposed blow at the jacobins. The following day, the 29th, he proposed that those who were in favour of the design should meet in the evening in the Champs Elysées, but when the time arrived there were only about thirty individuals come. It was clear that there was no party which dared to cope with the jacobins, yet this fierce sect had been terribly alarmed. They had, on the night of the 28th, gone to Danton, entreated him to put himself at their head, and march against La Fayette, by which means they would greatly outnumber the guard, disperse them, and kill the general. Danton refused to co-operate in this assassin work, and the principal jacobins fled and hid themselves. La Fayette remained another day in Paris, clinging to the last hope of prevailing on the king to avail himself of the last opportunity, and, finding that vain, he addressed another letter to the national assembly, enjoining them, with all the energy that he possessed, to extinguish the jacobin and the Gironde factions, who would otherwise extinguish it. He then took his departure for the army.

No sooner did the terrified factionists know of his having left Paris, than they issued in renewed fury from their retreats, knocked down the tree of liberty before his house, and set their *sans-culottes* hordes to burn him in effigy. Nor did they confine themselves to such empty expressions of their malice. They sent after him troops of desperadoes, who would have murdered him on his journey, had he not been accompanied by a strong body of his friends. Failing in this, they dispatched companies to his camp, to preach up mutiny and assassination to his soldiers. At the same time, the jacobins and Girondists opened a fierce outcry against La Fayette in the assembly. Isnard expressed his astonishment that he had not been seized at once at the bar of the house, and committed to the prison at Orleans. Jean Debré brought up a report of the extraordinary committee, recommending a declaration that the country was in danger. Deputations from the sections appeared at the bar, demanding that La Fayette should be seized in the midst of his army as a traitor; that the staff of the national guards—which consisted of

Feuillants and aristocrats—should be disbanded, and that the patriots, with their pikes, should be incorporated with the national guards. Petion, instead of quieting the populace, placarded the walls of Paris with the ominous words:—"Citizens, the storm is preparing!" This roused the mob to fury against La Fayette's party; they were attacked in the streets, and several of them were wounded.

The court alarmed—not without sufficient cause—by the progress of events, instead of attempting to fly, urged the rapid approach of the allied army. The king had dispatched Mallet du Pan as early as May to Vienna, to urge the advance of the Austrians and Prussians. He had recommended the allies to send a proclamation before them, declaring that the allies entered France with peaceable intentions; that they did not attribute the assaults on the king's prerogatives and property to the French nation, but to a lawless faction, whom they called on the well-disposed to assist them in putting down. He desired them to promise the assembling of a congress, where all interests might be adjusted. At the same time, they were to hold the assembly, the municipality, and the officers of the national guards responsible for the safety of the king and his family. It had been well had the allies adopted this wise and moderate tone in the proclamation which they did eventually issue.

In the early part of July it was known at the Tuileries that the Prussians had marched on Coblenz, to the number of eighty thousand men, all old soldiers of the great Frederick, and commanded by the duke of Brunswick, the nephew of Frederick, who had won so much distinction in the seven years' war. Marshal Luckner, not deeming himself strong enough to resist this force, had retired upon Lille and Valenciennes. The court was in high spirits; the queen told her ladies, in confidence, that the allies would be in Paris in six weeks. She had their route, and said that on such a day they would be at Verdun; at such a day at Lille, which they meant to lay siege to. But the news was equally well known to the assembly, though it received no intelligence of the kind from the court. On the 3rd of July Vergniaud announced that the army of the north was in retreat before the Austrians, and that the Prussians were about to burst into France with fire and fury. These armies, he said, declared that they were acting for Louis XVI., and he demanded that the king should be dethroned at once. Condorcet, a few days afterwards, proposed, as necessary measures for the defence of the country, the summoning the confederates to the capital, the impeachment of ministers, the abolition of the civil list, and the reconciliation of the jacobins and the Girondists. This last idea was immediately seized on by Lamourette, the bishop of Lyons. He declared that, if they could only agree amongst themselves, there was nothing else that they need fear. "Oh!" he exclaimed, "he who should succeed in uniting you, that man would be the real conqueror of Austria and of Coblenz! It is daily alleged that, at the point to which things have been carried, your reunion is impossible. It is a calumny; there is nothing irreconcilable but guilt and virtue! Gentlemen, the public weal is in your hands; why do you delay carrying it into operation? What is it that the two factions of the assembly charge each other with? One accuses the other of wishing to modify the constitution by the hands of

foreigners; and the latter accuses the former of wanting to overthrow the constitution and to establish a republic. Well, gentlemen, hurl one and the same anathema against a republic and the two chambers. Devote them to general execration by a last and irrevocable oath. Let us swear to have but one spirit—one sentiment. Let us swear everlasting fraternity. Let the enemy know that what we will, we all will, and the country is saved!"

The effect was instantaneous. All rose up with loud acclamations, swore destruction to any project for changing the constitution, either by two chambers or a republic, and concluded by throwing themselves into each other's arms. Those who attacked and those who defended La Fayette, the veto, the civil list, the factions and the traitors, were all embracing each other. All distinctions ceased; Pastoret and Cordoret, who, the day before, were loading one another with abuse in the public papers, were seen locked in each other's arms; right and left were annihilated; Dumas was beside Basire, Jaucourt next to Merlin, Thonmond to Chabot. Thiers asks, "Could this be a piece of hypocritical acting?" And he replies, "No, certainly not." We, too, say, "No, certainly not;" it is merely another ebullition of French sentiment, as sudden as a flash of lightning, and as evanescent. The same evening, the assembly was informed that the department had suspended Petion and Manuel. Petion, undoubtedly, deserved suspension as well as Manuel. He might certainly have prevented the commotion of the 20th of June, as he afterwards prevented others; but the moment was inauspicious to suspend these magistrates. The reconciliation of the morning was at once at an end. All the passions of the different parties were instantly revived. The king referred the sanction of this suspension to the assembly; the assembly referred it back. The reconciliation was forgotten; petitions poured in demanding the liberation of Petion or death! Grangeneuve, a deputy, who had been insulted demanded the punishment of the perpetrator of the outrage. Brissot, whilst professing regard for the reconciliation, called for the discussion of the question of the forfeiture of the crown. Notwithstanding this, the assembly decreed that all the administrative bodies of Paris, and all the judicial bodies, should be summoned to the bar, to hear of the reconciliation, and to publish it to the citizens. A deputation was dispatched to the Tuileries to inform the king. It returned, saying, the king would come in person to offer his congratulations. The king soon after arrived, attended by all his ministers. He was received with cries of "Vive le Roi!"—it was for the last time. He described what happiness it gave him, and the president replied that it would crush the tyrants that were coalescing against France; and then Louis, who would have dreaded that of all things, had he believed it, returned, amid fresh cries of "Vive le Roi!" and that was the last act of the farce

of reconciliation. That evening the assembly was deafened by the cries of raging crowds who surrounded the house, demanding Petion, and that the president of the directory, who had suspended him, should be sent to Orleans. This ludicrous reconciliation, which scarcely lasted till the members quitted their seats, that day became known as *Lamourette's kiss of peace*, or *Judas's kiss*. The jacobins that evening attacked the reconciliation with their accustomed vigour of animosity. Billaud - Varennes said it reminded him of Nero embracing Germanicus, and Charles IX. giving his hand to Coligny before having him assassinated.

Brissot, on the morrow, denounced ministers in a most murderous speech; and the next day, the 10th of July, the ministers resigned, their lives having been threatened by the mobs who surrounded the assembly. The jacobins and Girondists received the news with thunders of applause; and the next day, the 11th, the assembly pronounced the COUNTRY IN DANGER, and issued an address to the nation, declaring itself in permanent session, calling on all municipal bodies and civil authorities to place themselves in permanent session, and ordered the whole people to arms, in order to resist the tyrants who were invading the country. Such were the instant results of this so-called reconciliation.

Like all bursts of French sentiment, it was immediately followed by fresh proofs of French atrocity. Basire, in the assembly, demanded that all the *juges-de-peace* should be dismissed as aristocrats and royalists in disguise. The federates, whom the late minister had forbidden to approach the capital, were now marching up from all quarters, in spite of this prohibition, and the jacobins and Girondists were encouraging them to come. Various deputations from these federates announced themselves to the assembly, and being admitted, harangued that body in a most republican style. On the 12th, whilst the assembly was arranging the programme of the grand anniversary of the fête of the 14th of July in the Champ de Mars, it was interrupted by several such deputations. One was from Marseilles, and an address from the council-general of that city was read, calling for the immediate dethronement of the king and for the abolition of royalty for ever. This had no doubt been drawn up by Barbaroux, and, probably, under the dictation of madame Roland. The constitutional members reprobated the sentiments of this address as most detestable, and in open contradiction to the solemn resolution passed on the Lamourette reconciliation, that no alteration should be made in the constitution. This was clamoured down by the galleries and by the deputations. It was a plain fact that the assembly, as well as the king, were in base slavery to the mob, which was rushing on to some terrible catastrophe. The president reminded the galleries that they had no right to express approbation or disapprobation, but all in vain.

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